Muslim Perceptions and Receptions of the Bible

Texts and Studies

Camilla Adang and Sabine Schmidtke

Resources in Arabic and Islamic Studies

MUSLIM PERCEPTIONS AND RECEPTIONS OF THE BIBLE

RESOURCES IN ARABIC AND ISLAMIC STUDIES

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CAMILLA ADANG *and* SABINE SCHMIDTKE

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Series Editors' Preface

In both medieval and modern times, many Muslim scholars and laypeople alike have considered it ill-advised if not outright unlawful to consult the Hebrew Bible or the New Testament, often justifying this position through recourse to the doctrine of *taḥrīf*, "corruption of the text." Similarly, scholars such as Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373) stressed the idea that one could not rely on *Isrāʾīliyyāt*, "Jewish traditions," when attempting to understand the Biblical narratives of the Qurʾan. These and other doctrinal positions represent attempts to separate Islam more starkly from Judaism and Christianity, with which it shares an obvious affinity that is textual, scriptural as much as it is doctrinal. They represent an important post-Qurʾanic development within Islam, and arguably contradict much Qurʾanic material, even if the doctrine of *taḥrīf*, for example, is attached to particular Qurʾanic prooftexts (Q Baqara 2:75; Nisāʾ 4:46; Māʾida 5:13, 41) that describe the Jews in particular as "twisting the words of God." In context, these accusations refer to particular misrepresentations of scripture on the part of the Jews, not to the wholesale corruption of the Biblical text. To the contrary, the Qurʾan presents itself as one of God's true scriptures, along with the Torah and the Gospel, which it regards as authentic revealed books, the contents of which are confirmed by the Qurʾan. Nevertheless, in later Islamic tradition, the accusation of *taḥrīf* came to be used as one strategy to discredit the Biblical texts that were then in the hands of Jews and Christians. Such dismissals of the Bible, however, were not universally shared in the Muslim community, and they do not reflect the complex and rich history of Muslim engagement with the Biblical text, through both Jewish and Christian sources, from the first Islamic centuries until the present day.

The studies gathered in this rich collection represent a major step forward in the study of Muslim engagement with the Bible. They focus on the Sunni tradition up to the eleventh century, on Shiite and Muʿtazili traditions from the ninth through the thirteenth centuries, and on the Ottoman tradition. Some of the texts analyzed focus on polemical topics, such as Biblical predictions of the advent of the Prophet Muḥammad that Jews and Christians are supposed to have suppressed or willfully misinterpreted, or the question of whether the Hebrew Bible has been abrogated. Others, however, adopt a more ecumenical view, arguing for the sanctity of the Hebrew Bible. Together they provide evidence of a long, complex, and profound tradition of the study, interpretation, and criticism of Biblical texts, showing that many Muslim scholars, from diverse regions and periods, had access to the Bible, whether through the personal knowledge of converts or through translations from the Jewish or Christian traditions, and furthermore, that at

least some of these scholars had a profound interest in the Bible as a sacred text, and not only as a source for polemical material.

Joseph E. Lowry
Devin J. Stewart
Shawkat M. Toorawa

Preface

The articles brought together in this volume deal with Muslim perceptions and uses of the Bible in its wider sense, including the Hebrew Bible or Old Testament as well as the New Testament, albeit with an emphasis on the former scripture. While Muslims consider the earlier revelations to the People of the Book (*ahl al-kitāb*) to have been altered to some extent by the Jews and the Christians and abrogated by the Qurʾān, God's final dispensation to humankind, the Bible is at the same time venerated in view of its divine origin, and questioning this divine origin is tantamount to unbelief (chapter 10). Muslim scholars approached and used the Bible for a variety of purposes and in different ways, often ignoring these inherent contradictions. Thus Muslim historians regularly relied on biblical materials as their primary source for the pre-Islamic period when discussing the creation as well as the history of the Israelites and the prophets preceding Muḥammad. Authors seeking to polemicize against Jews and Christians were primarily interested in the presumed biblical annunciations of Muḥammad and his religion and/or in perceived contradictions and cases of internal abrogation in the Bible. (The latter topic is addressed in chapter 8.) These various concerns resulted from and had an impact on the ways in which Muslim authors accessed the scriptures—early historians often quote or paraphrase large sections or even entire books of the Bible—in Arabic translation—while those engaged in polemics or apologetics often resorted to lists of relevant biblical passages which must have circulated widely. The different approaches to the biblical text among Muslims with their inherent contradictions are discussed in the first section of the present book which consists of three chapters surveying Muslim attitudes to the Hebrew Bible in particular, although many of the arguments used apply equally to the New Testament.

Other studies focus on two of the earliest Muslim compilations of presumed biblical predictions of the Prophet Muḥammad: *Aʿlām* (or *Dalāʾil*) *al-Nubuwwa* by Ibn Qutayba and *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-Dawla* by Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī, both of which were frequently consulted by later Muslim scholars. The authenticity of Ibn Rabban's work was long disputed among Western scholars. Chapter 12, which discusses the lengthy quotations from this work by the Twelver Šīʿī author al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, puts the controversy to rest. This study in turn was the basis for several articles that shed additional light on the use of Ibn Rabban's *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* among well-known medieval Muslim scholars, such as al-Māwardī, Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, and the Zaydī al-ʿAnsī (chapters 7, 9, and 15). Ibn Qutayba's influential *Aʿlām al-Nubuwwa* was considered for a long time to be lost, until its recent

rediscovery. A critical edition and study of the biblical passages of the work are given in chapter 4. The impact of both Ibn Rabban and Ibn Qutayba on various Sunnī, Muʿtazilī and Zaydī scholars is studied in a number of additional chapters (chapters 5, 13, 14, 15). The use of biblical passages for polemical purposes is the primary concern also of the studies brought together in the final section of this book (chapters 17–21) which focusses on the polemical works of a number of Ottoman scholars, who also adduced material from the later Jewish exegetical tradition. That Muslim polemics against the Bible elicited reactions on the part of the People of the Book is shown by the example of Rabbi Solomon ibn Adret, who wrote a refutation of Ibn Ḥazm (chapter 6).

Focusing on the long-neglected Šīʿī tradition also proved fruitful in the case of Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs whose library included a copy of the Pentateuch, which is analyzed in chapter 16. The use of biblical material in the chronography of Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, who was in all likelihood a Shiʿi, is studied in chapter 11.

The chapters of this book are revised and updated versions of the following articles:

Chapter 1: "Torah," in: Jane Dammen McAuliffe (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'an*, vol. 5. Leiden: Brill, 2006, pp. 300–311 (C. Adang);

Chapter 2: "Medieval Muslim Polemics against the Jewish Scriptures," in: Jacques Waardenburg (ed.), *Muslim Perceptions of Other Religions: A Historical Survey*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999, pp. 143–159 (C. Adang);

Chapter 3: "Polemics (Muslim-Jewish)," in: Norman Stillman et al. (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, vol. 4. Leiden: Brill, 2010, pp. 82–90 (C. Adang & S. Schmidtke);

Chapter 4: "The Muslim Reception of Biblical Materials: Ibn Qutayba and his *Aʿlām al-nubuwwa*," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 22 (2011), pp. 249–274 (S. Schmidtke);

Chapter 5: "Some Hitherto Neglected Biblical Material in the Work of Ibn Hazm," *Al-Masaq. Studia Arabo-Islamica Mediterranea* 5 (1992), pp. 17–28 (C. Adang);

Chapter 6: "A Jewish Reply to Ibn Ḥazm: Solomon b. Adret's Polemic against Islam," in: Maribel Fierro (ed.), *Judíos y musulmanes en al-Andalus y el Magreb*: *Contactos intelectuales*. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2002, pp. 179–209 (C. Adang);

Chapter 7: "Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and His Transmission of Biblical Materials from *Kitāb al-dīn wa-al-dawla* by Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī: The Evidence from Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 20 (2009), pp. 105–118 (S. Schmidtke);

Chapter 8: "Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī on the Torah and Its Abrogation," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph* 61 (2008), pp. 559–580 (S. Schmidtke);

Chapter 9: "The Muslim Reception of the Bible: al-Māwardī and His *Kitāb Aʿlām al-Nubuwwa*," in: Carmela Baffioni, Rosa Bianca Finazzi, Anna Passoni Dell'Acqua, Emidio Vergani (eds.), *Le Sacre Scritture e le loro interpretazioni*. Milan: Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana; Rome: Bulzoni, 2015, pp. 71–97 (S. Schmidtke);

Chapter 10: "A Fourth/Tenth Century Tunisian *Muftī* on the Sanctity of the Torah of Moses," in: Nahem Ilan (ed.), *The Intertwined Worlds of Islam: Essays in Memory of Hava Lazarus-Yafeh*. Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 2002, pp. vii–xxxiv. Reprinted in Maribel Fierro (ed.), *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Islam* [Critical Concepts in Islamic Studies], 4 vols., London, New York: Routledge, 2014, vol. 4, pp. 35–54 (C. Adang);

Chapter 11: "The Chronology of the Israelites according to Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 32 (2006), pp. 286–310 (C. Adang);

Chapter 12: "A Rare Case of Biblical 'Testimonies' to the Prophet Muḥammad in Muʿtazilī Literature: Quotations from Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī's *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-Dawla* in Abu l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *Ghurar al-Adilla*, as Preserved in a Work by al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī," in: Camilla Adang, Sabine Schmidtke and David Sklare (eds.), *A Common Rationality: Muʿtazilism in Islam and Judaism*. Würzburg: Ergon (2007), pp. 297–330 (C. Adang);

Chapter 13: "Muʿtazilī Discussions of the Abrogation of the Torah: Ibn Ḫallād (4th/10th Century) and His Commentators," *Arabica* 60 (2013), pp. 701–742 (C. Adang & S. Schmidtke);

Chapter 14: "Biblical Predictions of the Prophet Muḥammad among the Zaydīs of Iran," *The Neglected Šīʿites: Studies in the Legal and Intellectual History of the Zaydīs = Arabica. Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 59 iii–iv (2012), pp. 218–266 (S. Schmidtke);

Chapter 15: "Biblical Predictions of the Prophet Muḥammad among the Zaydīs of Yemen (6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries)," *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 293 (2013), pp. 221–240 (S. Schmidtke);

Chapter 16: "Notes on an Arabic translation of the Pentateuch in the Library of the Twelver Shīʿī Scholar Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664/1266)," *Shii Studies Review* 1 (2017), pp. 72–129 (S. Schmidtke);

Chapter 17: "The *Rightly Guiding Epistle* (*al-Risāla al-Hādiya*) by ʿAbd al-Salām al-Muhtadī al-Muḥammadī: A Critical Edition," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 36 (2009), pp. 439–470 (S. Schmidtke);

Chapter 18: "Guided to Islam by the Torah: The *Risāla al-Hādiya* by ʿAbd al-Salām al-Muhtadī al-Muḥammadī," in: Camilla Adang and Sabine Schmidtke (eds.), *Contacts and Controversies between Muslims, Jews and Christians in the Ottoman Empire and Pre-Modern Iran*, Würzburg: Ergon, 2010, pp. 57–71 (C. Adang);

Chapter 19: "Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā Ṭāshkubrīzāde's (d. 968/1561) Polemical Tract against Judaism," *Al-Qanṭara. Revista de Estudios Arabes* 29 (2008), pp. 79–113, 537–538 (C. Adang and S. Schmidtke);

Chapter 20: "A Polemic against Judaism by a Convert to Islam from the Ottoman Period: *Risālat Ilzām al-Yahūd fīmā zaʿamū fī l-Tawrāt min qibal ʿilm al-kalām*," *Journal Asiatique* 297 (2009), pp. 131–151 (C. Adang);

Chapter 21: "Epistle Forcing the Jews [to Admit Their Error] with Regard to What They Contend about the Torah, by Dialectic Reasoning (*Risālat ilzām al-yahūd fīmā zaʿamū fī l-tawrāt min qibal ʿilm al-kalām*) by al-Salām ʿAbd al-ʿAllām: A Critical Edition," in Camilla Adang and Sabine Schmidtke (eds.), *Contacts and Controversies between Muslims, Jews and Christians in the Ottoman Empire and Pre-Modern Iran*. Würzburg: Ergon, 2010, pp. 73–82 (S. Schmidtke).

Since several of the articles included in the present volume deal with the same themes and often even with the same authors, a certain amount of overlap was inevitable. We have chosen not to rewrite the contributions, but where necessary to update references. All references have been brought together in a unified bibliography at the end of this volume, and a single system of transliteration and annotation has been used throughout. No attempt has been made to provide a comprehensive account of Muslim perceptions and receptions of the Bible.

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Chapter One
Torah

Camilla Adang

The "Torah," the scripture revealed by God to Moses on Mount Sinai, is mentioned in the Qurʾān by name (Ar. *Tawrāt*) eighteen times, but a number of other terms are also used for the same revelation. The Arabic word *Tawrāt* clearly derives, if perhaps indirectly, from the Hebrew *Torah*, meaning law.[1] In keeping, however, with the widespread belief that the Qurʾān does not contain words of foreign origin, Muslim commentators traced it back to an Arabic root, viz. *w-r-y*, which means "to strike fire," a reference to the light said to be in the Torah.[2] Some, like the exegetes Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) and al-Zamaḫšarī (d. 538/1144), rejected this etymology and admitted the word's non-Arabic origin. Although in the Qurʾān the name Torah is mostly used in its proper sense, that is, to refer to the books of Moses, or Pentateuch, it is often applied in post-Qurʾānic Islamic literature to the entire Hebrew Bible, and even to extracanonical Jewish literature. The rabbinical literature, too, is sometimes called Torah, which is not surprising considering the fact that Judaism considers these sources to be the "oral Torah."

References to the Torah in the Qurʾān

The word *Tawrāt* appears in the following verses: Q 3:3, 48, 50, 65, 93 (twice); 5:43, 44, 46 (twice), 66, 68, 110; 7:157; 9:111; 48:29; 61:6; and 62:5. In most of these cases it is mentioned in combination with the Gospel, the sacred scripture of the Christians. The Torah had earlier been confirmed by Jesus,[3] and was now once again confirmed and clarified by the new revelation brought by Muḥammad.[4] In addition to the instances of the word *Tawrāt*, the Qurʾān contains a much larger number of passages which clearly refer to

1. See Jeffery, *Foreign Vocabulary*, 95f.; EI2 10/393–395 (H. Lazarus-Yafeh).
2. Q 5:44; 6:91; cf. Q 3:184; 21:48; 35:25. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, Dār ṣādir ed., 15/389.
3. Q 3:50; 5:46; 61:6.
4. E.g., Q 3:3; see also Q 2:89, 97, 101; 4:47; 5:15, 19, 48; 6:93; 46:12, 30.

this same scripture, describing it as the book brought by Moses or as the book given to Moses, to Moses and Aaron, or to the Children of Israel.[5] In numerous verses the Torah is subsumed under the collective rubric of the book possessed by the People of the Book, which often indicates the Jews and the Christians together but at times seems to refer to the Jews alone. Such verses are encountered in *sūra*s from both the Meccan and the Medinan periods.[6] All verses containing the word Torah seem to date from the period of the Prophet's preaching in Medina, after he had come into close contact with Jews, although Q 7:157, which declares that Muḥammad can be found in the Torah and the Gospel, is assigned by many to the late Meccan period. Verses referring to the Torah as the Book of Moses, however, can be found in *sūra*s from both periods of Muḥammad's preaching. Closely related to *Tawrāt is* another term: the *ṣuḥuf* or scrolls of Moses, mentioned in combination with those of Abraham,[7] which form part of a set of ancient or previous scrolls.[8] The question of whether these scrolls (or parchments) of Moses are identical with the Torah, or were revealed before it and constitute a separate set of revelations, is debated. Figures given for the total number of scrolls revealed by God vary between fifty and one hundred and sixty-three; those given to Moses are said to number ten or fifty.

In a series of verses dealing with the revelation on the Mount, we also encounter the tablets which God gave to Moses[9] and which are believed to have contained the entire Torah. There is much speculation in post-Qurʾānic literature about the kind of precious stone the tablets were made of, as well as about their color and their number: the familiar figure of two is given, as are three, seven, and ten. In two of the Qurʾānic verses mentioning the term *furqān* (Q 2:53 and 21:48) the revelation to Moses is intended. The term is ordinarily translated as "criterion" and glossed as that which distinguishes between true and false, right and wrong, allowed and prohibited. Two further terms that should be mentioned as belonging to the same semantic field are *ḏikr* (remembrance) and *zabūr* (pl. *zubur*, revealed scriptures), which are occasionally interpreted as references to the Torah, although the *zabūr* is most often taken to mean the Psalms.[10] In what follows, a composite account will be given of the Qurʾān's treatment of the Torah, using the whole gamut of terms applied in the Qurʾān and its exegesis to the Mosaic law. A substantial portion of the verses relates to the period of Moses and the Children of Israel, while others refer to the Jewish contemporaries of Muḥammad. We shall not discuss textual parallels between the Qurʾān and the Torah,[11] nor address the questions of Muḥammad's acquaintance with

5. Q 2:53, 87; 6:91, 154; 11:17, 110; 17:2; 23:49; 25:35; 28:43; 37:117; 40:53f.; 41:45; 45:16; 46:12.

6. E.g., Q 2:113, 121, 145, 146; 3:19, 23, 70, 71, 98, 110, 113, 199; 4:131; 5:59, 65; 6:20, 114; 13:36; 28:52; 29:46.

7. Q 53:36f.; 87:19.

8. Q 20:133; 87:18.

9. Q 7:145, 150, 154.

10. See Q 3:184; 16:43f.; 21:7; 26:196; 35:25.

11. For these, see Speyer, *Die biblischen Erzählungen im Qoran*; Thyen, *Bibel und Koran.*

the Bible or the extent of Jewish or Christian influence on him, on which there is a host of scholarly and less scholarly literature. Suffice it to say that Muḥammad's opponents accused him of listening to, or copying from, Jewish and Christian informants, which the Qurʾān vigorously denies in Q 16:103 and Q 29:48. Although the first verse seems to admit that Muḥammad did have interlocutors from among the People of the Book, their role is reversed in Muslim tradition to that of recipients of Muḥammad's teachings.[12]

References to the Book of Moses in the Qurʾān

God had given prophethood and scripture to the offspring of Abraham and Noah.[13] One of their descendants, Moses, was chosen to guide the Children of Israel.[14] God summoned him to the Mount, where a conversation ensued.[15] The meeting lasted forty nights, at the end of which God gave Moses the tablets, on which he had written admonitions and explained all things. This is taken as a reference to the Torah. (It is said that Moses could hear the squeaking of God's pen on the tablets.[16]) In Moses' absence, the Children of Israel had made a calf, which they worshiped. Upon seeing this, Moses threw down the tablets, but once his anger abated, he took them up again. According to later sources, Moses had read in the tablets the description of an exemplary nation (*umma*). He asked God to make them his people, but was told that they are the people of Muḥammad. It is at this point that he shattered the tablets.[17] According to al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505),[18] it is said that the tablets were originally seven in number, but that God kept six of them to himself, returning to Moses only one tablet. What is implied here is that God was saving the larger part of his heavenly book for a future occasion.

The verb used for God's revelation of the Torah is *anzala*, and that for the revelation of the Qurʾān, *nazzala*.[19] The difference between these two forms of the same root, say the commentators, is that the Torah was revealed on a single occasion, whereas the Qurʾān was sent down piecemeal, and for a good reason: like the Israelites before them, the Muslims would have found it difficult to receive God's commandments all at once; it was much easier to accept the new dispensation in small doses.[20] Unlike the Qurʾān,

12. See Gilliot, "Les 'informateurs' juifs et chrétiens."
13. Q 4:54; 29:27; 57:26; cf. 3:84; 6:83–90.
14. Q 2:53; 11:110; 17:2; 23:49; 32:23; 40:53f.
15. Q 7:142f. This has given rise to the composition of a genre of texts called *munāǧāt Mūsā*, the conversations of Moses with God; see Sadan, "Some Literary Problems," 373f., 395f.
16. See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, Dār ṣādir ed., 9/192; 10/117.
17. See Rubin, *Between Bible and Qurʾān*, chapter 2.
18. Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, 1/122f.
19. Q 3:3.
20. Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, 1/121.

the Torah was revealed directly by God,[21] without the mediation of an angel. This, says al-Suyūṭī,[22] is because the Torah was revealed to a prophet who could read and write, whereas the Qurʾān was sent down in separate installments to an illiterate prophet (the most commonly accepted interpretation of the word *ummī* with which Muḥammad is described in Q 7:157). If Moses was grateful for this favor, the Children of Israel were not; they were reluctant to accept God's covenant contained in the Torah and accepted it only after God held the Mount over their heads and threatened to send it crashing down on them.[23] Soon, however, they broke their covenant,[24] maligning and killing the prophets, uttering different words from the ones God had ordered them to speak,[25] and generally rejecting God's injunctions. The latter included both the duty to fight for God's cause[26] and the order to refrain from killing.[27] The commentators mention an additional violation of the covenant: the Israelites hid the description of Muḥammad (*naʿt Muḥammad*), which, according to Q 7:157, is found in their Torah and which they were under obligation to divulge.

The Abrogation of the Mosaic law

The disobedience of the Israelites had grave consequences for themselves and their descendants, the Jews. Not only was their punishment in the afterlife assured, but in this life they were burdened with harsh laws:[28] much of what had earlier been allowed was now forbidden to them, especially in the realm of dietary law, where Israel, that is, Jacob, had already imposed some restrictions on himself which did not originally form part of God's law.[29] Jesus came to abrogate a number of these laws,[30] and further restrictions were later lifted by Muḥammad.[31] There is obviously no contradiction between their confirming the earlier law and their abrogating it. That the Torah was indeed abrogated and had lost its validity, inasmuch as it did not correspond with the teachings of Islam, was not doubted by any Muslim, although there apparently remained some who believed that certain Mosaic laws applied to them as well.[32]

21. Q 4:164.
22. Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, 1/122f.
23. Q 2:63, 93; 4:154; 7:171. This motif is reminiscent of the Mishna: Sabbath, 80a, Avoda Zara, 2b.
24. Q 2:64, 83, 93; 4:155; 5:13, 70.
25. Q 2:59; 7:162.
26. Q 9:111.
27. Q 5:32.
28. Q 4:160.
29. E.g., Q 3:93; 6:118f., 146; see Wheeler, "Israel and the Torah."
30. Q 3:50.
31. Q 5:5; 7:157.
32. See Adang, "Ibn Ḥazm's Critique"; that God abrogated parts of his revelation or cast them into

Rejection of the Confirming Scripture

In rejecting their covenant, the Israelites had behaved exactly like all the other nations to which God had sent messengers, and Muḥammad would encounter the same reaction during his mission.[33] When he began to preach his message, he was first opposed by the polytheists of Mecca, and later also by the People of the Book, especially the Jews among them. They denied that Muḥammad was receiving revelations[34] and demanded that he bring a revelation like the one given to Moses, although they had not been impressed when Moses brought his book, wanting to see God instead.[35] Despite Muḥammad's overtures and attempts to point out the similarities between their religions,[36] and despite the fact that he believed in all the earlier prophets,[37] the reaction of the People of the Book was negative, and only a few of them believed in him.[38] Yet they should have recognized his message[39] as they recognized their own sons. The People of the Book, more than anyone else, should have embraced it. Instead, they flung the book behind their backs.[40] Despite their overall hostility, Muḥammad was told to consult the People of the Book if he had any doubts about what God had revealed to him.[41] Various commentators explain that it is only the believers among the People of the Book, such as ʿAbd Allāh b. Salām, who are intended here.

For all the skepticism with which they regarded Muḥammad, a group of Jews appealed to his judgment.[42] Post-Qurʾānic sources are virtually unanimous about the circumstances which supposedly gave rise to the revelation of these verses: an adulterous Jewish couple was brought before Muḥammad, who was asked to pass judgment on them. This was a test to see whether he would apply the law of the Torah, which he claimed to confirm. Muḥammad asked the Jews what punishment was prescribed in the Torah, so he could apply it, following the example of the prophets, the rabbis, and the scholars of the Jews.[43] Taken aback, the Jews covered the passage which prescribes stoning and

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oblivion, only to replace them with something similar or better, is stated in Q 2:106, which is, however, mostly linked to the abrogation of one Qurʾānic verse by another.

33. Cf. Q 3:184; 35:25.

34. Q 6:92.

35. Q 4:153.

36. Q 29:46.

37. Q 3:84.

38. Q 3:110, 113; cf. 29:47, which is seen as a reference to the Jewish convert ʿAbd Allāh b. Salām and the sympathetic king of Ethiopia.

39. Or perhaps the Prophet himself; see the commentaries to Q 2:144; 6:20.

40. Q 2:101; this is taken to mean either the Torah with its annunciations of Muḥammad, or God's revelations in general; see also Q 3:187, where it is the covenant that is discarded.

41. Q 10:94; cf. Q 16:43f.; 21:7.

42. Q 5:42f.; cf. also Q 3:23.

43. Q 5:44.

told him that adulterers are to be flogged and their faces blackened—which is how they used to deal with the more prominent members of their community. Muḥammad was unconvinced, and was proven correct when a convert to Islam pointed to the relevant passage in the Torah. The Prophet thereupon decided to have the couple stoned, much to the horror of the Jews. Q 5:43 expresses amazement at the fact that the Jews appealed to Muḥammad even though they possessed the Torah, in which God had given his ruling. And moreover, say the commentators, why should they have turned to a prophet whose mission they utterly rejected? Q 3:23, too, is cited as proof that the Jews were averse to the contents of the Torah. According to the exegetes, it was revealed after Muḥammad entered the *Bayt al-Midrās* and became embroiled in a discussion about Abraham. He told the Jews to bring the Torah to clinch the issue, but they refused. This story can in turn be connected with Q 3:65, in which the Jews and the Christians are criticized for claiming Abraham as one of their own although he predated the revelation of the Torah and of the Gospel and, therefore, the beginnings of their respective religions.[44]

In two verses, Q 5:66 and 68, the Jews are told that they will not be rightly guided unless they observe the Torah, and the same is true about the Christians and their scripture. The commentators tell us what they understood by "observing the Torah": accepting its teachings, such as the mission of Muḥammad, and its laws, which include a prohibition on taking interest.[45] But the Jews deliberately ignored the revelation with which they had been entrusted and did not apply the Torah. They had as much understanding as an ass carrying books.[46]

Tampering with the Torah

The Qurʾān more than once accuses the Israelites, the Jews, and the People of the Book in general of having deliberately changed the word of God as revealed in the Torah and of passing off as God's revelation something they themselves wrote.[47] They are charged with confounding the truth with falsehood,[48] concealing the truth,[49] hiding part of the book,[50] or twisting their tongues when reciting the book.[51] In some verses we find a combination of allegations.[52] What may be at the root of these allegations is the Jews' denial

44. That the Jews and the Christians clashed with each other, despite the fact that they both read the scripture, is stated in Q 2:113.
45. Q 4:161.
46. Q 62:5.
47. Q. 2:75–79; 4:46; 5:13.
48. Q 2:42; 3:71.
49. E.g., Q 3:187.
50. Q 6:91.
51. Q 3:78.
52. E.g., Q 2:42; 3:71; 4:46.

that Muḥammad was mentioned in their scripture. Since the Qurʾān does not always explicitly state how, when, and by whom this misrepresentation (known as *taḥrīf*) was effected—some authors ascribe a major role to Ezra—different interpretations of the relevant verses soon arose. According to one, the Jews did not corrupt the text of their scripture but merely misrepresented its contents. The other view, which developed somewhat later and seems to be held by the majority of Muslims, asserts that the Israelites and later the Jews changed the written text of the Torah, adding to and deleting from it as they pleased. Its most vocal and influential representative was Ibn Ḥazm of Cordoba (d. 456/1064), but several other polemicists took his cue, among them Jewish converts to Islam such as ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Islāmī (wrote ca. 797/1395) and Samawʾal al-Maġribī (d. 570/1175), who sought to demonstrate the superiority of their adopted faith at the expense of Judaism. According to both interpretations of the tampering verses, the Israelites and the Jews were motivated by a desire to delete or obscure the scriptural references to Muḥammad, as well as by their aversion to certain God-given commandments, such as stoning adulterers, as was seen. The allegation of textual corruption continues to be aired even in modern times. It has been used to delegitimize Jewish claims to Palestine, by stating that in the unadulterated Torah the land was promised not to the descendants of Isaac, that is, the Jews, but to those of Ishmael, namely, the Arabs; the former just substituted the names.[53]

Ambivalent Attitudes

Since the Qurʾān calls the Torah a divine scripture, Muslims must treat it with the respect due any one of God's books[54] even if they have their doubts about the authenticity, and hence the sanctity, of the Torah which the Jews possess. The ambivalent attitude toward the Torah is well illustrated in a number of texts from the Muslim West. A *fatwā* from fourth/tenth-century Qayrawān deals with the question of whether and how to punish a Muslim slave who, in a fit of anger, reviled the Torah, if it can be proven that he targeted only the forged Jewish Torah and not the original divine scripture, and his offense thus did not constitute blasphemy.[55] In sixth/twelfth-century Cordoba Ibn Rušd "the elder" (d. 520/1126) forbade Muslims to sell books supposedly containing the Torah or the Gospel, since there was no way to establish whether these were the true, uncorrupted scriptures, and it is unlawful to make a profit from such dubious transactions. In any case, he added, even the genuine scriptures had been abrogated, so dealing in them

53. See Haddad, *Arab Perspectives*, 89–122.

54. Q 2:177, 285; 4:136.

55. Al-Wanšarīsī, *al-Miʿyār*, 2/362f., 525f.; see Adang, "Fourth/Tenth Century Tunisian *Muftī*" [chapter 10 in the present volume].

was out of the question.[56] In Nasrid Granada a *fatwā* was issued to the effect that despite doubts about the Torah's authenticity, Jewish litigants who appear before the Muslim *qāḍī* and are required to take an oath should solemnly swear by their book, and preferably in the synagogue, for the fact that they hold the Torah to be true and sacred considerably reduces the risk of perjury.[57]

Tracing Muḥammad in the Torah

Muslims who believed that the Jews possessed the original Torah and merely interpreted it incorrectly assumed, naturally, that the references to Muḥammad of which Q 7:157 speaks could be found in the book.[58] Paradoxically, however, even commentators who regarded the Torah as a corrupted book that was not to be relied on tapped it for references to Muḥammad, his nation, and his religion.[59] That such references could still be found in an otherwise corrupted book was sometimes explained with the claim that God had preserved these specific passages from distortion. Muslim writers did not usually attempt to trace these passages in the Jewish scriptures themselves. First of all, they did not need to: lists of testimonies had been available at least since the late second/eighth century, when a number of them were included in an epistle sent on behalf of the caliph Hārūn al-Rašīd (r. 170/786–193/809) to the Byzantine emperor Constantine VI. They are clearly of Christian origin, being mostly Messianic passages made available to Muslim scholars by converts to Islam. Even Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889), one of the few scholars to demonstrate some familiarity with the Torah, and especially the book of Genesis, apparently relied on a list of testimonies for his "Proofs of Prophethood" *(Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa)*,[60] which was used, among others, by Ibn Ḥazm and Ibn Qayyim al-Ǧawziyya (d. 751/1350). The testimonies cited most often by Muslim authors are Gen. 17:29, Deut. 18:18f., Deut. 33:2f., and Isa. 21:6–10, the latter belonging to the Torah in its wider sense. These and other passages became a standard ingredient of tracts about the proofs for Muḥammad's prophethood *(dalāʾil* or *aʿlām al-nubuwwa)*.[61] Second, apart from Jewish and Christian converts to Islam, few Muslims knew Hebrew, Syriac, or Greek, and translations of the Torah and further parts of the Bible into Arabic were not readily available before the mid-third/ninth century: the claims of Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Salām (active around the end of the second/eighth century) to have produced a full translation of the Torah, faithful to both

56. Ibn Rušd al-Ǧadd, *al-Bayān*, 18/559f.

57. Al-Wanšarīsī, *al-Miʿyār*, 10/309f. Discussed in Adang, "Swearing by the *Mujaljala*."

58. See Rubin, *Eye of the Beholder*, chapter 1, on early attempts to trace Muḥammad.

59. See McAuliffe, "Qurʾānic Context."

60. Translated in Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 267–277. For an edition of the relevant parts of the work, see Schmidtke, "The Muslim Reception of Biblical Materials" [chapter 4 in the present volume].

61. See Stroumsa, "Signs of Prophecy."

the source and the target language, is not altogether credible,[62] and the translations produced in the eighth and ninth centuries CE in some isolated monasteries in Palestine probably did not reach the Muslim public. The earliest Arabic translations accessible to Muslim readers seem to have been those by Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq (d. 260/873), which is referred to by al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956)[63] as the one considered most accurate, and al-Ḥāriṯ b. Sinān, who seems to have been active in the latter part of the third/ninth and the first half of the fourth/tenth century. Both were translated not from the Hebrew but from the Greek, first into Syriac and subsequently into Arabic. Further translations, based on the Hebrew, had been made by a number of Jewish scholars, Rabbanite and Karaite alike. The most influential one was that by Saʿadya Gaon (d. 942 CE). These translations, however, were clearly for internal consumption: since most Jewish scholars used the Hebrew script even for their Arabic writings, they would not have been easily accessible to the Muslims.

Pseudobiblical Quotations

Contrary to what might have been expected, the increased accessibility of the Torah did not lead to an increase in reliable quotations. In the case of the *kalām* theologians this is understandable: they preferred rational to scriptural arguments. But apart from some authors of works of an encyclopedic or comparative character, such as Ibn Qutayba, al-Masʿūdī, al-Maqdisī (wrote ca. 355/966), and al-Bīrūnī (d. ca. 442/1050), and writers moved by polemical considerations, such as Ibn Ḥazm, hardly anyone used the Torah (as distinguished from islamized versions of biblical accounts) as a source. This may be explained by the fact that many religious scholars were strongly opposed to consulting a book which had been abrogated and possibly corrupted as well. They were equally disapproving of seeking information from Jews about their beliefs, although the transmission of biblical narratives whose protagonists had become islamized was permitted.[64] Spurious quotations from the Torah, intended to lend authority to certain views, proliferated, which shows that the theory of the scripture's corruption was not generally accepted. Because the Torah remained a closed book to most Muslims, it was possible to ascribe to it sayings whose connection with the actual scripture was tenuous at best. As is to be expected, the popular genres of *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* and *Isrāʾīliyyāt*, which deal with the lives of the prophets and the Israelites, abound in pseudo- or semiscriptural passages. They can be found, however, in smaller or larger quantities in almost all genres of Muslim writing, ranging from *ḥadīṯ* and *tafsīr* to historiography, geography, lexicography, and biography. A good example is *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, a biographical dictionary of pious and ascetic Muslims, which contains many statements ascribed to the elusive Kaʿb al-Aḥbār, Wahb b.

62. Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, 1/52-53; Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 19f.
63. Al-Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, 112f.
64. See Vajda, "Juifs et musulmans"; Kister, "*Ḥaddithū ʿan banī isrāʾīla*."

Munabbih, Mālik b. Dinār, and other putative specialists in the sacred books, on the pattern "it is written in the Torah" (*maktūb fī l-Tawrāt*) or "I have read in the Torah" (*qaraʾtu fī l-Tawrāt*), usually followed by some moral or ethical principle or a saying in praise of ascetical attitudes and practices.

Apart from more or less universal ethical principles, which can be said to correspond at least to the spirit of the Jewish scriptures, less obvious things were traced to the Torah as well, such as the Greek theory of the four humors and the description of the second caliph, ʿUmar ("a horn of iron," perhaps inspired by Dan. 7[65]), whose murder, too, was foretold in the Torah.[66] Ḥaydara, one of the names of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, could also be encountered there.[67] The Umayyad caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (r. 99/717–101/720) was allegedly described in the Torah as a righteous man whose death was bewailed by the heavens for forty days;[68] and not only Mecca but also the city of Rayy is mentioned in the book of Moses in positive terms.[69] At some point, however, someone must have decided that this was going too far: in an equally fictitious account, the (unnamed) Jewish exilarch told his Muslim interlocutors that what Kaʿb was telling them was a pack of lies, and that actually the Torah was very similar to their own scripture.[70]

Similar, Yet Different

The notion that there is a large degree of correspondence between the Qurʾān and the Torah is implicit in the Qurʾān's description of itself as confirming earlier scriptures, constituting a revelation like the Torah and the Gospel, and contained in the earlier scriptures.[71] The exegetes state that certain passages in the Qurʾān correspond verbatim with the Torah. As proof they cite two passages which are assumed to occur also in the Torah, namely, Q 5:45, which mentions the law of talion, and Q 48:29, which states that the believers are described in the Torah as having a mark on their foreheads as a result of their frequent prostration.

ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ (whose father, incidentally, is said to have received permission from the Prophet, or from ʿUmar, to read the true Torah) said that Muḥammad is described in the Torah in the same way that he is described in the Qurʾān: as a witness and a bearer of good tidings and a warner;[72] he is not harsh nor rough, nor does he cry in the streets. And Kaʿb al-Aḥbār attributed the following saying to the Torah: "Oh

65. See Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, 6/25.
66. Al-Mālaqī, *Maqtal ʿUṯmān*, 1/36.
67. Al-Ḫalīl b. Aḥmad, *al-ʿAyn*, 3/156.
68. Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, 5/339, 342.
69. Yāqūt, *al-Buldān*, 3/118; 4/225.
70. Ibn Ḥağar, *al-Iṣāba*, 5/651.
71. Q 3:3; 26:196; 29:47.
72. See Q 17:105; 25:56; 33:45; 48:8.

Muḥammad, I am revealing to you a new Torah, which will open blind eyes, deaf ears, and uncircumcised hearts."[73]

These passages are reminiscent of Isa. 42:2 and 35:5. The same man is credited with the information that the opening verse of the Torah corresponds with Q 6:1 ("Praise be to God, who has created the heavens and the earth, and has appointed darkness and light. Yet those who disbelieve ascribe rivals to their lord"), and that it ends with Q 17:111: "Praise be to God who has not taken a son [...] and magnify Him with all magnificence." The claim that the final verse of the Torah is identical to the second half of the last verse of Q 11, *Sūrat Hūd* ("So worship Him and put your trust in Him. Your lord is not unaware of what you do"; Q 11:123), however, is also ascribed to Kaʿb, as is the statement that the first verses to be revealed in the Torah were ten verses from Q 6 (*Sūrat al-Anʿām*, "Cattle"), starting with Q 6:151: "Say: Come, I will recite to you that which God has made a sacred duty for you (*mā ḥarrama rabbukum ʿalaykum*)." These verses bear a striking resemblance to the ten commandments.[74] Q 62:1 ("All that is in the heavens and all that is in the earth glorifies God, and He is the mighty, the wise") is said to appear 700 times in the Torah, and al-Raḥmān, the name by which God made himself known to Moses, is said to be found throughout the Torah,[75] which contains an additional 999 names for God.[76] It is said that while the contents of the two scriptures are essentially the same, their chapters bear different titles. Thus Q 50, *Sūrat Qāf*, is entitled in the Torah *al-Mubayyiḍa*, since it will whiten the face of anyone who believes in it on the day when faces will be blackened; Q 36, *Sūrat Yā Sīn*, appears in the Torah under the name *al-Muʿamma*, for it encompasses the good things of this life and of the afterlife. Many more examples of this kind could be cited. But it is not only isolated passages that are attributed to the Torah: longer texts purporting to contain the true Torah have also been compiled, as have islamized Psalters. The texts in question appear to be ethical treatises which resemble the Qurʾān rather more than they do the Torah.[77] So although the Torah is believed to be very similar to the Qurʾān, the two scriptures are also said to differ on important points. For Muslims, it is important to emphasize that the Qurʾān stands at the end of a long line of venerated scriptures, which strengthens its authority, but it is equally important to stress its unique nature and superiority.[78] It is said, for example, that Q 1, *Sūrat al-Fātiḥa* ("The Opening"), is unique to the Qurʾān and unparalleled, and that neither in the Torah nor in the Gospel did God reveal anything like it. But the main difference is that unlike the

73. Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, 1/115.
74. See Brinner, "Islamic Decalogue."
75. Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Itqān*, 1/116.
76. Ibn Kaṯīr, *Tafsīr*, 1/20.
77. See Sadan, "Some Literary Problems"; Jeffery, "Moslem Torah."
78. See Shnizer, *Qurʾān*.

Torah, the Qurʾān constitutes an inimitable miracle and is matchless in style, composition, and content.

Translatable, Therefore Inferior

Many Muslim apologists and polemicists were aware that different versions of the Torah—that of the Jews, the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the Greek Septuagint—had existed even prior to its translation into Arabic. While some, such as Ibn Ḥazm, pointed to the discrepancies between these versions as proof of the scripture's corrupted state, others, including Ibn Qutayba and al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013), argued—without playing the distortion card—that the existence of translations of the Torah was one of the clearest proofs of its inferiority to the Qurʾān, which, because of its inimitable character, remained untranslated and untranslatable. For the Karaite al-Qirqisānī (fl. tenth century CE), the fact that the Qurʾān existed only in one language weakened not the Jewish case but the Muslim one, for, he said, only those fluent in Arabic could possibly appreciate the miraculous nature of the Qurʾān.[79]

Further proof of the Qurʾān's superiority in the eyes of the Muslims is the fact that it was revealed in the presence of the entire nation, unlike the Torah, which had been given to Moses in the presence of a selected few only and was not transmitted to the entire community, nor was it transmitted in uninterrupted succession from one generation to the next (*tawātur*). Although hardliners such as Ibn Ḥazm took the view that the Israelites and the Jews had deliberately suspended the transmission of their (essentially unwanted) scripture, others, like the astronomer al-Bīrūnī, took a more charitable view: the Jews could not possibly have transmitted their Torah from generation to generation because of the adversities they suffered, including expulsion and captivity.

Jewish Reactions to Attempts at Discrediting the Torah

The Jews took up the defense of their scripture in polemical and apologetical tracts that were usually intended for internal consumption. In Iraq, Saʿadya Gaon and his Karaite contemporary Yaʿqūb al-Qirqisānī, among others, tried to demonstrate, with rational and scriptural arguments, that the Torah had not been and would not be abrogated. They did not address the allegation of scriptural corruption, which was not usually raised by the Muslim *mutakallimūn* either; Muʿtazilite and Aš'arite theologians attempted to refute the Jewish argument for the eternal validity of their scripture by rational means.[80] Rabbanite and Karaite commentators did not deny that Islam was referred to in the Hebrew Bible: it was the last of the four kingdoms that would subjugate Israel, according to the

79. Ben-Shammai, "Attitude of Some Early Karaites."
80. See Sklare, "Responses to Islamic Polemics."

book of Daniel, and its end would usher in redemption. However, the commentators in no way took this as an endorsement of Muslim claims that Muḥammad was a true prophet. If anything, it was the falsity of his claims that the biblical text demonstrated.

In later centuries it was formidable Jewish scholars such as Yehuda ha-Levi (d. 1141 CE), Abraham b. Daud (d. 1181 CE), Moses Maimonides (d. 1204 CE), and Solomon b. Adret (d. 1310 CE), interestingly enough all Spaniards, who defended Judaism and its Torah against the attacks of the Muslim scholars. The influence of the arguments of their fellow countryman, Ibn Ḥazm, can easily be discerned in their works.

Chapter Two
Medieval Muslim Polemics against the Jewish Scriptures

Camilla Adang

Islamic polemics against Judaism and its adherents is a phenomenon as old as Islam itself, and the Qurʾān is its very first source. In it, we find, among others, the following arguments: the Jews are hostile toward the Muslims; the cumbersome Jewish laws are a punishment from God; the Jews are extremely attached to earthly life; and they display an excessive reverence for their leaders, thus compromising their monotheism.[1]

More numerous and important, however, are the arguments that concern the very foundation of the Jewish faith, namely, the Torah.[2] According to the Qurʾān, this earlier scripture, which must be considered abrogated,[3] contains references to the mission of

1. See Q 5:82; 2:96; 4:160; 6:146; 16:118; 9:31. On these and other Qurʾānic arguments against the Jews and their religion, see Busse, *Die theologischen Beziehungen des Islams*, 43–51, 58–61; Bouman, *Der Qurʾān und die Juden*; EI2, s.v. "Ahl al-Kitāb," 1/264–266 (G. Vajda).

2. On the scripture-related arguments discussed in this article, see Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur*, esp. 320–329; Goldziher, "Über muhammedanische Polemik"; Schreiner, "Zur Geschichte der Polemik"; Hirschfeld, "Mohammedan Criticism of the Bible"; Matteo, "Il 'taḥrīf.'" An abridged translation of Di Matteo's article, by M. H. Ananikian, was published as "Tahrif or Alteration of the Bible." See also Di Matteo, "Le pretese contraddizioni"; Fritsch, *Islam und Christentum im Mittelalter*; Stieglecker, "Die muhammedanische Pentateuchkritik"; Strauss, "Darkhe ha-pulmus ha-Islami"; Watt, "Early Development of the Muslim Attitude"; Allard, *Textes apologétiques de Guwaini*; Perlmann, "Medieval Polemics"; Perlmann, "Eleventh-Century Andalusian Authors"; Perlmann, "Polemics, Muslim-Jewish"; Waardenburg, "World Religions"; Caspar and Gaudeul, "Textes de la tradition musulmane"; Bouamama, *La littérature polémique musulmane*; Roth, "Forgery and Abrogation"; Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds*; Adang, *Muslim Writers*. This essay is based on the latter publication.

3. The idea that the earlier revelations have been superseded, or at least qualified, can be found in Q 7:157, where God promises to show His mercy to those Jews and Christians who follow Muḥammad, the prophet described in the Torah and the Gospel, who is "bidding them to honour, and forbidding them to dishonour, making lawful for them the good things and making unlawful for them the corrupt

the Prophet Muḥammad.[4] At the same time, the Torah is said to have been tampered with by the Jews (*taḥrīf*).[5]

We do not possess any polemical works from the first four centuries of the Islamic era that are specifically directed against Judaism; the Muslims seem to have been more preoccupied with the defense of their faith against attacks coming from Christians.[6] None of the refutations of the Jewish religion mentioned by the bibliographer Ibn al-Nadīm (d. ca. 385/995) in his *Fihrist* have come down to us.[7] Occasionally, tracts against Christianity, such as al-Ǧāḥiẓ' *Radd ʿalā l-Naṣārā* (Refutation of the Christians),[8] include arguments against the Jews, but apart from that, we must turn to a variety of sources whose primary goal is not polemical. Criticisms of the Jews and their religion may be encountered in works of history, *kalām* (speculative theology), *tafsīr* (Qurʾānic commentary), and apologetics, as well as writings from other categories. Here I propose to discuss some scripture-related arguments that appear in texts belonging to different genres. The authors under review here are ʿAlī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī, Ibn Qutayba, Muḥammad b. Ǧarīr al-Ṭabarī, al-Maqdisī, and Ibn Ḥazm. They will be discussed in chronological order, starting with Ibn Rabban.[9]

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things, and relieving them of their loads, and the fetters that were upon them." The translation cited here and throughout this essay is that of Arberry, *Koran Interpreted*.

4. See previous note.

5. The *taḥrīf* verses are Q 2:75–79; 4:46; 5:13; 5:41. In other verses, the Israelites and/or the Jews are accused of confounding the truth with vanity (Q 2:42; 3:71) or concealing the truth (e.g., Q 3:187); hiding part of the Book (Q 6:91); substituting words (Q 2:59; 7:162); or twisting their tongues when reciting the Book (Q 3:78). In some verses, we find a combination of accusations; e.g., Q 2:42; 3:71; 4:46. On the interpretation of these verses by commentators and apologists in both the classical and modern periods, see Caspar and Gaudeul, "Textes de la tradition musulmane." On contemporary literature in which the accusation of *taḥrīf* is leveled against the Jews, see Haddad, "Arab Perspectives of Judaism," esp. 89–122. On the concept of *taḥrīf*, see now also Nickel, *Narratives of Tampering.*

6. On Christian polemical and apologetical writings in Greek, see Khoury, *Les théologiens byzantins et l'Islam*; Khoury, *Polémique byzantine contre l'Islam*; Sahas, *John of Damascus on Islam*; Le Coz, *Jean Damascène*. On Christian authors writing in Syriac and Arabic, see Griffith, "Prophet Muḥammad."

7. Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, 1/512 (Bišr b. al-Muʿtamir), 1/566 (Abū l-Huḏayl), 1/586 (al-Ǧāḥiẓ), 1/595 (al-Aṣamm), 1/600 (Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāq); see *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, 1/357, 388, 406, 415, 419.

8. Al-Ǧāḥiẓ, *al-Radd ʿalā l-Naṣārā*. A partial translation of the tract was published by Joshua Finkel in "Risāla of al-Jāḥiẓ," 322–334; a full translation was published by I. S. Allouche in "Un traité de polémique," 129–153. The work has been discussed by Gibson, "Closest in Friendship?"

9. Short biographical notices on each of the authors under review in this article are given in Adang, *Muslim Writers*, chapter 2. In the following pages, only some general works will be referred to.

ʿAlī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī

ʿAlī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī[10] was a Christian physician, born, as his *nisba* indicates, in the province of Ṭabaristān in eastern Iran. During the reign of the ʿAbbasid caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. 232/847–247/861), he converted to Islam. This step is usually attributed to ulterior motives; it is suggested that Ibn Rabban simply wished to avoid the restrictions imposed by the caliph on non-Muslims as part of his campaign to restore orthodox Sunni Islam after years of heterodox, Muʿtazilite domination.[11] The former Christian defended his new religion in two apologetical tracts, which may have been commissioned by the caliph himself. For the present discussion, we shall limit ourselves to the tract entitled *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla fī iṯbāt nubuwwat al-nabī Muḥammad* (The book of religion and empire on the confirmation of the prophethood of the Prophet Muḥammad).[12]

The declared object of this book is to remove the doubts and skepticism with which the history of the Prophet Muḥammad and the divine origin of the Islamic message were viewed by the adherents of other religions, and especially by the Christians. Ibn Rabban mentions that similar projects had been undertaken by authors before him, but that they had been unsuccessful, largely because they had failed to take account of the Jewish and Christian scriptures.[13] Ibn Rabban, on the other hand, knew Syriac—plus perhaps a smattering of Greek and Hebrew—and thus had access to the Bible.

The author explains the grounds on which Muḥammad should be accepted as a true prophet: like his precursors, he preached monotheism; he was pious and sincere, and his laws worthy of praise; he wrought miracles; he prophesied about events unknown to him, which occurred in his lifetime; he foretold events that took place after his death; he produced a book which testifies to the truth of his office; his military victories and those of his followers over the nations are a clear sign; the missionaries who transmitted his history were honest and righteous; he is the last of the prophets, and without him, the biblical prophecies would have been in vain; and the earlier prophets annunciated his coming and described his mission, his country, his time, his victories, and his followers.

10. On Ibn Rabban, see Max Meyerhof, "'ʿAlī ibn Rabban aṭ-Ṭabarī"; Bouyges, "Nos informations sur ʿAliy . . . aṭ-Ṭabariy," 83–91. See also chapters 7, 12, and 15 in the present volume.

11. See Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 25f. On al-Mutawakkil's crackdown on the *ḏimmī*s, see Lewis, *Jews of Islam*, 47–49.

12. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* (ed. A. Mingana). On the question of the authenticity of the tract, see Adang, *Muslim Writers,* 27–29, as well as chapters 7 and 12 in the present volume. The other apologetic tract by Ibn Rabban is entitled *al-Radd ʿalā l-Naṣārā* (Refutation of the Christians). It was edited by Ignace A. Khalifé and W. Kutsch. Both works have meanwhile been been edited again as Ebied and Thomas (eds.), *The Polemical Works of ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī.* References in this chapter are to the editions of Mingana and Khalifé/Kutsch only.

13. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 20; *Religion and Empire*, 18.

These or very similar criteria had already been adduced by Jewish and Christian theologians as proof of the veracity of Moses and Jesus, respectively.[14] Ibn Rabban sought to demonstrate that the Muslims' acceptance of Muḥammad's mission was based on the same criteria as those that had led the Jews and the Christians to lend credence to their prophets, and that, this being the case, there is no reason these People of the Book should reject Muḥammad, for what applies to one must necessarily apply to the other as well.

To each of the previously mentioned criteria, Ibn Rabban devotes a chapter of his *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*. The longest chapter, taking up almost half of the book, deals with the alleged references to Muḥammad in the earlier scriptures.[15] In this chapter, Ibn Rabban scans the Bible (in its wider sense, including the New Testament) for passages taken to refer to Muḥammad and events related to the advent of Islam. As far as we know, he was the first Muslim author to do so *on this scale*; a smaller number of biblical testimonies in support of Muḥammad's mission had earlier been adduced by Abū l-Rabīʿ Muḥammad b. al-Layṯ in an epistle addressed to the Byzantine emperor, Constantine VI (r. 780–97 CE) on behalf of the caliph Hārūn al-Rašīd (r. 170/786–193/809), in which he called on the emperor to convert to Islam,[16] and even Ibn al-Layṯ probably made use of an already existing collection of testimonies in Arabic.[17]

Apart from a few quotations from the New Testament, the testimonies in Ibn Rabban's work are all taken from books belonging to the Hebrew Bible, such as Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Psalms, Isaiah, Hosea, Micah, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Zechariah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel.[18] An examination of Isaiah proves especially rewarding. To a large extent, of course, these passages had already been claimed by the Christians as references to Jesus, as Ibn Rabban, with his Christian background, knew very well. In many cases, all he had to do was to explain why it was more plausible that they referred to Muḥammad. Moreover, he was able to add to the already considerable arsenal by translating every word connected with the meaning "praise" (the root *sh-b-h* in Syriac)

14. The Jewish *mutakallim* al-Muqammiṣ (wrote first half of the ninth century CE) had a similar list of prerequisites for the veracity of a prophet. As has been shown by Sarah Stroumsa, the Jewish author took his arguments from an as yet unidentified Christian source. Even though the aim of this source was no doubt to prove the truth of Jesus' mission, al-Muqammiṣ sought to demonstrate the applicability of the same criteria to Moses and to Judaism. See *Dāwūd ibn Marwān al-Muqammiṣ's Twenty Chapters*, 31f., 262–271 (the odd page numbers refer to the Judaeo-Arabic text, the even ones to the translation). See also Stroumsa, "Signs of Prophecy." For a new edition of the text in Arabic characters, see al-Muqammaṣ, *Twenty Chapters*.

15. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla,* 66–119; *Religion and Empire,* 77–152.

16. Ibn al-Layṯ, *Risāla*. The Old Testament passages mentioned by the author are Isa. 21:6–9; Ps. 9:20; Hab. 3:3–6; Ps. 149; Isa. 42:10–12; Isa. 42:1–4; Ps. 45:2–5; Deut. 33:2; and Deut. 18:18. On Ibn al-Layṯ, see Dunlop, "Letter of Hārūn ar-Rashīd"; cf. Shboul, "Arab-Islamic Perceptions."

17. On the use of biblical testimonies in early Islam, see Rubin, *Eye of the Beholder*, 21–43.

18. For a list of biblical passages invoked by Ibn Rabban and others as testimonies to Muḥammad, see Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 264–266.

with a word derived from the Arabic root *ḥ-m-d*. Thus Psalm 48:1f. is paraphrased as *inna rabbanā ʿaẓīmun maḥmūdun ǧiddan*, which translates to "Mighty is our Lord, and greatly praised." The word used to translate the participle "praised" (*maḥmūd*) has, according to Ibn Rabban, the same meaning as the word *muḥammad* and thus constitutes a reference to the very name of the Prophet.[19] This trick could, of course, be employed only against the Christians who read the scriptures in Syriac. Ibn Rabban makes no attempt to trace the Prophet's name in the Hebrew text as well.

The principle of translating the Syriac *sh-b-h* to the Arabic *ḥ-m-d* does not seem to have been invented by Ibn Rabban himself; already in Ibn al-Layṯ's testimonies, the root *ḥ-m-d* occurs too frequently to be a coincidence. However, Ibn Rabban may have expanded the list of such references to the name of the Prophet.

Ibn Rabban finds not only the Prophet's name mentioned in the Bible; his physical appearance, too, is allegedly described: Isaiah's famous verse "Unto us a child is born, and unto us a child is given, whose government is on his shoulder" is interpreted as a description of the moles on Muḥammad's shoulder that are the sign or the seal of prophethood.[20]

Ibn Rabban seeks to trace Muḥammad in the earlier scriptures in yet another way: through numerology. As is well known, the letters of the Arabic alphabet each have a numerical value. In Ibn Rabban's view, the mysterious figure 1,335 in Dan. 12:12 is a reference to the Prophet. The numerical value of the words *Muḥammad ḫātim al-anbiyāʾ mahdī maǧīd* ("Muḥammad, the Seal of the Prophets, is an illustrious Mahdi") is 1,335.[21] Ibn Rabban is aware that the explanation is rather thin; theoretically, he agrees, it would be possible to apply this figure to other persons, but the fact that it is backed by so many testimonies from other prophets clearly indicates that it is a reference to Muḥammad.[22]

Islam's emergence from the desert, its spread over the world, the spread of the Arabic language, the rituals of the pilgrimage to Mecca, and the subjugation of nations and kings to Muslim rule are all found described in the Bible.[23] Ibn Rabban invites his readers to accept this decisive evidence and expresses his hope that God will make them turn

19. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 76, 77, 88, 90, 93f.; *Religion and Empire,* 89, 90, 103, 105, 108.

20. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 81; *Religion and Empire*, 95.

21. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 117f.; *Religion and Empire*, 138.

22. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 118; *Religion and Empire*, 138f.

23. Examples of references to Islam's emergence from the desert (in the south, at the end of the earth): Gen. 21:20f.; Deut. 33:2f.; Isa. 42:11–13; Isa. 21:1–10; Isa. 24:16–18; Isa. 35:1f.; Isa. 41:17–20; Isa. 43:20f.; Isa. 46:9–11; Isa. 54:11–15; Isa. 49:16–21; Hos. 13:5; Mic. 4:1f.; Hab. 3:3–13; Ezek. 19:10–14. The spread of Arabic: Zeph. 3:8–10; Jer. 5:15f.; Isa. 49:1–5; Muḥammad's victories and leadership: Ps. 45:2–5; Ps. 50:2f.; Ps. 72:8–12; Ps. 140:4–9; Isa. 2:12–19. See also the categories in Bouamama, *La polémique musulmane*, 201–213, and Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds*, 83–110.

to Islam.[24] Those who persist in denying these clear signs are deaf and blind, and on the way to perdition.[25] Everlasting shame, eternal regret, and torment will be their share.[26]

Ibn Rabban explains why the world was in need of a new revelation. For one thing, the Torah is replete with curses and injustices,[27] the likes of which are not encountered in the Qurʾān, which stresses God's forgiveness and mercy instead.[28] Moreover, the Torah is mainly a historical chronicle about the Israelites and cannot lay claim to universal validity.[29] The Gospel is praised by Ibn Rabban for its high morality and sublime wisdom, but it does not contain much in the way of laws. As for the Psalter, its hymns are of great beauty, but again it is not very useful when it comes to laws and prescriptions. The books of Isaiah and Jeremiah, like the Torah, are full of curses.[30] According to Ibn Rabban, the Qurʾān qualifies the laws and prescriptions contained in the Torah, making them more just and humane. As such, the Qurʾān abrogates the earlier revelation and makes way for the religion that is "easy and free from restraint."[31] Man can obey God only by obeying Muḥammad.[32]

Since the *Book of Religion and Empire* addresses itself mainly to Christians, we find few explicit arguments against the Jewish religion. Ibn Rabban raises some collective objections against both communities of the Book, who, after all, share the Hebrew Bible. Specifically directed against the Jews, however, is the objection that their religion lacks universality: "It had appeared only in one section of mankind."[33] Moreover, it wields no power, and worldly power and military victories are among the signs of God's grace. In the book of Ezekiel it is said that the vine representing the Jewish people was uprooted and consumed by fire. This means that the power of the Jews has disappeared from the face of the earth and has been substituted by another administration, namely, that of the Muslims.[34]

Yet the Jews refuse to see: "How great is my amazement at the Jews, who avow all these things and do not go beyond contemplating them, and burden themselves with claims through which they become full of illusion and deception."[35]

24. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 106; *Religion and Empire*, 124.
25. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 85; *Religion and Empire*, 104.
26. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 129; *Religion and Empire*, 152.
27. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 27f., 46f.; *Religion and Empire*, 28f., 52f.
28. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 47; *Religion and Empire*, 53.
29. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 45; *Religion and Empire*, 51.
30. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 45f.; *Religion and Empire*, 51.
31. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 27f., 47; *Religion and Empire*, 28, 53.
32. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 134f.; *Religion and Empire*, 158f.
33. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 71; *Religion and Empire*, 82.
34. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 110; *Religion and Empire*, 129.
35. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 123; *Religion and Empire*, 145.

Whether the author was in touch with Jews at all cannot be established with certainty; the only thing that would seem to point in that direction is that he displays some rudimentary knowledge of Hebrew. However, he may have obtained this information from Jewish converts to Islam.

Although Ibn Rabban was aware that there were discrepancies between the Septuagint and the Syriac and Hebrew versions of the Torah, this does not seem to have made him question the authenticity of the Jewish scripture. The accusation of deliberate distortion of the Torah, which we find, for example, in the works of Ibn Ḥazm (discussed below), is nowhere voiced in *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*. If at the beginning of the work Ibn Rabban accuses the possessors of an inspired book of having hidden Muḥammad's name and changed his description as contained in the books of their prophets, he is referring to a distortion of the *interpretation* of the scriptures, not of the text itself. According to D. S. Margoliouth, Ibn Rabban's failure to take a firm stand on this issue may have rendered the work unpopular—a possible explanation for the fact that it has come down to us in one manuscript only.[36] However, a more likely explanation for its rarity seems to be that *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* was simply eclipsed by a tract of a similar nature by Ibn Qutayba, who, rather than addressing a non-Muslim readership, directed his work to his fellow Muslims.

Ibn Qutayba

Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Muslim b. Qutayba[37] was born in 213/838, probably in Kufa, of a family of Persian descent. The scholars who influenced him most were theologians, traditionists, and philologists who held views similar to those of their contemporary, the staunchly Sunnī Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855). Ibn Qutayba's first works were philological commentaries on the revealed sources of Islam (Qurʾān and *ḥadīṯ*), which were well received by those responsible for implementing the religious reforms decreed by the caliph al-Mutawakkil. In appreciation of his contribution to the restoration of mainstream Sunnī Islam, Ibn Qutayba was appointed *qāḍī* in Dinawar around 236/851, an office which he seems to have held until 256/870. After falling from grace, Ibn Qutayba returned to Baghdad, where he devoted most of his time and energy to the teaching of his works. He died in 276/889, leaving a rich and varied oeuvre.

Even though his first modern biographer, Ishaq M. Huseini, portrays Ibn Qutayba as a religious fanatic,[38] and his severest critic, Charles Pellat, brands him a narrow-minded

36. Margoliouth, "On 'The Book of Religion and Empire,'" 168f.

37. General works on Ibn Qutayba include Huseini, *Life and Works of Ibn Qutayba*; Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba*; EI2, s.v. "Ibn Ḳutayba," 3/844–847 (G. Lecomte). See also chapter 4 in the present volume.

38. Huseini, *Life and Works of Ibn Qutayba*, 19, 83, 89.

reactionary,[39] his approach to non-Islamic sources was in fact quite open-minded, and we encounter references to biblical and postbiblical Jewish books in several of his works. He was apparently the first Muslim-born author to compare and supplement the legendary accounts of creation and the lives of the Israelite prophets with genuine passages from the Torah, mostly from the book of Genesis. His quotations, preceded by phrases such as "I have read in the Torah," "I have found in the Torah," and "It is said in the Torah," are surprisingly accurate.[40] We encounter them especially in Ibn Qutayba's best-known work, *Kitāb al-Maʿārif* (The book of noteworthy information),[41] which has been described as an encyclopedia of general culture, a kind of "Who's Who in pre-Islamic and Islamic history." Considering the nature of this book, it is not surprising that it contains no explicit polemical arguments. However, at one point Ibn Qutayba states that the Torah was burned: "As regards Ezra, he restored the Torah for the Jews after it had been burned, [for they did not] know it at the time he returned to Syria. Now a group of Jews say that Ezra is the son of God."[42] The first statement, about the restoration of the lost Torah, probably goes back indirectly to the apocryphal book of 4 Ezra (or 2 Esdras), which gained widespread popularity among Muslims.[43] Ibn Qutayba sees a connection between Ezra's role in the restoration of the Torah and the allegation in the Qurʾān that the Jews venerate Ezra as the son of God (Q 9:30). The motif of Ezra as the inspired restorer of the holy scriptures recurs in the works of other Muslim writers, among them al-Ṭabarī (see the following discussion).

The fact that the Torah had at one point been lost does not seem to invalidate it in Ibn Qutayba's eyes as a revealed scripture and a historical source. Apparently *taḥrīf* was not an issue for him. He believes that Muḥammad is annunciated in the Jewish scriptures, notably in the book of Isaiah. The latter is described as "the one who annunciated the Prophet, peace be upon him, and described him."[44]

These biblical annunciations are discussed by Ibn Qutayba in a tract entitled *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa* (The proofs of prophethood). The work has come down to us in a single

39. Pellat, "Ibn Qutayba," 33, 35; Pellat, "Les encyclopédies," 637ff. Pellat compares Ibn Qutayba with al-Ǧāḥiẓ, al-Yaʿqūbī, and others.

40. On Ibn Qutayba's quotations from an Arabic translation of the Bible, see Vajda, "Observations"; Lecomte, "Les citations"; Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, passim; Schmidtke, "The Muslim Reception of Biblical Materials" [chapter 4 in the present volume]; Pietruschka, "Präsentation und Umformung biblischen Materials".

41. Ibn Qutayba, *al-Maʿārif*.

42. Ibn Qutayba, *al-Maʿārif*, 50; cf. Drint, "Mount Sinai Arabic Version," 65.

43. On the echoes of 4 Ezra in works by Muslim authors, see Ayoub, "ʿUzayr in the Qurʾān"; Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds*, chapter 3; Drint, "Mount Sinai Arabic Version," 51–85.

44. Ibn Qutayba, *al-Maʿārif*, 50.

manuscript,[45] and substantial fragments of it have been preserved in works by later authors such as Ibn Qayyim al-Ǧawziyya, Ibn al-Ǧawzī, and Ibn Ḥazm.[46]

Even on the basis of these limited fragments, we can conclude that Ibn Qutayba's *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa* was very similar in style and content to Ibn Rabban's *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*. A comparison of Ibn Qutayba's list of biblical testimonies with that of Ibn Rabban reveals considerable overlap. But even if Ibn Qutayba used Ibn Rabban's work as a source (he does not mention it), he did not content himself with merely copying the latter's proof texts; sometimes, he gives entirely different renditions of biblical passages also occurring in *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*. Apparently, he consulted other sources as well, both oral and written ones, which enabled him to add new testimonies.

On three occasions in the extant fragments of *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, Ibn Qutayba refers to the *abrogation* of the Torah. The first one is a comment on two biblical passages—Gen. 17:20 and Gen. 16:9–12—in which it is announced that Ishmael shall be a great nation: "When the apostle of God was sent," says Ibn Qutayba, "the prophethood was passed on to Ismāʿīl's offspring. Kings owed him allegiance, and nations submitted themselves to him. God abrogated every law through him, sealed the succession of prophets with him, and made the caliphate and the kingship reside among the people of his house until the end of time."[47]

The second reference to abrogation appears in a comment on Isa. 42, a popular testimony among Muslim writers. Ibn Qutayba quotes: "[Muḥammad] is the light of God that shall not be extinguished, and he shall not be defeated, so that he may establish My proof on earth; with him, every excuse shall cease [to be valid] and the *ǧinn* will submit to his Torah." He adds: "Now this is a clear reference to his name and his characteristics. If they say, 'Which Torah does he have?' we shall reply that it means that he shall bring a book that is to take the place of your Torah for you."[48]

Finally, Ibn Qutayba quotes a story attributed to Kaʿb al-Aḥbār, a contemporary of Muḥammad who is said to have been one of the first Jews to convert to Islam: "When Jerusalem (or the temple, *bayt al-maqdis*) complained to God about its ruin, it was told, 'We shall give you, in exchange, a new Torah and new rulers who shall spread their eagles' wings over the House and shall watch over it affectionately like a dove watching its eggs, and they will fill you with soldiers who will prostrate themselves in worship.'"[49]

For all the respect that Ibn Qutayba apparently had for the Jewish scriptures, he does not hesitate to polemicize between the lines against their possessors. This is especially

45. See Schmidtke, "The Muslim Reception of Biblical Materials" [chapter 4 in the present volume].

46. See Adang, "Hitherto Neglected Biblical Material" [chapter 5 in the present volume] and appendix 3 of Adang, *Muslim Writers* for a translation of these fragments.

47. Ibn Qutayba, *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, in Brockelmann, "Ibn Ǧauzī's Kitāb al-Wafā," 46.

48. Brockelmann, "Ibn Ǧauzī's Kitāb al-Wafā," 48.

49. Brockelmann, "Ibn Ǧauzī's Kitāb al-Wafā," 48.

the case in his *Taʾwīl muḫtalif al-ḥadīṯ*, which deals with apparently contradictory *ḥadīṯs*. In this work, Ibn Qutayba expresses the Qurʾān-based view that the elaborate laws of Judaism constitute a burden and are a proof of this religion's inferiority to Islam. Islam has come to relieve the burden by abrogating onerous laws.[50] He quotes a tradition to the effect that it is good to dance and be merry, so that the Jews may know that "our religion is ample"—that is, that there is room in Islam for such things.[51] In the same context, Ibn Qutayba expresses his gratitude to God that His religion is easy and without constraint.[52] Given the context, this is probably to be taken as a dig at the Jews.

Ibn Qutayba never explicitly mentions any contacts with practicing Jews, although he once refers to a discussion he had with a member of the People of the Book, who may have been a Jew, but then again may have been a Christian.[53] He also mentions a Jewish renegade who informed him about the pronunciation of a biblical passage believed to contain a reference to the Prophet,[54] though this is possibly no more than a *topos.*[55] However, because Ibn Qutayba was apparently much less bigoted and narrow-minded than critics such as Pellat and Huseini care to admit, the possibility that he also interacted with practicing Jews is not to be rejected out of hand.[56] That he did not boast of these contacts at a time when such relations were no doubt viewed with suspicion—it should be recalled that Ibn Qutayba flourished in a period of mainstream Sunnī restoration—is not surprising.[57]

Al-Ṭabarī

Abū Ǧaʿfar Muḥammad b. Ǧarīr al-Ṭabarī[58] (d. 310/923) is the author of two of the fundamental works of Islamic scholarship,[59] namely, the *Ǧāmiʿ al-bayān fī taʾwīl āy al-Qurʾān* (The complete clarification of the interpretation of the verses of the Qurʾān), in short

50. Ibn Qutayba, *Taʾwīl muḫtalif al-ḥadīṯ*, 195; French translation by Gérard Lecomte, *Traité des divergences*, 216f.; cf. Lecomte, *lbn Qutayba*, 270.

51. Ibn Qutayba, *Taʾwīl muḫtalif al-ḥadīṯ*, 293; *Traité des divergences*, p. 324. Perhaps Ibn Qutayba is thinking of some austere Jewish sect which disapproved of joy and dancing.

52. Ibn Qutayba, *Taʾwīl muḫtalif al-ḥadīṯ*, 293; *Traité des divergences*, 325.

53. See Brockelmann, "Ibn Ǧauzī's Kitāb al-Wafā," 48.

54. This reference is given in a polemical tract by Ibn Qayyim al-Ǧawziyya: *Hidāyat al-ḥayārā*, 1905 ed., 76.

55. The fourth/tenth-century Imāmī Šīʿite al-Nuʿmānī cites the same passage, allegedly on the authority of a Jewish scholar; see Kohlberg, "From Imāmiyya to Ithnā-ʿashariyya," 526f.

56. Cf. Lecomte, *lbn Qutayba*, 336, 429.

57. Lecomte, *lbn Qutayba*, 430.

58. On al-Ṭabarī, see *History of al-Ṭabarī*, 1/5–134; Gilliot, *Exégèse, langue et théologie*, 19–70; McAuliffe, *Qurʾānic Christians*, 38–45.

59. McAuliffe, "Quranic Hermeneutics," 48.

Tafsīr (Explanation), and the *Taʾrīḫ al-rusul wa-l-mulūk* (History of the messengers and the kings), also known as *Annales*. I shall limit my observations mainly to the first work.

Al-Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr* is extremely valuable (and voluminous) because it records the opinions of many earlier commentators, among them companions of the Prophet, such as Ibn ʿAbbās, and religious scholars of the generation following that of Muḥammad. Al-Ṭabarī certainly did not include *all* current exegetical *ḥadīṯ*s in his collection: those that had not been reliably transmitted through an uninterrupted chain of authorities and those that reflected certain sectarian biases were excluded. However, the materials that are included by al-Ṭabarī are set forth as equally plausible, and alternatives are rarely discounted.[60] Nevertheless, al-Ṭabarī usually clearly indicates which interpretation he prefers. Thus, it is possible to distill the commentator's personal views on the issues connected with the Jewish scriptures from the mass of material that he presents. A study of al-Ṭabarī's explanations of the verses in which the accusation of *taḥrīf* occurs, as well as those in which similar allegations are leveled at the Jews, allows us to summarize his views on the issue as follows.

God made a covenant with the Israelites and their descendants, the Jews, which obliged some of them to divulge the annunciations of Muḥammad contained in their scripture and to believe in his prophethood. However, not only did they fail to do so; they even called Muḥammad a liar. Thus they broke their covenant and forfeited God's mercy—and hence their chances of ever entering Paradise.[61]

Because the Israelites of Moses' day had broken their covenant, God made their hearts impure, so they went about misrepresenting the words that their Lord had revealed to Moses and altering them.[62] When Moses ordered the Israelites to express repentance, they changed the phrase they had been told to use.[63] Al-Ṭabarī makes it clear that this was an *oral* distortion and that the written text of God's word was not affected. The same applies in the case of the seventy elders who accompanied Moses to Mount Sinai and were allowed to hear God's speech. Once they returned to their people, some of them gave a false report of what they had heard, distorting God's spoken words but not the written Torah, as is explicitly stated by al-Ṭabarī.[64]

Taḥrīf thus took place already in Moses' day, and it continued to be practiced by Muḥammad's contemporaries. With their own hands, they wrote something which they

60. Heath, "Creative Hermeneutics," 185. On al-Ṭabarī's method, see also McAuliffe, "Quranic Hermeneutics," 47–54. For a more elaborate discussion of al-Ṭabarī's hermeneutical principles, see Gilliot, *Exégèse, langue et théologie*.

61. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ǧāmiʿ al-bayān*, ed. Šākir and Šākir (all subsequent references in the present chapter are to this edition), 1/412f., 557, 559, 560, 563; 2/254ff.; 4/272; 10/124ff.

62. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ǧāmiʿ al-bayān*, 10/126–129.

63. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ǧāmiʿ al-bayān*, 2/112, 116; 13/178.

64. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ǧāmiʿ al-bayān*, 2/247ff.

then passed off to the ignorant among themselves as part of God's revelation.[65] According to al-Ṭabarī's interpretation, the Qurʾān issues a warning to the Muslims of Medina not to expect their Jewish townsmen to have faith; their ancestors did not shirk from misrepresenting the very word of God that they themselves had heard, so it should not surprise anyone that the modern-day Jews distort the descriptions of Muḥammad that are in their book and denounce him as a liar.[66]

Al-Ṭabarī sees a parallel between the enmity of the Israelites toward God and His prophet, Moses, and the animosity of their descendants, the Jews, toward God and Muḥammad.[67] Most of all to blame in al-Ṭabarī's eyes, however, are the rabbis (*aḥbār*): they are said to have misled even their own ignorant coreligionists who could not themselves consult the Torah and who therefore ended up uttering lies, all the time thinking they were in fact part of scripture. Meanwhile, they failed to accept that which undeniably came from God, namely, Muḥammad's message.[68] The rabbis of Muḥammad's time were better qualified than anyone to inform people about the descriptions of the Prophet found in the Torah. They should know better, therefore, than to denounce the Prophet as a liar, for in denouncing him, they denounce their own scripture, which explicitly refers to him.[69]

The rabbis are admonished in the Qurʾān not to hide this knowledge in their desire for power and worldly gain. Yet some of them write a book according to their own interpretations, alongside the Torah,[70] and twist their tongues, so that the Muslims might think that what they misrepresent is from the book of God and part of His revelation, while in actual fact God never revealed any such thing to any of His prophets.[71] In so doing, they add to God's book what does not belong to it. (The context suggests that al-Ṭabarī understands these additions as oral, not textual ones). When these Jews twist their tongues, they distort the real meaning of the words into something objectionable, scorning Muḥammad and his religion.[72] Al-Ṭabarī explicitly states what he means by distorting the word of God: changing its meaning and interpretation and deliberately bending its original meaning to something else.[73]

A clear case of such misrepresentation occurred when the Jews of Medina brought an adulterous Jewish couple before the Prophet, wanting him to pass a verdict on them. The Prophet wished to judge them according to their own law, the Torah, and asked them

65. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ǧāmiʿ al-bayān*, 2/259f., 262f., 264, 265f. 269ff., 273f.; 10/129.
66. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ǧāmiʿ al-bayān*, 2/111, 244f.
67. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ǧāmiʿ al-bayān*, 2/111, 249; 10/125, 133.
68. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ǧāmiʿ al-bayān*, 1/410ff., 554, 572, 575.
69. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ǧāmiʿ al-bayān*, 1/554; 3/327, 335.
70. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ǧāmiʿ al-bayān*, 2/270ff.
71. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ǧāmiʿ al-bayān*, 6/535.
72. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ǧāmiʿ al-bayān*, 8/433ff.
73. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ǧāmiʿ al-bayān*, 2/248f.; 8/432, 435.

what penalty it prescribed. Instead of telling him truthfully that it prescribed stoning, they informed him that the Torah orders the offenders to be flogged and their faces to be blackened. When Muḥammad found out the truth, he had the couple stoned. Again, the rabbis were held responsible for this *taḥrīf*: they changed the judgment of God concerning adultery.[74] However, when the Qurʾān says that the Jews reveal much of what is in their parchments but also keep much hidden from public view, the reference, according to al-Ṭabarī, is usually to the allusions to Muḥammad and his prophethood in their scripture, which they prefer to keep hidden.[75]

There is no suggestion in al-Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr* that he believed the Torah had been lost or had perished at some point in history. In his *Annales*, however, he does state that it was burned and lost, but that Ezra miraculously restored it:

> When [the Israelites] returned to Palestine, they had no divine scripture, for the Torah had been seized and burned, and it perished. Ezra, one of the captives in Babylon who returned to Palestine, spent day and night grieving over it, in solitude. While he was in waterless valleys and in the wilderness, grieving over the Torah and weeping, lo and behold, a man approached him as he sat, and [the man] said, "O Ezra, what grieves you?" Ezra said, "I grieve over God's scripture and covenant which was among us, but our transgressions and the Lord's wrath against us came to such a pass that He made our enemy prevail. They slew our men, destroyed our country and burned our divine book, without which our worldly existence and our life to come has no meaning. What shall I weep over if not this?" The man said, "Would you like it to be returned to you?" Ezra asked, "Is that possible?" "Yes," the man replied. "Go back, fast, cleanse yourself, and cleanse your garments. Then be at this place tomorrow."
>
> Ezra went back, cleansed himself and his garments, and went to the appointed place. He sat there, and the man came carrying a vessel filled with water—he was an angel sent by God—and gave Ezra to drink from that vessel. The Torah then presented itself in Ezra's consciousness. Ezra returned to the Children of Israel and set down the Torah for them, so that they might know what it permits and what it prohibits, its patterns, precepts, and statutes. They loved it as they had never loved anything before. The Torah was established among them, and with it their cause fared well. Ezra stayed among them to carry out the divine truth. Then he died. In the course of time, the Israelites considered

74. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ǧāmiʿ al-bayān*, 10/309, 311ff. Cf. *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*, translated in *Life of Muhammad*. On Muḥammad's sentence on the Jewish couple and its consequences for Muslim practice, see Burton, *Collection of the Qurʾān*, 68–86, and Burton, *Sources of Islamic Law*, 129–156.

75. Al-Ṭabarī, *Ǧāmiʿ al-bayān*, 11/526ff.

> Ezra to be the son of God. God again sent them a prophet, as He did in the past, to direct and teach them, and to command them to follow the Torah.[76]

It would seem that in the view of the commentator, there simply existed alongside the Torah a second text, which had been written by some rabbis and mistaken by ignorant Jews for the word of God. It is possible that al-Ṭabarī suspected the Jews of his own generation of using this text instead of the genuine books of Moses, for in his historical work, he refers to the Jewish scriptures as "the Torah that they possess today."[77] This would help explain why on the whole he chooses not to use the Torah as a historical source, unlike authors such as Ibn Qutayba and al-Yaʿqūbī, who made extensive use of genuine biblical materials in their accounts of the earliest history.[78] Al-Ṭabarī, by contrast, uses only reports that have been transmitted to him via reliable channels of Muslim authorities. Thus it is on the authority of a Muslim informant that he includes his one biblical reference to the Prophet. It is a combination of elements from the book of Isaiah and the Qurʾān, and it goes back to ʿAṭāʾ b. Yasār, who says:

> I met ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr [b. al-ʿĀṣ] and asked him about the description of the Messenger of God in the Torah. He said, "Yes, by God, he is described in the Torah in the same way that he is described in the Qurʾān: 'O Prophet, We have sent thee as a witness, and as a bearer of good tidings, and a warning' [Q 33:45]; a refuge to the nations. Thou art My messenger; I have named thee the trusting. He is neither harsh nor rough, nor crying in the streets. He does not reward evil with evil, but pardons and forgives. We shall not take him until through him We have caused the crooked nation to say, There is no god but God, and through him We shall open uncircumcised hearts, deaf ears, and blind eyes."[79]

Al-Maqdisī

So far, we have encountered only authors who subscribed to the view that the misrepresentation of the Torah, referred to in the Qurʾān, concerns the *meaning* of the Torah, not its *text*. One author who disagrees is al-Maqdisī.

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76. Al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Prima series, 2/669f.; cf. *History of al-Ṭabarī*, 4/64f. For different translations, see Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds*, 54f.; Drint, "Mount Sinai Arabic Version," 55.

77. Al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Prima series, 1/16; *History of al-Ṭabarī*, 1/184.

78. Ibn Qutayba, *al-Maʿārif*, 9–52; al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīḫ*, 1/5–67. On the use of biblical materials by these authors, see Vajda, "Observations"; Lecomte, "Les citations"; Smit, *"Bijbel en Legende"*; Ebied and Wickham, "Al-Yaʿḳūbī's Account." See also Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 112–120.

79. This same testimony had earlier been adduced by Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845) in *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 1/361f.; see also Ibn Qutayba as quoted by Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Uṣūl wa-l-furūʿ*, ed. al-ʿIrāqī, 158. On the early use of this testimony, see Rubin, *Eye of the Beholder*, 30ff.

Abū Naṣr Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī,[80] who was in all likelihood a Šīʿite, is the author of a work of encyclopedic dimensions, entitled *Kitāb al-Badʾ wa-l-taʾrīḫ* (The book of creation and history).[81] It was written around the year 355/966 in Bust, in the province of Siǧistān, at the behest of a minister of the Samanid dynasty. The *nisba* al-Maqdisī indicates that the author hailed from Jerusalem, but apart from that, we know next to nothing about him. His work contains a few chance references to various cities and regions he visited, such as Bethlehem, Cairo, Upper Egypt, Takrit, and Basra—where he had discussions with a learned Jew. He also made the pilgrimage to Mecca and traveled widely in the Iranian provinces. It is not known in what capacity al-Maqdisī made these journeys nor what his position at the Samanid court was.

His sole surviving work, *al-Badʾ wa-l-taʾrīḫ*, cannot be called a traditional history, in the sense of a chronological presentation of events of the past, for it has a strong theological component. Before dealing with creation and what came after, al-Maqdisī devotes several chapters to what already was before, namely, God; these are followed by descriptions of what was created before Adam, and in this context several theological issues are tackled. On many important points he compares Muslim dogma with that of other religions, among which Judaism figures prominently. Thus, he can truly be considered a student of comparative religion. On the Messianic age and the afterlife, for example, the author gives the views of Jewish groups and individuals, unfortunately without identifying them.[82] In his discussions, he usually includes the biblical passages that are adduced by the Jewish parties in support of their own views. Jewish informants—orthodox as well as sectarian—must have been the main source for the substantial section on Jewish sects, beliefs, and customs in his book.[83] Al-Maqdisī seems to have supplemented this oral information with written sources; he refers to an enigmatic book entitled *Šarāʾiʿ al-Yahūd* (The laws of the Jews) and repeatedly claims to have read certain things "in the translation of the Torah," although the passages adduced are not always accurate. The author defends his consultation of non-Muslim sources and informants by stating that as long as their information does not patently contradict the Qurʾān and the teachings of Islam, it is acceptable. However, texts and opinions that cannot be reconciled with the teachings of Islam are to be rejected outright.

80. On al-Maqdisī and his work, see Khalidi, "Muʿtazilite Historiography"; EI2, s.v. "Al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir (or al-Muṭahhar) al-Maḳdisī," 7/762 ([Ed.]).

81. Al-Maqdisī, *al-Badʾ wa-l-Taʾrīḫ*.

82. For some examples, see Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 84ff., 126ff.

83. See al-Maqdisī, *al-Badʾ wa-l-taʾrīḫ*, 4/34–41 (32–40 in the French translation). The section on Jewish sects has been studied and translated by Wasserstrom, "Species of Misbelief," 89–94, 354–356. The Jewish practices described by al-Maqdisī are discussed in Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 84–87, 257–263.

Al-Maqdisī's attitude to the Torah is ambivalent: On the one hand, he warns that it should be used with caution since it was tampered with by the Jews. On the other hand, he interprets certain passages from this very same Torah as annunciations of Muḥammad.

As for the allegation that the Jews tampered with the Torah, al-Maqdisī claims that the text of the Torah was subjected to alteration and corruption right from the beginning. During the very lifetime of Moses, the seventy elders who had joined him on Mount Sinai distorted the divine revelation. Following the death of Ezra the scribe, who had restored the Torah for the Israelites after it had been burned by Nebuchadnezzar, the text was corrupted even further. This is what happened, according to al-Maqdisī:

> When Nebuchadnezzar destroyed Jerusalem, burned the Torah, and exiled the Israelites to the land of Babylon, the Torah disappeared from among the Jews until the time when Ezra renewed it for them, according to what they say. It has been learned from those knowledgeable about history and legends that Ezra dictated the Torah at the end of his life and died soon after having completed his task. He had handed the book over to one of his disciples and ordered him to read it before the people after his death. It is from this disciple that [the Jews] have taken their Torah and subsequently copied it. They claim that it was this disciple who corrupted [the text], adding to it and distorting it. This is why distortions and corrupted passages occur and why certain words of the Torah have been replaced by others, because it is the work of a man living after Moses, for in it is related what happened to Moses, such as how he died; how he gave his last instructions to Joshua, son of Nun; how the Israelites grieved and wept over him; and other things of which it is obvious to anyone endowed with reason that they are not the word of God, nor the word of Moses.[84]

In al-Maqdisī's view, the fact that there are certain discrepancies between the Jewish Torah, the Samaritan one, and the Greek Septuagint constitutes another argument in support of the falsification theory. He concludes: "All this points to distortions and alterations effected by them, since it is inconceivable that [the Torah] should contain contradictions coming from God. I have explained all this to you, so that you will not be discouraged when they say that Muḥammad is not mentioned in the Torah."[85] For despite the Jewish denials,[86] al-Maqdisī is convinced that the Prophet is indeed mentioned in the Torah; after all, it is explicitly stated in the Qurʾān and is therefore beyond any doubt.

84. Al-Maqdisī, *al-Badʾ wa-l-taʾrīḫ*, 5/29f. (trans. 32).

85. Al-Maqdisī, *al-Badʾ wa-l-taʾrīḫ*, 5/30 (trans. 33).

86. Some Jewish authors were prepared to acknowledge that Muḥammad and his nation were referred to in the scriptures, but only in a negative sense; none of them accepted the Muslim claim that Muḥammad's prophethood or his mission were corroborated by the Tanach. If anything, it was the falsity of these claims that could be demonstrated on the basis of the biblical text. See Ben-Shammai, "Attitude of Some Early Karaites."

Besides, "the scholars have extracted from the Torah, the Gospel, and the other books revealed by God the characteristic signs and proofs of his prophethood."[87] From one of these compilations of testimonies, al-Maqdisī quotes two quasi-biblical passages:

> "O David, say to Solomon, who will succeed you, that the world belongs to Me; I shall give it as an inheritance to a praiseworthy (*muḥammad*) one and to his nation, whose prayers are not accompanied by lutes and who do not worship me with string instruments." The confirmation of this passage is given by the Qurʾān: "For We have written in the Psalms, after the Remembrance, 'The earth shall be the inheritance of My righteous servants'" [Q 21:105]. And in the same [book] we find: "God will show from Zion a praiseworthy (*maḥmūd*) crown." They say that the crown is a metaphor of the leadership and the imamate, and that the praiseworthy one (*al-maḥmūd*) is Muḥammad.[88]

Al-Maqdisī adds that the Torah does not contain many allusions to Muḥammad and his nation, the reason for this being the corrupted state of its text. Yet he proceeds to adduce two accurate quotations, Gen. 17:20 and Deut. 33:2.[89] The interesting thing about these two quotations is not so much that al-Maqdisī interprets them as references to Muḥammad or Islam; as he himself admits, he simply took them from a list of such passages, prepared by earlier Muslim scholars. Indeed, the examples he chooses are far from original; we come across them also in the works of Ibn Rabban and Ibn Qutayba. What is original, though, is that al-Maqdisī gives these verses in the original Hebrew, accompanied by an Arabic transcription, some directions as to the pronunciation of the Hebrew, and finally an Arabic translation, which is subsequently compared with the versions given in the "extracts by the Muslim scholars."[90] The reason he gives for citing these passages in their original language is that he has found that many among the People of the Book are quick to deny their true interpretation, in imitation of their ancestors.[91] While he probably learned the Hebrew phrases from a convert from Judaism—for a renegade would be more inclined than a practicing Jew to provide such potentially sensitive information—one gets the impression that al-Maqdisī was prompted to seek this knowledge after an unsatisfactory discussion with a Jew.

As for the source of the testimonies he cites, I have argued elsewhere that al-Maqdisī may have used Ibn Qutayba's *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*.[92] However, he appears to have consulted other collections of testimonies as well. He writes that the Muslims had composed a great many treatises on the subject of the signs of Muḥammad's prophethood, some from the

87. Al-Maqdisī, *al-Badʾ wa-l-taʾrīḫ*, 5/27 (trans. 30).
88. Al-Maqdisī, *al-Badʾ wa-l-taʾrīḫ*, 5/28 (trans. 30f.).
89. Al-Maqdisī, *al-Badʾ wa-l-taʾrīḫ*, 5/30–32 (trans. 33f.).
90. Al-Maqdisī, *al-Badʾ wa-l-taʾrīḫ*, 5/33 (trans. 35).
91. Al-Maqdisī, *al-Badʾ wa-l-taʾrīḫ*, 5/29 (trans. 32).
92. Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 156.

traditionalist point of view, others from a more rationalist one. Al-Maqdisī does not mention any titles but merely states that it would be no exaggeration to say that they exceed the number of the chapters in his own work—which is twenty-two.[93] Ibn al-Nadīm mentions several works entitled *Aʿlām al-nubuwwa*, *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, *Iṯbāt al-risāla*, and others that may have been available to al-Maqdisī,[94] and several other titles might be added to this list. Yet al-Maqdisī did not fully exploit the *dalāʾil* genre, not only because he may have felt that the ground had been sufficiently covered by specialized works such as the ones mentioned here but probably also because of his own ambivalent feelings toward the Hebrew Bible.

These ambivalent feelings notwithstanding, al-Maqdisī's interest in contemporary Judaism seems genuine, and he succeeds in giving a generally fair and largely accurate description of the beliefs and practices of the Jews, in a courteous tone. It is this latter quality which is often lacking in the works of the Spaniard Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), the only one among our authors to write tracts whose express purpose was to refute Judaism.

Ibn Ḥazm

The son of an important official at the court of al-Manṣūr, the ruler of al-Andalus, Ibn Ḥazm[95] seemed destined to make a political career. However, his ambitions were frustrated by the final collapse of the Spanish Umayyad caliphate in 1031 CE and its subsequent division into numerous petty kingdoms. These events, which led Ibn Ḥazm to withdraw from the political scene and to dedicate himself entirely to learning, engendered new opportunities for non-Muslim minorities. So far, they had had to content themselves with a subordinate position, in accordance with the *ḏimma* system, and could never aspire to the highest positions in the Muslim administration. However, especially in the kingdom of Granada, Jews now reaped the benefits of the new state of affairs under the leadership of Ibn Ḥazm's Jewish counterpart, Ismāʿīl b. al-Naġrīla, also known as Shemuel ha-Nagid, with whom Ibn Ḥazm had held disputations when both men were twenty years old.[96]

Ibn al-Naġrīla was only one of many Jews with whom Ibn Ḥazm was in contact; apart from mainstream Rabbanite Jews, he also associated with skeptics and sympathizers of

93. Al-Maqdisī, *al-Badʾ wa-l-taʾrīḫ*, 5/25f. (trans. 28).

94. Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, 1/87, 1/237, 2/11, 2/62, 2/120. For a list of *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa* works, see Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 157.

95. The general literature on Ibn Ḥazm includes the following: Asín Palacios, *Abenházam de Córdoba*; Chejne, *Ibn Hazm*; Abu Laila, "Introduction to the Life"; EI2, s.v. "Ibn Ḥazm," 3/790–799 (R. Arnaldez). Cf. now also Adang, Fierro, and Schmidtke (eds.), *Ibn Ḥazm of Cordoba*. Al-Ḥārdallū's *al-Tawrāt wa-l-Yahūd* deals more specifically with Ibn Ḥazm's writings on Judaism, as do Adang, *Islam frente a Judaismo* and Rifat, "Ibn Hazm on Jews and Judaism."

96. On the Jews of al-Andalus in this period, and in particular on Ibn al-Naġrīla, see Wasserstein, *Rise and Fall*, 190–223.

the little-known ʿIsāwiyya sect.[97] Moreover, although he does not say so explicitly, he seems to have maintained close relations with members of the Karaite sect; we can discern a notable Karaite influence in his polemics against mainstream Judaism, and one gets the impression that the Karaites helped shape Ibn Ḥazm's views. This is not to say that these sectarians themselves were spared in his polemics: Ibn Ḥazm sometimes appears to have turned anti-Rabbanite arguments of apparently Karaite origin into arguments against the Jews in general, including the Karaites.[98]

References to Jews and Judaism—almost invariably of a polemical nature—may be found in several works of Ibn Ḥazm's,[99] the main ones being *al-Radd ʿalā Ibn al-Naġrīla al-Yahūdī* (Refutation of Ibn al-Naġrīla the Jew—possibly but not certainly directed against the abovementioned vizier of Granada)[100] and *Kitāb al-Fiṣal fī l-milal wa-l-ahwāʾ wa-l-niḥal* (Book of opinions on religions, sects, and heresies).[101] This latter work includes an originally separate tract[102] entitled *Iẓḥār tabdīl al-Yahūd wa-l-Naṣārā li-l-Tawrāt wa-l-Inǧīl* (Exposition of the alterations that Jews and Christians have effected in the Torah and the Gospel). Discussions of Ibn Ḥazm's knowledge of the Hebrew Bible and Judaism are usually based on these works only; the fact that some of his other works also contain important data on these topics is often overlooked.

The main arguments raised against Judaism are the following. Jewish law has been abrogated by Islam. For this reason, Muslims would do well not to use the Torah as a legal source, since they are not bound by its precepts.[103] Its value as a historical source must also be considered limited, since it dates from a much later period than is claimed by the Jews. Several of the arguments cited by Ibn Ḥazm as proof of the abrogation of the Torah had been current for at least a century; they had been refuted by Jewish authors such as

97. On Ibn Ḥazm's Jewish interlocutors, see Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 94ff. On the ʿIsāwiyya sect, see Wasserstrom, "ʿIsāwiyya Revisited," and Wasserstrom, *Between Muslim and Jew*, 69–89.

98. On Ibn Ḥazm's use of Karaite arguments, see Adang, "Eléments karaïtes."

99. In fact, most of Ibn Ḥazm's works, not only his polemical monographs, contain some criticism or other of the Jews; see, for example, his *Ǧamharat ansāb al-ʿArab*, 8, 505ff.; *al-Aḫlāq wa-l-siyar*, 48f.; *al-Iḥkām*, 445ff., 722f.

100. Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Radd ʿalā Ibn al-Naġrīla al-Yahūdī wa-rasāʾil uḫrā*, 45–81; rev. ed. in *Rasāʾil Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī*, 3/41–70. On this tract and the question of the identity of its addressee, see García Gómez, "Polémica religiosa"; Arnaldez, "Controverse d'Ibn Hazm"; Powers, "Reading/Misreading"; Wasserstein, *Rise and Fall*, 199–205; Stroumsa, "From Muslim Heresy to Jewish-Muslim Polemics"; Fierro, "Ibn Ḥazm et le *zindīq* juif" (an English translation is included in Adang, Fierro, and Schmidtke, *Ibn Ḥazm of Cordoba*: "Ibn Ḥazm and the Jewish *zindīq*," 497–509).

101. Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*. The work has been translated almost in its entirety by Miguel Asín Palacios in his *Abenházam de Córdoba*, vols 2–5.

102. See Friedlaender, "Ibn Hazm's *Milal wa'n-Nihal*." For a different view, see Aasi, "Muslim Understanding of Other Religions," 77.

103. See on this topic Adang, "Ibn Ḥazm's Critique."

Saʿadya Gaon and al-Qirqisānī (active in the first half of the tenth century CE), and also crop up in works by Muslim theologians such as al-Baqillānī (d. 403/1013).[104]

In Ibn Ḥazm's view, the main reason Muslims should steer clear of the Torah, is that it has been tampered with by the Jews in the course of history and was destroyed and ultimately substituted by a forgery. The people he seeks to convince of this are those fellow Muslims who still respect the Jewish scripture as a divine book, as may be inferred from the following passage:

> Word has reached us about certain Muslims who, in their ignorance, refuse to accept the teaching that the Torah and the Gospel that are in the hands of the Jews and the Christians have been distorted. What makes them reject this teaching is their negligible insight into the texts of the Qurʾān and the Sunna. I wonder if they have ever heard these words of God: "People of the Book! Why do you confound the truth with vanity and that wittingly?" And "a party of them conceal the truth and that wittingly," and "a sect of them twist their tongues with the Book, that you may suppose it part of the Book, yet it is not part of the Book," etc., and "they pervert words from their meanings," and there are in the Qurʾān many similar things.[105] ... We do not see how any Muslim could justifiably dispute the distortion of the Torah and the Gospel while hearing the following words of God: "Muḥammad is the Messenger of God, and those who are with him are hard against the unbelievers, merciful one to another. Thou seest them bowing, prostrating, seeking bounty from God and good pleasure. Their mark is on their faces, the trace of prostration. That is their likeness in the Torah, and their likeness in the Gospel: as a seed that puts forth its shoot, and strengthens it, and it grows stout and rises straight upon its stalk, pleasing the sowers, that through them they may enrage the un-believers."[106] Now, we do not find any of this in [the books] that the Jews and the Christians possess and which they claim to be the Torah and the Gospel. Therefore, it is inevitable that these ignorant men should accept from their Lord the fact that the Jews and the Christians have altered their Torah and Gospel.[107]

It is clear, then, that these remarks are addressed to a Muslim readership and are not aimed at convincing Jews. However, in his public disputations with them, he did try to persuade them to acknowledge the superiority of Islam,[108] but whether these attempts at converting Jews were at all successful is uncertain. I am inclined to think they were

104. On the issue of abrogation, see Adang, *Muslim Writers*, chapter 6.
105. The passages quotes are from Q 3:71; 2:146; 3:78; and 4:46; see also Q 5:13 and 5:41.
106. Q 48:29.
107. Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, 1/215f.
108. Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, 1/116; 5/120.

not, for Ibn Ḥazm would no doubt have mentioned his successes, just as he triumphantly records the times when he was able to silence a Jewish opponent.[109]

In two ways, Ibn Ḥazm seeks to show his readers that the Torah was corrupted beyond recognition. First, he gives an analysis of more than fifty passages from the Five Books of Moses, drawing attention to errors in computation, historical and geographical inaccuracies, blasphemous assertions (such as anthropomorphisms), and statements that contradict each other or, even more damning, contradict the Qurʾān.[110] Second, he traces the fate of the Torah in the remaining books of the Bible, of which his knowledge was somewhat more superficial.[111] Both analyses lead him to conclude that the Torah as it was known in his day was not to be equated with the text originally revealed to Moses, which must now be presumed lost.

Like al-Maqdisī, Ibn Ḥazm gives an account of what happened to the Torah following Moses' death. His version of events is much more detailed and gives a rather less sympathetic description of Ezra's role in the genesis of "the Jewish Torah." According to Ibn Ḥazm, the Israelites turned to foreign gods soon after Moses died. He was succeeded by a series of rulers, the judges, quite a few of whom were idolators. Under their rule, the Israelites began to hold the Torah in contempt, subjecting it to distortion. After a brief discussion of David and Solomon, Ibn Ḥazm deals at length with their successors on the throne of Judah and describes their attitude to religion.

Following the biblical books of Kings and Chronicles, he finds that of the twenty successors to King Solomon, no fewer than fifteen worshiped idols. The kings of Israel were even more depraved. All the while, there was only one single copy of the Torah in existence, and this was kept in the Temple, where the only ones to have access to it were the High Priests. They had ample opportunity to tamper with the Torah at will; the common people had no way of noticing the difference.[112]

And as if all this were not enough to guarantee the destruction of the unique copy of the Torah, the Temple was sacked and pillaged several times. Moreover, one king of the house of David deleted the name of God from the text, and his successor surpassed him in impiety by committing the Torah to the flames.[113] With the invasion of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, who razed the Temple to the ground, every remaining doubt concerning the fate of the Torah was removed. The inhabitants of Judah were deported to Babylon,

109. See, for example, Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, 1/135.

110. Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, 1/116–186.

111. Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, 1/187–203. He does reveal a substantial knowledge of the genealogy of the Israelites and their kings, both in this tract and in his *Ǧamharat ansāb al-ʿArab*, 503–511.

112. Ibn Ḥazm's allegation that there was only one copy of the Torah and that its contents were unknown to the people was to be denied vigorously by the great Jewish thinker Maimonides (d. 1204 CE); see Lazarus-Yafeh, "*Taḥrīf* and Thirteen Torah Scrolls."

113. On the possible origins of this accusation (the Talmud; the book of Jeremiah; the apocryphal book of 4 Ezra), see Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 244f.

where they developed a new religion, Judaism, which, with its newly invented prayers and rituals, was totally different from the original Mosaic faith. When they were allowed to return to Jerusalem, they not only rebuilt their Temple but also rewrote their Torah, and it is plain to see that it does not represent the divine revelation.

But if God was not the author of this Law, who, then, was? Ibn Ḥazm has no clear answer. Sometimes, *the* Israelites or *the* Jews are collectively held responsible, or the accusing finger is pointed at an anonymous Jew, who is described in turn as an ignoramus who did not have the faintest notion of, say, geography and mathematics and as a very cunning individual, who maliciously passed off this blasphemous nonsense as the word of God with the object of making fun of religion in general or of discrediting his fellow Jews, for whatever reason.[114] However, on several occasions, Ibn Ḥazm identifies the forger as Ezra, the biblical scribe, who, as we have seen, had been credited by Ibn Qutayba, al-Ṭabarī, and al-Maqdisī with restoring the Torah.[115] According to Ibn Ḥazm, Ezra dictated a new Torah, allegedly from memory but in reality changing it so dramatically that the result no longer resembles the divine original. It is on this false "revelation" that the Jewish religion is based.

The true Torah was once more revealed to Jesus, the Messiah, along with the Gospel, but with Jesus' ascension to heaven, both holy scriptures were taken up also and mankind was left with corrupted scriptures until Muḥammad came to restore these books in their original glory. The only way in which Jews and Christians can fulfill the precepts of their scriptures is by embracing Islam and fulfilling the laws of the Qurʾān.[116]

Like al-Maqdisī, Ibn Ḥazm adduces discrepancies between the Jewish, Samaritan, and Greek versions of the Torah as additional proof of the unreliability of the former scripture.[117] But however unreliable Ibn Ḥazm thinks the Jewish scriptures are, he does not hesitate to quote passages from them that he believes refer to Muḥammad. He has a simple explanation for this paradox: God preserved these particular passages and a few others from distortion. They thus constitute the only genuine elements in "Ezra's Torah."[118]

According to Ibn Ḥazm, it was not only the Jewish scriptures that were falsified; the very religion of the Jews in no way resembles the original Mosaic faith. The rabbis are held responsible for the creation of Judaism as it was known in Ibn Ḥazm's day, an argument which seems to echo Karaite views.[119]

114. Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, 1/123, 128, 129, 134, 135, 138, 140, 150.
115. Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, 1/117, 178, 187, 197, 198, 210.
116. Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, 1/212f.
117. Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, 1/99, 117; 2/6–10.
118. For a translation of these passages, see Adang, "Hitherto Neglected Biblical Material" [chapter 5 in the present volume], and Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 160f.
119. See Adang, "Eléments karaïtes," and Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 102ff.

Throughout his polemic, Ibn Ḥazm shows a rare familiarity with the text of the Hebrew Bible, albeit in Arabic translation. He does not seem to have had a complete copy of the Torah at his disposal. As for the remaining books of the Jewish canon, he presumably relied on a set of excerpts. This is true also for the rabbinical sources he attacks.

While Ibn Ḥazm's familiarity with the biblical text was exceptional and had no parallels among his predecessors, his knowledge of Jewish beliefs and practices was less of an exception, as a comparison with the works of authors such as al-Maqdisī and al-Bīrūnī (d. ca. 442/1050) reveals. It should also be pointed out that Ibn Ḥazm's motives for inquiring into Jewish matters differed from those of the other two authors: whereas the latter sought to inform their readers, Ibn Ḥazm's criterion for the inclusion of information on Judaism seems to have been the degree to which the material served his polemical purposes.

Finally, mention should be made of the author's attitude toward the Jews. His polemical writings are characterized by vituperative language, which has led some scholars to consider him a virtual anti-Semite.[120] However, his polemics denounce Christians and Muslim sectarians in similar terms as well, so his wrath is by no means limited to the Jews. Furthermore, when one looks beyond Ibn Ḥazm's polemical writings to include his legal writings, one finds that his rulings concerning social interaction between Muslims and Jews (as well as Christians) are often milder than those of jurists belonging to other legal schools, a fact which has so far received little attention. Nevertheless, it should be kept in mind that this reflects Ibn Ḥazm's strict adherence to the principles of the Ẓāhirī or literalist school of law, rather than a liberal spirit.[121]

Conclusions

In this essay we have examined some polemical arguments used by Muslim writers from the classical period against the Jewish scriptures. Apart from biblical references to the Prophet Muḥammad, the issue that dominates in the works of the authors under review (as well as in the Qurʾān) is that of the authenticity or spuriousness of the Torah, which in its wider sense includes the remaining books of the Hebrew Bible. Each author in his own way reveals an ambivalent attitude to the Jewish scriptures. This is not surprising, since already the Qurʾān displays a tension between the statement that the Torah is a divine scripture which refers to Muḥammad, on the one hand, and the allegation

120. Ibn Ḥazm's vile language (see Perlmann, "Eleventh-Century Andalusian Authors," 157, for some examples) has led some scholars to employ the terms "anti-Semitic" or "almost anti-Semitic"; see Emilio García Gómez's introduction to Ibn Ḥazm, *El collar de la paloma*, 48, and Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds*, 66.

121. On the Ẓāhirī school and Ibn Ḥazm's contribution to it, see Goldziher, *Ẓāhirīs*; Osman, *The Ẓāhirī Madhhab.*

of scriptural misrepresentation, on the other. Ibn Rabban and Ibn Qutayba feel justified to use the Jewish scriptures for their own apologetical purposes by subscribing to the view that it was only the interpretation, not the text, of the Torah that was distorted; al-Ṭabarī agrees and yet generally chooses to steer clear of the Jewish scriptures, while both al-Maqdisī and Ibn Ḥazm reject them as a forgery. Yet even these two authors will accept some passages as genuine, namely, those supposedly referring to the Prophet. Both interpretations of *taḥrīf*, the mild one and the radical one, have their partisans among modern Muslim authors.

Chapter Three
Muslim-Jewish Polemics

Camilla Adang and Sabine Schmidtke

The Qurʾān and Its Exegesis

The Muslim polemic against Judaism and its adherents is a phenomenon as old as Islam, and the Qurʾān was its very first source. Its *sūra*s, especially the ones from the period of Muḥammad's preaching in Medina (622–632 CE), proffer the following arguments, among others: unlike the Christians, the Jews are hostile to the Prophet and the Muslims; the cumbersome Jewish laws, especially the dietary laws, were a punishment from God for the Jews' disobedience, but are now lifted by the new dispensation; the Jews are too attached to earthly life; and their excessive reverence for their leaders, the rabbis, compromises their monotheism. Moreover, much as Christians consider Jesus to be the son of God, the Jews hold ʿUzayr (usually identified with the biblical Ezra the Scribe) to be the son of God. The overall negative judgment of the Jews reflects Muḥammad's tense relations with them, the result of their refusal to acknowledge him as a true prophet and to accept his authority in Medina. Just as the Israelites had rejected the earlier messengers sent by God to their nation, so their descendants, the Jews, rebuffed Muḥammad.

More numerous and important, however, are the arguments that concern the very foundation of the Jewish faith, namely, the Torah. According to the Qurʾān, this earlier scripture, revealed by God to Moses and now abrogated, contains references to the mission of the Prophet Muḥammad. At the same time, the Torah is said to have been tampered with by the Jews (*taḥrīf*). The notion that the earlier revelations have been superseded, or at least qualified, is found in Qurʾān 7:157, where God promises to show His mercy to those Jews and Christians who follow Muḥammad, the prophet described in the Torah and the Gospel, who will "enjoin on them that which is right and forbid them that which is wrong. He will make lawful for them all good things and prohibit for them only the foul; and he will relieve them of their burden and the fetters that they used to wear" (trans. M. M. Pickthall).

The verses mentioning *taḥrīf* are Qurʾān 2:75–79, 4:46, 5:13, and 5:41. In other verses, the Israelites and/or their descendants, the Jews, are accused of confounding the truth with vanity (Q 2:42, 3:71) or concealing the truth (e.g., Q 3:187), and of hiding part of the

Book (Q 6:91), substituting words (Q 2:59, 7:162), and twisting their tongues when reciting the Book (Q 3:78). Some verses combine several accusations (e.g., Q 2:42, 3:71, 4:46). Often it is the Jews and the Christians together who are accused of tampering with their scriptures. Two different views developed of what this tampering entailed. Most polemicists and exegetes, and the majority of Muslims following after them, held that it was the very text of the scriptures that had been corrupted (*taḥrīf al-naṣṣ*). A small minority believed that this was the result not so much of willful, conscious distortion as of carelessness or powerlessness. The other view was that the Jews had distorted not the text of their scriptures but only their interpretation of them (*taḥrīf al-maʿnā*, *al-maʿānī*). Those who adhered to this view were also divided; some believed that the Jews knowingly provided a wrong interpretation of their scriptures in an attempt to obscure the direct or oblique references to the Prophet that the Torah is said to contain, whereas others exonerated the Jews by arguing that they failed to fully understand their scriptures and therefore did not recognize the descriptions of Islam and its prophet. The first view—that the Jews deliberately distorted their scriptures—came to be the dominant one and therefore poses an obstacle to attempts at dialogue between Judaism and Islam. According to those who believe that either the scriptural text or its interpretation was deliberately tampered with, the Israelites and later the Jews were motivated by a desire to delete or obscure the scriptural references to Muḥammad, as well as by an aversion to certain God-given commandments, such as stoning adulterers.

Despite all the negative references to Jews in the Qurʾān, it should not be forgotten that this same scripture guarantees their status as a protected community under Islam (*ḏimmīs*), in exchange for the payment of a poll tax, or *ǧizya* (Q 9:29).

The Tradition and the Biographies of Muḥammad

An ambivalent attitude is also encountered in the tradition literature (*ḥadīṯ*), which is believed to document the Prophet's sayings and custom (*sunna*) and is regarded as the second sacred source of Islam. Muḥammad is reported to have disapproved of contacts between Muslims and Jews and to have discouraged believers from consulting them or their scriptures, as some Muslims were wont to do because the Qurʾān contains so many references to biblical prophets and episodes. The Prophet is also said to have admonished his community not to imitate Jewish customs. On other occasions, however, he is said to have given permission to transmit knowledge obtained from the Jews, and this opened the gates for the proliferation of stories about the Israelites (*Isrāʾīliyyāt*) and their prophets (*qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*) that often have only a tenuous connection to the biblical text. Such contradictions probably reveal more about the attitude of the transmitters and collectors of tradition than about Muḥammad himself.

The earliest biographies of Muḥammad—the *Sīra* of Ibn Isḥāq (d. 150/767) and its edition by Ibn Hišām (d. 218/833), which rely heavily on the Qurʾān and the *ḥadīṯ*—recount some episodes that cast Muḥammad's Jewish contemporaries in a negative light. The

Christian monk Baḥīrā, who knew from his reading of scripture that a new prophet was about to appear and recognized him as such when he met him, is said to have warned Abū Ṭālib, Muḥammad's uncle, that the Jews would try to harm his nephew. Once Muḥammad moved to Medina, the Jews indeed conspired with his archenemies, the Qurayš of Mecca, to bring him down. As punishment for their treason, Muḥammad expelled two Jewish tribes from Medina and had the men of a third tribe killed. Apart from some individuals who embraced Islam in the lifetime of the Prophet, the Jews are depicted as devious and unreliable.

Kalām Theology

Of a completely different nature and level are the discussions of Jews and Judaism in the works of theologians belonging to the Muʿtazila, a school of rationalist thought that developed in the third/ninth century in Basra and Baghdad. The first theologians to polemicize against Judaism seem to have been the Muʿtazilites al-Aṣamm (d. 200/816 or 201/817), Bišr b. al-Muʿtamir (d. 210/825–226/840), and Abū l-Huḏayl (d. in or after 226/840), but their refutations, mentioned by the bibliographer Ibn al-Nadīm (d. ca. 385/995) in his *Fihrist*, have not come down to us. The earliest extant text is a fragment ascribed to al-Naẓẓām (d. between 220/835 and 230/845), likewise a Muʿtazilite, which purports to be the record of a debate between himself and a Jew called Manassā b. Ṣāliḥ on the abrogation of the Torah. Arguments similar to the ones found here may be encountered in the work of another Muʿtazilite, al-Nāšiʾ al-Akbar (d. 293/906). It may be assumed that the earlier tracts in refutation of Judaism, too, centered on the issue of abrogation (*nasḫ*) and that little or no mention was made of the distortion of the scriptures or their interpretation. This is not surprising; once it could be demonstrated on rational and historical grounds that the Torah had been abrogated and supplanted by the laws of Islam, there was no further need to wonder whether the scripture had been tampered with; it sufficed to show that the scripture had lost its past validity and was therefore of no account to Muslims. The Jews, it was held, should accept Muḥammad's prophethood on the basis of the same rational proofs.

Other Muʿtazilites who are known to have written tracts specifically directed against Judaism were the famous polymath al-Ǧāḥiẓ (d. 255/868–69) and the Abbasid caliph al-Maʾmūn (170/786–218/833). Other theologians included paragraphs refuting Judaism (mainly its refusal to accept the possibility of abrogation of the Torah) in their theological *summae*, as did Ibn Ḫallād (d. before mid-fourth/tenth century) in his *Kitāb al-Uṣūl*, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī (d. 369/980) in his *Kitāb al-Īḍāḥ*, which is lost, and ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamaḏānī (d. 415/1025) in his *Kitāb al-Muġnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wa-l-ʿadl*, his *Kitāb al-Muḥīṭ*, and his *Šarḥ al-Uṣūl al-ḫamsa* (the latter is known solely in a recension by his disciple Mānkdīm).

Discussions of *nasḫ* thus became a fixed ingredient in *kalām* tracts and may be found also in the works of *mutakallimūn* belonging to schools that developed in reaction to the

Muʿtazila, namely the Ašʿariyya and the Māturīdiyya, such as al-Bāqillānī's (d. 403/1013) *Kitāb al-Tamhīd*, al-Ǧuwaynī's (d. 478/1085) *Kitāb al-Iršād ilā qawāṭiʿ al-adilla fī uṣūl al-iʿtiqād*, and al-Māturīdī's (d. 333/944) *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd*. Like their Muʿtazilite counterparts, these authors do not include extensive discussions of the falsification issue in their works. The *mutakallimūn* do not, as a rule, touch upon the question of whether the Torah and the remaining Jewish canon contain references to Muḥammad, probably regarding such annunciations as a secondary proof at best of his prophethood. A noteworthy exception is Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1044), founder of the last innovative school of Muʿtazilism, whose *Kitāb Ġurar al-adilla*, which is lost, contained a comprehensive discussion of biblical predictions of Muḥammad that he had culled from *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* by Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī (d. ca. 251/865), a Christian convert to Islam.

Traditionally Minded Theologians

Among the polemical works by more traditionally minded theologians, it is especially the works of Ibn Ḥazm (al-Andalus, d. 456/1064), al-Qarāfī (Egypt, d. 684/1285), and Ibn Qayyim al-Ǧawziyya (Syria, d. 751/1350) that should be mentioned, both because of the wealth of polemical detail they provide and because of the influence they had on the development of the genre. The most important tracts by these authors, *Kitāb al-Fiṣal fī l-milal wa-l-ahwāʾ wa-l-niḥal*, *Kitāb al-Aǧwiba al-fāḫira ʿan al-asʾila al-fāǧira*, and *Hidāyat al-ḥayārā fī aǧwibat al-Yahūd wa-l-Naṣārā*, respectively, are aimed at Jews and Christians alike. This in fact reflects the situation in the Qurʾān, in which numerous verses with polemical content are directed at the two Peoples of the Book, accusing both of distortion, hiding testimonies, refusing to accept the abrogation of their scriptures and laws, displaying excessive reverence toward religious hierarchs, adhering to a flawed monotheism, and so on.

Apart from a work collectively refuting Judaism and Christianity, Ibn Ḥazm wrote an emotionally charged denunciation of an unnamed Jew, appointed by an unknown king to high office in an unnamed *ṭāʾifa* state in al-Andalus, who had allegedly dared to write a tract criticizing the Qurʾān. Although Ibn Ḥazm's vitriolic epistle is entitled "Refutation of Ibn al-Naġrīla the Jew," the question of whether one of the two Jewish viziers of Granada of this name really composed a work against the sacred book of Islam is much disputed in scholarship.

Another tract often, though erroneously, thought to be specifically directed against Judaism is *Kitāb ʿalā l-Tawrāt*, by the Egyptian scholar ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Bāǧī (d. 714/1314), which discusses alleged contradictions in the Pentateuch. Contrary to the rationalist theologians, the authors in this category adduce the biblical passages they interpret as references to Muḥammad, the most popular verses being Gen. 17:29, Deut. 18:18f. and 33:2f., and Isa. 21:6–10.

Among the secondary polemical allegations that are not, as a rule, found in the works of the *mutakallimūn* but are encountered in some of the works referred to here are the following: the Israelites had a history of harming the prophets sent to them by God; their

descendants, the Jews, followed their example and wished to harm Muḥammad; a Jew stands at the cradle of every sect and heresy within Islam; the *ḏimmī* status of the Jews is a sign of inferiority and divine displeasure; and the Jews conceive of God in human terms (anthropomorphism).

Early Modern Period

Using much the same arguments as their predecessors, Muslim writers continued to compose polemical tracts against Judaism during the early modern period, although most of these materials still need to be unearthed in public and private libraries, particularly in Turkey and Iran. In the Ottoman lands, Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā Ṭāškubrīzāde's (d. 968/1561) polemic was apparently widely read. Polemical tracts against Judaism were also written by two authors of the Safavid period better known for their anti-Christian polemics: ʿAlī Qulī Ǧadīd al-Islām, a Christian convert to Islam in the seventeenth century, who composed a *Radd bar Yahūd*, and Sayyid Aḥmad ʿAlawī (d. between 1054/1644 and 1060/1650), the author of *Ṣawāʿiq al-Raḥmān dar radd-i maḏhab-i Yahūdān*. In addition, as in earlier periods, polemical arguments against Judaism were often incorporated into works primarily directed against Christianity, such as Āqā Muḥammad ʿAlī Bihbahānī's (d. 1216/1801) *Rādd-i šubuhāt al-kuffār*.

Polemics by Jewish Converts to Islam

A particularly interesting phenomenon is the fact that many of the extant works of Muslim polemics were written by Jewish converts to Islam. Tracts by former Jews who attacked the religion of their ancestors include Samawʾal al-Maġribī's (d. 570/1175) influential *Ifḥām al-Yahūd*; Saʿīd b. Ḥasan of Alexandria's *Kitāb Masālik al-naẓar* (written 720/1320); ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Islāmī's *al-Sayf al-mamdūd fī l-radd ʿalā aḥbār al-Yahūd* (written ca. 797/1395); and *Taʾyīd al-milla* by an unknown author who probably wrote in the eighth/fourteenth century. Most of these authors, who were active in Iraq, Egypt, North Africa, and Spain, respectively, open or conclude their tracts with more or less detailed accounts of the circumstances of their conversion. The same is true for a number of less well known converts from the Ottoman period, such as Salām ʿAbd al-ʿAllām, ʿAbd al-Salām al-Muhtadī or al-Daftarī, and Ibn Abī ʿAbd al-Dayyān (tenth/sixteenth and eleventh/seventeenth cent.), and from early modern Iran, such as Muḥammad Riḍā Yazdī Ǧadīd al-Islām (thirteenth/nineteenth cent.), the author of *Iqāmat al-šuhūd fī radd al-Yahūd fī manqūl al-Riḍā*. The fact that these authors had a Jewish background does not necessarily mean that they possessed a larger, or more original, arsenal of arguments. In fact, there is little in their works that cannot already be found, with some variations, in the refutations of Judaism written by their native Muslim predecessors. In this context, reference should be made also to Ḥāǧǧī Bābā Qazwīnī Yazdī, the son of a convert, who in 1797 wrote his *Maḥḍar al-šuhūd fī radd-i Yahūd*.

Jewish Reactions

Jews took up the defense of their scripture and religion in polemical and apologetical tracts that were usually meant for internal consumption and written in Judeo-Arabic. The Jewish *mutakallimūn* of the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries refuted, in particular, the Muslim arguments for the abrogation of the Mosaic legislation as laid down by Muʿtazilite authors and argued, using rational and scriptural arguments, that the Torah had not been and would not be superseded. They did not address the allegation of scriptural corruption, which, as mentioned above, was also not usually raised by their Muslim counterparts. As for the biblical testimonies adduced by the Muslims, Rabbanite and Karaite commentators did not deny that Islam was referred to in the Hebrew Bible: it was the last of the four kingdoms that would subjugate Israel, according to the Book of Daniel, and redemption would come when this kingdom ended. However, this was in no way to be taken as an endorsement of Muslim claims that Muḥammad was a true prophet. If anything, it was an assertion that the falsity of his claims could be demonstrated on the basis of the biblical text.

Relatively few polemical tracts against Islam were written by Jewish authors, but the assumption that Jews, as a small minority, refrained from criticizing Islam or Muslim scholars for fear of reprisals is not altogether correct. The Rabbanite gaon Samuel ben Ḥofni, for example, responded at length to the polemical arguments against Judaism of Ibn Ḥallād and Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī in his *Kitāb Nasḫ al-šarʿ*, and among the Karaites al-Qirqisānī and Abū l-Ḥusayn Ibn Mašiaḥ both wrote books concerning the prophecy of Muḥammad that are lost, while Yūsuf al-Baṣīr refuted the Muslim notion of the miraculous inimitability of the Qurʾān (*iʿǧāz al-Qurʾān*). Al-Baṣīr is also known to have composed a *Kitāb al-Istiʿāna* or *al-Naqḍ ʿalā Abī Ǧaʿfar al-Ṭabarī*, now lost, that was most likely directed against the famous exegete and historian al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923). ʿAlī b. Sulaymān wrote against the Muslim claim of *taḥrīf*, Saʿadya Gaon (d. 942 CE) refuted Muslim arguments against the eternal validity of the Torah in his *Kitāb al-Amānāt wa-l-iʿtiqādāt*, and Yehuda ha-Levi (d. 1141 CE) defended Judaism against Muslim contentions in his *Kuzari*.

Even if we discount Ibn Ḥazm's allegation that a Jewish official in one of the party-kingdoms of al-Andalus had written a tract critical of the Qurʾān, there are various other tracts worth mentioning, such as Maimonides' (d. 1204 CE) *Iggeret Teman*, *Bustān al-ʿuqūl* by the twelfth-century Yemeni writer Nethanel Fayyūmī, and *Divre Yosef*, a chronicle of the Jews in the Islamic world that has some polemical elements directed against Islam, written by the seventeenth-century Egyptian author Joseph Sambari. Replies were also written by Jewish authors in Christian Spain who most likely did not know any Arabic and depended on translations. These include Ibn Adret's (d. 1310 CE) counterrefutation of Ibn Ḥazm, *Maʾamar ʿal Yishmaʿel*, and Simeon ben Ṣemaḥ Duran's (d. 1444 CE) *Keshet u-Magen*, which has a section on Islam. Moreover, Samawʾal al-Maġribī's influential *Ifḥām al-Yahūd* was refuted at least twice—by ʿIzz al-Dawla Ibn Kammūna (d. 1284 CE), who refuted most of the charges against Judaism in chapter 2 of his *Tanqīḥ al-abḥāṯ li-l-milal al-ṯalāṯ*, and by

an anonymous Rabbanite author who seems to have lived during the fourteenth century. Finally, the *Duties of Judah*, a Judeo-Persian work by an Iranian rabbi, Judah ben Eleazar, included a lengthy polemical section against Islam.

Oral Disputations

Polemical exchanges did not take place only in writing; in fact, many written polemics may have originated in, and reflect, oral disputations held in private circles or in a specially convened *mağlis* (session). The Mālikī legal scholar Ibn Saḥnūn of Qayrawan (d. 256/870) is said to have held a disputation with a learned Jew in Egypt that lasted several hours. It was initially private in nature, but it turned into a public event as more and more locals flocked in to witness the verbal wrestling match, which ended in the defeat and subsequent conversion of the Jew, as is often the case in such accounts, if not necessarily in reality. Ibn Ḥazm was notorious for his fierce debates with his opponents, among whom Jews figured prominently. *Mağlis* sessions in which Jews were invited, or at times even summoned, to participate and to argue for their religion were held either in the salons of leading intellectuals or under the auspices and in the presence of members of the ruling elite, such as viziers, governors, sultans, and even caliphs.

The sessions in which representatives of different faiths were pitted against each other were governed by a strict protocol in which courtesy was a prime condition, in theory if not always in practice. Several texts purporting to document such dialogues have been preserved, though more often than not the accounts are fictitious or at least heavily embellished to the advantage of the party represented by the author of the account. The eighth Šīʿite imam, ʿAlī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā (d. 203/818), reportedly engaged in a public disputation with a Christian patriarch and a Jewish exilarch that is recorded by Abū Ǧaʿfar Ibn Bābawayh (d. 381/991) in his *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd* and his *ʿUyūn aḫbār al-Riḍā*. During the Fatimid period, there were *mağālis* in which Jews were forced to participate, particularly those convened by the Fatimid vizier Ibn Killis (d. 380/991), who was himself a convert from Judaism. During the Buyid period, there were frequent interreligious *mağālis* in which *mutakallimūn* from different faiths participated, and it may well be that the works of Samuel ben Ḥofni and Yūsuf al-Baṣīr (who are both known to have participated in such sessions) and other Rabbanite and Karaite theologians (see above) were in fact written as manuals or guides for participants in such sessions.

In fourth/tenth-century Baghdad, there were also less formal conversations between adherents of different faiths, such as the discussion between the Christian theologian Abū l-Ḫayr Dāwūd b. Mūsağ with the abovementioned Jewish *mutakallim* Ibn Mašiaḥ. Another famous example from a later period is the debate of the Twelver Šīʿite scholar Sayyid Muḥammad Mahdī al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī al-Burūğirdī ("Baḥr al-ʿUlūm," d. 1212/1797) with the Jews of Ḏū l-Kifl, which took place in the year 1796 CE and was recorded by one of his students. The account was widely transmitted in writing and was translated into Persian.

Nonpolemical Accounts of Judaism

It should not be assumed that intellectual exchanges between Muslims and Jews were inevitably polemical in nature. In addition to writers moved by polemical considerations, authors of works of an encyclopedic or comparative character often included information on Jews and Judaism. Their interest in Judaism and their obvious respect for its traditions and history reflect a growing intellectual curiosity among Muslims about the religions and cultures that could be encountered within the boundaries of the Islamic empire and beyond. The descriptions of other religions by such writers did not treat Judaism any differently from Christianity or Zoroastrianism. By including discussions of contemporary Judaism, these authors accorded it a place among the great cultures of their time. The sources they used were often the same ones that were at the disposal of the polemicists, but unfortunately in many cases they cannot be identified. Examples include al-Yaʿqūbī's (d. ca. 292/905) *Tārīḫ*, a two-part work dealing with pre-Islamic history and the history of Islam. Apparently the earliest universal history written by a Muslim author, it recounts the history of the biblical patriarchs and the Israelites, including a paragraph on Jewish beliefs and practices. Al-Masʿūdī's (d. 345/956) chronicle *Murūǧ al-ḏahab* also gives a detailed account of biblical history, and his *al-Tanbīh wa-l-išrāf*, an encyclopedia of general culture, likewise makes many references to biblical history and Judaism. Al-Maqdisī's *Kitāb al-Badʾ wa-l-tārīḫ* (written ca. 355/966) contains the most extensive description of Jewish beliefs and practices by a Muslim writer so far, and this description was incorporated lock, stock, and barrel by the later Egyptian historian al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442). Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī's (d. between 350/961 and 360/971) *Kitāb Sinī al-mulūk* provides a dispassionate account of biblical history, which is quoted by the astronomer Abū l-Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī (d. ca. 442/1050), who composed encyclopedic writings in a variety of genres. Al-Bīrūnī's impressive knowledge of Jewish matters, notably the intricacies of the Jewish calendar with its festivals and fasts, is displayed especially in his *al-Āṯār al-bāqiya* and *al-Qānūn al-masʿūdī*. In his *Ṭabaqāt al-umam*, Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī of Toledo (d. 462/1070) discusses the contributions of different nations to science and includes the Jews among them. The Egyptian scholar Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (d. 668/1270) wrote a biographical dictionary of medical doctors, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, which features a number of Jews, among them Maimonides.

Several of these authors made a point of consulting Jews on matters pertaining to their scripture, history, and religion, in some cases even indicating the names of their interlocutors. Thus, al-Masʿūdī's Jewish interlocutors included Saʿadya and the latter's teacher Abū l-Kaṯīr of Tiberias. That the information quoted by the Muslim authors on the authority of Jewish interlocutors was not always fully accurate is not surprising. Not every Jew was necessarily an expert in Hebrew, Jewish law, or theology, and if the information was provided by someone who had converted to Islam, chances are that it was somewhat colored.

Modern Developments

Polemical exchanges were, on the whole, courteous in tone, the most notable exception being the Andalusi Ibn Ḥazm, who was known for his rather indiscriminate vilification of opponents even if they were Muslims. His case demonstrates that contacts with Jews and familiarity with their beliefs were not automatically conducive to a respectful attitude. Although his vituperative language has caused scholars to regard him as an antisemite *avant la lettre*, there is little else in Muslim polemical writing from the periods discussed so far that could be termed antisemitic in the sense of negative racial stereotyping. The Jews are upbraided mainly for stubbornly adhering to their ancestral traditions and to a scripture they know to be superseded, if not corrupted, and for refusing to accept the prophet they know to be the messenger of God. The situation changed dramatically in the nineteenth century under the influence of European, including Russian, antisemitic writings, such as the infamous *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (which are still widely available in the Arab world).

A full discussion of polemical writing against Jews and Judaism in the modern period would exceed the scope of the present survey; suffice it to say that allegations that were common in European anti-Jewish literature, such as blood libels and conspiracy theories, now began to be vented in popular and populist preaching and publications. Jewish aspirations to establish a national home in Palestine and the subsequent creation of the State of Israel added a further political dimension, which nowadays pervades the polemical discourse. The allegation of textual corruption of the Torah discussed above is now used to delegitimize Jewish claims to the Holy Land by stating that these are based on a forged scripture: in the original, unadulterated Torah the promise made by God to Abraham was addressed to the offspring of Ishmael, namely, the Arabs, not to the descendants of Isaac, that is, the Jews. The latter simply changed the names, thus defrauding the Arabs of the Holy Land.

Chapter Four
The Muslim Reception of Biblical Materials: Ibn Qutayba and His *Aʿlām al-Nubuwwa*

Sabine Schmidtke

I.

From the very beginning, the legacy of the Hebrew Bible and, to a lesser extent, the New Testament has been an important element in shaping the Muslim tradition. The Qurʾān situates itself as the ultimate revelatory step within a progressive series of divine dispensations and reflects an intimate awareness of the earlier scriptures and of a much longer list of earlier prophets, with the Qurʾānic revelation being the full and final dispensation and Muḥammad being the "seal of the prophets" (*ḫātam al-nabiyyīn*; Q 33:40).[1] However, the Qurʾān's stance toward the Bible is an inherently ambivalent one, and this ambivalence has characterized the Muslim tradition ever since. On the one hand, the authenticity of the earlier scriptures as divine dispensation is accepted, as the Qurʾān acknowledges a large degree of correspondence between itself and the earlier revelations and claims to continue and to confirm, to renew and to clarify the earlier ones (Q 2:89, 101; 3:3; 4:47; 5:15, 19, 48; 46:12, 30). Closely related to this is the Qurʾānic claim that the former scriptures contained annunciations of Muḥammad, as is indicated in Q 2:127–129, Q 7:157, and Q 61:6. This attitude toward the Bible gave rise to what has been aptly called Muslim biblical scholarship.[2] Its representatives set out to substantiate the Qurʾānic claim that the Bible had foretold the coming of the Prophet Muḥammad, or used biblical materials in their own writings for other purposes and thus acknowledged the Muslim tradition's partial reliance on Jewish and Christian materials in its early history. On the other hand, the Qurʾān claims to abrogate (*nasḫ*) the earlier scriptures as obsolete, denies that Muḥammad had been informed by Jews and Christians in his vicinity (Q 16:103; 29:48),[3]

1. For this and other interpretations of the term, see Stroumsa, "'Seal of the Prophets.'"
2. See McAuliffe, "Qurʾānic Context"; McAuliffe, "Prediction and Prefiguration," 113ff.
3. Gilliot,"Informants"; Gilliot, "Les 'informateurs' juifs et chrétiens de Muḥammad."

and, perhaps most importantly, accuses both Jews and Christians of having tampered with their scriptures (Q 2:75–79; 4:46; 5:13).[4] This negative view of the earlier scriptures would render any search for confirmation of Muḥammad's prophethood in the Bible futile, as the earlier dispensations are either superseded or beyond men's reach.[5]

In a wide range of early Muslim literature, most importantly Qurʾānic exegesis, historiography, and *ḥadīṯ*, as well as the more specific literary genres of *dalāʾil* (or *aʿlām*) *al-nubuwwa* and *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, heavily Islamicized canonical and extracanonical biblical materials figure prominently,[6] partly to substantiate the Qurʾānic claim that Muḥammad had been predicted and described in the Bible,[7] and partly as raw material for accounts of universal history, of which the lives of the earlier "prophets" often constitute a substantial part.[8] Apart from adaptations of (pseudo)biblical materials and motifs, it was not unusual, especially among authors of the early centuries of Islam, to adduce direct biblical quotations in their writings. Three prominent examples of the third/ninth century are the Zaydī Imam al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Rassī (b. ca. 169/785, d. 246/860), who was intimately familiar with Christian theological notions and with the Bible, which he quoted freely in some of his writings;[9] Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Muslim b. Qutayba (b. 213/828, d. 276/889), who adduces numerous direct biblical quotations in some of his major works;[10] and Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Yaʿqūbī (d. in or after 292/905), who quotes extensively from the Bible in the section of his *Tārīḫ* devoted to "biblical history."[11]

Authors started adducing biblical passages that allegedly foretold the advent of Muḥammad in a variety of genres, including polemical writings, works classified as

4. On the notion of *taḥrīf*, see Nickel, *Narratives of Tampering*.

5. For other manifestations of the ambivalent Muslim attitude toward the earlier scriptures, see Adang, "Torah" [chapter 1 in the present volume], 305; Adang, "Fourth/Tenth Century Tunisian *Muftī*" [chapter 10 in the present volume]; Pregill, "Hebrew Bible and the Quran."

6. For an analysis of the different approaches of these literary genres and their authors toward biblical and extrabiblical materials, see Tottoli, *Biblical Prophets*, 83ff.; Reynolds, *Qurʾān and Its Biblical Subtext*. Specifically on the *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, see also Nagel, "Die *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*."

7. For biblical motifs and pseudobiblical material predicting the advent of Muḥammad in *Ḥadīṯ* literature, see Kister, "*Ḥaddithū ʿan banī isrāʾīla*," 222ff.; Rubin, *Eye of the Beholder*, 21–43; Cook, "New Testament Citations."

8. See Kister, "*Ḥaddithū ʿan banī isrāʾīla*," 221ff. In addition to biblical material, Jewish pseudepigraphical material also found its way into the Muslim tradition. For an overview, see Wasserstrom, "Jewish Pseudepigrapha"; Pregill, "*Isrāʾīliyyāt*, Myth, and Pseudepigraphy."

9. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, passim; Madelung, "Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm and Muʿtazilism"; Madelung, "Al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm and Christian Theology"; al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm (246/860), "al-Radd ʿalā al-Naṣārā", ed. Ignazio di Matteo.

10. Vajda, "Observations"; Lecomte, "Les citations"; Isteero, "Ibn Qutayba's Biblical Quotations"; Karoui, *Die Rezeption der Bibel*; Pietruschka, "Präsentation und Umformung."

11. Smit, *"Bijbel en Legende"*; Ferré, "L'historien al-Yaʿqūbī"; Ferré, *L'histoire des prophètes*; Griffith, "Gospel, Qurʾān, and Presentation." An English translation is now available in volume 2 of *The Works of Ibn Wāḍiḥ al-Yaʿqūbī*.

aʿlām/dalāʾil al-nubuwwa (a genre that frequently combines biblical and pseudobiblical materials, often with a preference for one or the other), exegetical works, and occasionally chapters devoted to prophecy in comprehensive theological *summae*.[12] Apart from an Islamicized quotation of John 15:23–16:1 adduced by Ibn Isḥāq (d. 150/767?) in his biography of the Prophet Muḥammad as a scriptural annunciation of the latter,[13] the earliest extant texts by Muslim authors containing some biblical material in support of Muḥammad's prophethood are a letter attributed to the caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (r. 99/717–101/720) and addressed to the Byzantine emperor Leo III (r. 717–41 CE), which can confidently be dated to the second/eighth century,[14] and an epistle written by Abū l-Rabīʿ Muḥammad b. al-Layṯ to the Byzantine emperor Constantine VI (r. 780–97 CE) on behalf of Hārūn al-Rašīd (r. 170/786–193/809), inviting the emperor to embrace Islam.[15]

II.

The two earliest extant works containing comprehensive lists of biblical predictions of the Prophet Muḥammad from the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament are the *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* by the Christian convert to Islam ʿAlī Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī (b. ca. 194/810, d. 251/865)[16] and the *Aʿlām* (or *Dalāʾil*)[17] *al-nubuwwa* (or *al-nabī* or *rasūl Allāh*)[18] by Ibn Rabban's contemporary Ibn Qutayba. Most of the scriptural material included in Ibn Qutayba's work is also found in Ibn Rabban's otherwise much richer *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*. However, despite occasional similarities, the discrepancies in the majority of the translated biblical passages indicate that the two authors relied on partly different translation traditions and sources that still need to be further identified.[19]

12. Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds*, 75–110; Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 110–191; Stroumsa, *Freethinkers of Medieval Islam*, 21ff.; Reynolds, *Muslim Theologian*, 178–188.

13. Baumstark, "Eine altarabische Evangelienübersetzung"; Guillaume, "Version of the Gospels"; Schacht "Une citation de l'Évangile"; Griffith, "Gospel in Arabic"; Griffith, "Arguing from Scripture" (a revised version of his "Gospel in Arabic"); Griffith, "Gospel, Qurʾān, and Presentation," 138ff.; Witztum, "Ibn Isḥāq and the Pentateuch in Arabic"; Anthony, "Muḥammad, Menaḥem, and the Paraclete."

14. Gaudeul, *La correspondence de ʿUmar et Léon*; Hoyland, "Correspondence of Leo III and ʿUmar II"; Roggema, "Pseudo-ʿUmar II's Letter."

15. The text of the epistle is preserved through transmission by Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr (d. 280/893) in his *Kitāb al-Manṯūr wa-l-manẓūm* and has been published repeatedly; see the bibliography. See also Dunlop, "Letter of Hārūn ar-Rashīd"; van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, 3/24ff.; Roggema, "Ibn al-Layth."

16. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*; Ibn Rabban, *Religion and Empire*. All references in this chapter refer to Mingana's edition and translation of the text. In the meantime, a new edition, with translation, has been published in Ebied and Thomas (eds.), *The Polemical Works of ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī*.

17. Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, 1/237; al-Saḫāwī, *al-Iʿlān*, 360.

18. For *al-nabī*, see al-Qazwīnī, *al-Tadwīn*, 1/81; for *rasūl Allāh*, see below, III.

19. On the relation between the two texts, see Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 148–150. None of the biblical quotations adduced by Ibn Qutayba in his *Aʿlām al-nubuwwa* have a parallel in any of his other writings

Ibn Rabban's *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* apparently remained unknown to Muslim scholars until the fifth/eleventh century.[20] The earliest Muslim author known to have consulted the work was the Muʿtazilite Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1045). On the basis of extensive quotations from his lost *Kitāb Ġurar al-adilla* in the *Kitāb al-Munqiḏ min al-taqlīd* by the Twelver Šīʿī scholar Sadīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī (d. after 600/1204), it has been shown that Abū l-Ḥusayn was using Ibn Rabban's *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* extensively in his discussion of biblical predictions of the advent of the Prophet Muḥammad.[21] Abū l-Ḥusayn is known to have studied Aristotelian physics with the Nestorian physician and philosopher Abū l-Faraǧ b. al-Ṭayyib (d. 435/1043) in Baghdad and was associated with the Christian Abū ʿAlī b. al-Samḥ (d. 418/1027). Assuming that Ibn Rabban's *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* had circulated exclusively among Christian readers (to whom it was primarily addressed) until then, it may well be that it was within these circles that Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī encountered the tract.[22] Later on, Abū l-Ḥasan al-Māwardī (d. 449/1058) and Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) quoted some material from Ibn Rabban's *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* using Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Kitāb al-Ġurar* as their intermediary source,[23] and some of the relevant passages of Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Mafātīḥ*

containing biblical materials. Little is known as to when the earliest translations of the Bible or parts of it were available in Arabic. For an overview of the earliest translations of the Hebrew Bible, see Polliack, *Karaite Tradition*, 3ff. A survey of the earliest extant manuscripts of Arabic translations of the Gospel is given in Kashouh, *Arabic Versions*. For a study of the Christian translation traditions of the Pentateuch up to the thirteenth century CE, see Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*. For the earliest translations of the Book of Daniel, see Hjälm, *Christian Arabic Versions of Daniel*.

20. It is mainly because for a long time there was no positive evidence that any later author ever used the book and the rich material it contains that its authenticity was questioned following Alphonse Mingana's publication of an English translation of the *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* (*Religion and Empire*) and an *editio princeps* on the basis of the single known manuscript owned by the John Rylands Library in Manchester (MS Arabic 69 [= Crawford 631]). On the ensuing controversy in scholarship, see Schmidtke, "Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and His Transmission" [chapter 7 in the present volume]. It has been argued that both Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-ʿĀmirī (d. 381/992) in his *Kitāb al-Iʿlām bi-manāqib al-Islām* (Thomas, "Ṭabarī's *Book*") and the fourth/tenth-century Christian convert to Islam al-Ḥasan b. Ayyūb in his *al-Radd ʿalā* [*aṣnāf*] *al-Naṣārā* (Sepmeijer, "Een Weerlegging") used Ibn Rabban's *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* as a source for their biblical materials. However, the quotations adduced by the two authors are too scant to allow for such a conclusion.

21. See Adang, "Rare Case" [chapter 12 in the present volume].

22. For Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, see the entries on him in EI3 (W. Madelung) and *Encyclopaedia Islamica* 2/130–135 (M. Jalali-Moqaddam).

23. Schmidtke, "The Muslim Reception of the Bible: Al-Māwardī and His *Kitāb Aʿlām al-nubuwwa*" [chapter 9 in the present volume]; Schmidtke, "Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and His Transmission of Biblical Materials" [chapter 7 in the present volume]. It may be assumed that Abū ʿAlī Yaḥyā b. ʿĪsā b. Ǧazlā al-Baġdādī al-Naṣrānī, a Christian convert to Islam who had studied with Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's student Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Karḫī ("Ibn al-Walīd," d. 478/1086) in Baghdad, had also used Ibn Rabban's *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* either directly or through Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Ġurar* in his *Radd ʿalā al-Naṣārā*, which seems to be lost. On Ibn Ǧazlā, see Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische*

al-ġayb are in turn included in Niẓām al-Dīn al-Nīsābūrī's (d. 729/1328–29) exegetical work *Ġarāʾib al-Qurʾān wa-raġāʾib al-furqān*,[24] and in Ibrāhīm b. ʿUmar al-Biqāʿī's (b. 809/1407, d. 885/1480) *al-Aqwāl al-qawīma fī ḥukm al-naql min al-kutub al-qadīma*.[25]

III.

Ibn Qutayba's *Aʿlām al-nubuwwa* clearly eclipsed Ibn Rabban's *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* in popularity. The *Aʿlām* was used over the following centuries by various authors as a reference text for the biblical material it contained. Abū Naṣr Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī (d. before 355/966) was apparently the earliest author to have used Ibn Qutayba's *Aʿlām* in his *Kitāb al-Badʾ wa-l-taʾrīḫ*, as has been suggested by Camilla Adang.[26] She points out that the *nisba* "al-Qutabī" that appears in *Kitāb al-Badʾ wa-l-taʾrīḫ* was used for Ibn Qutayba and that the claim ascribed to "al-Qutabī" that the Syriac for Muḥammad is *mšaffaḥ* was indeed made by Ibn Qutayba in his *Aʿlām*.[27] Adang's suggestion that Ibn Qutayba's *Aʿlām*

Literatur, 57–59, no. 39; EI2, s.v. "Ibn Djazla" (J. Vernet); *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif-i buzurg-i islāmī*, s.v. "Ibn Ǧazla," 3/234f. (ʿAlī Akbar Diyānat).

24. Al-Nīsābūrī's *Ġarāʾib al-Qurʾān wa-raġāʾib al-furqān*, 1/295, contains an abbreviated version of Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's quotation and discussion of Gen. 16:6–12 (= section 1 in Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Mafātīḥ* = Schmidtke, "Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and His Transmission," 116). On al-Nīsābūrī, his *Tafsīr*, and his dependence on Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Mafātīḥ al-ġayb*, see Morrison, "Portrayal of Nature"; Morrison, "Reasons for a Scientific Portrayal"; Morrison, *Islam and Science*, passim.

25. Saleh, *In Defense of the Bible*, 112 (= sections 1 and 2 in Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Mafātīḥ* = Schmidtke, "Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and His Transmission," 116). Al-Biqāʿī is otherwise known as a representative of Muslim biblical scholarship, as he deployed the Bible to elucidate the Qurʾān. For this purpose, he incorporated extensive biblical passages from the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament into his commentary on the Qurʾān, *Naẓm al-durar fī tanāsub al-āyāt wa-l-suwar*. For the Hebrew quotations, see the preliminary study by Saleh, "'Sublime in Its Style'"; Saleh, "A Fifteenth-Century Muslim Hebraist." See also EI3, s.v. "Al-Biqāʿī" (W. A. Saleh); McCoy III, "Sacra scriptura in Islamic contexts;" McCoy III, "The spirit is … rejoicing?" Other prominent representatives are Ibn Barrağān of Seville (d. 536/1141) and Nağm al-Dīn al-Ṭūfī (d. 716/1316); see Casewit, "A Muslim Scholar of the Bible"; Casewit, *The Mystics of al-Andalus*, 262–265; McCoy III, "*Scriptura Scripturam Interpretatur*"; McCoy III,"What Hath Rome To Do with Seville?"; Demiri, *Muslim Exegesis of the Bible*.

26. Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 156 (referring to Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba*, 28).

27. For the use of the name "al-Qutabī," see also Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, 2nd ed. [henceforth GAL2], 1/124–125. Adang's argument that Huart's emendation of al-Qutabī to al-ʿUtbī is without foundation (Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 15, n. 78) is corroborated by MS Yusuf Ağa 315 (dated 670 AH), which also has the reading al-Qutabī (f. 14b:14). Huart's edition (al-Maqdisī, *al-Badʾ wa-l-taʾrīḫ*) is based exclusively on MS Damad Ibrahim 918 (dated 663 AH). MS Reisülküttab 701 (dated 1006 AH) does not include the section containing biblical annunciations. Prior to f. 131a:23 (= ed. Huart, 5/36:1) a significant portion of the text has been dropped, either intentionally or by mistake, including the section in question. On the extant manuscripts of the text, see Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, 1/337, no. 40. Al-Maqdisī also quotes Ibn Isḥāq's rendering of John 15:23–16:1; al-Maqdisī, *al-Badʾ wa-l-taʾrīḫ*, 5/28:13–29 (l. 1 [Arabic text], ll. 31–32 [French translation]) and otherwise refers to additional

is one of al-Maqdisī's sources is further corroborated by the latter's translation and discussion of Ps. 50:2–3 and Deut. 33:2, which agree verbatim with those of Ibn Qutayba in his *Aʿlām*, albeit in abbreviated form.[28] Ibn Qutayba's *Aʿlām* is also referred to by the Muʿtazilite ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamaḏānī (d. 415/1025) in his *Taṯbīt dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*,[29] and it had evidently reached al-Andalus. This is indicated by Ibn Ḥazm's (d. 446/1064) *Kitāb al-Uṣūl wa-l-furūʿ*, which includes extensive segments from the work in a section devoted to biblical testimonies to the Prophet Muḥammad.[30] Moreover, the work is also mentioned in the *fahrasa* of the Andalusi scholar Ibn Ḫayr (d. 575/1180). Here, two transmitters are mentioned as those who related the work from Ibn Qutayba: the renowned Andalusi scholar Qāsim b. Aṣbaġ (d. 340/951) and the less well-known Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Muhandis.[31]

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sources, which he does not identify apart from his statement that he had at his disposal a "copy" (*nusḫa*) of a certain Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Māzinī, who cannot be identified (Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 156).

28. For Ps. 50:2–3, see al-Maqdisī, *al-Badʾ wa-l-Taʾrīḫ*, 28:5–7 (= MS Yusuf Ağa 315, f. 14b:4–6):

وفيه «إن الله عزّ وجلّ يظهر من صهيون إكليلًا محمودًا» قالوا فالإكليل مثل الرئاسة والإمامة والمحمود محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم

Cf. the corresponding passage in Ibn Qutayba's *Aʿlām* (see also below, IV, paragraph [14]):

قال: وفي مزمور آخر: «إن الله أظهر من صهيون إكليلًا محمودًا» ضرب الإكليل مثلًا للرئاسة والإمامة، ومحمودًا هو محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم

For Deut. 33:2, see al-Maqdisī, *al-Badʾ wa-l-Taʾrīḫ*, 33:2–7 (= MS Yusuf Ağa 315, f. 16b:5–10):

وهذا الفصل في تخريجات أهل الإسلام بلفظ العربية «جا الله من سيناء وأشرق من ساعير واستعلن من جبال فاران». قالوا ومعنى مجيه من سيناء إنزاله التورية على موسى وإشراقه من ساعير إنزاله الإنجيل على عيسى واستعلانه من جبال فاران إنزاله القرآن على محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم.

Cf. the corresponding passage in Ibn Qutayba's *Aʿlām* (see also below, IV, paragraph [3]):

قال: ومن أعلامه في التوراة، قال: «جاء الله من سيناء وأشرق من ساعير واستعلن من جبال فاران». وليس بهذا خفاء على من تدبّره ولا غموض، لأن مجيء الله من سيناء إنزاله التوراة على موسى بطور سيناء، هكذا هو عند أهل الكتاب وعندنا، وكذلك يجب أن يكون إشراقه من ساعير إنزاله على المسيح الإنجيل، وكان المسيح يسكن ساعير بأرض الجليل بقرية تدعى ناصرة وباسمها سمّي مَن اتبعه نصارى. وكما وجب أن يكون إشراقه من ساعير بالمسيح فكذلك يجب أن يكون استعلانه من جبال فاران بإنزاله القرآن على محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم في جبال فاران وهي جبال مكة.

Al-Maqdisī also offers the standard Muslim translation (*fī taḫrīǧāt ahl al-islām bi-lafẓ al-ʿarabiyya*) of Gen. 17:20 (31:13 = MS Yusuf Ağa 315, f. 16a:3–6), which agrees with both Ibn Qutayba's and Ibn Rabban's identical rendering of this verse and therefore allows no conclusion as to his source.

29. ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamaḏānī, *Taṯbīt*, 2/352; see also Reynolds, *Muslim Theologian*, 146, 184, 185f. The authenticity of the *Taṯbīt* as a work by ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamaḏānī has been questioned by Hassan Ansari, with compelling arguments. See Ansari, "Yek purseš muhimm darbāra-yi yek kitāb-i mašhūr: *Taṯbīt dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*" and "Nawīsanda-yi *Taṯbīt dalāʾil al-nubuwwa* (2)."

30. The text of *al-Uṣūl wa-l-furūʿ* is preserved in a unique manuscript, MS Şehid Ali Paşa 2704, ff. 1–89b, a collective codex containing sixteen tracts by Ibn Ḥazm. The relevant section is found on ff. 20b:13–23a:8. For a description of the codex, which was first discovered by Hellmut Ritter, see Asín Palacios, "Un códice inexplorado." The work has been published twice. For an annotated translation of this section, see Adang, "Hitherto Neglected Biblical Material" [chapter 5 in the present volume, now expanded with the NT quotations]. Ibn Ḥazm adduces the following paragraphs from Ibn Qutayba's work containing biblical references (the numbers refer to the paragraphs in the edition below): [1], [2], [3], [4], [5], [17], [18], [19], [23], [24], [12]. Only once, at the beginning of [12], does he identify his source (*qāla Ibn Qutayba*).

31. Ibn Ḫayr, *Fahrasa*, 151. See also Vizcaíno Plaza, *La "Fahrasa" de Ibn Jayr*, s.v. "*K. Aʿlām al-nubuwwa*, Aḥ b Qutayba." For Ibn Aṣbaġ, see Lecomte, "Les disciples directs," 290–292, no. 4, and Aragón Huerta, "Ibn Aṣbag al-Bayyānī"; for al-Muhandis, see Lecomte, "Les disciples directs," 287. Generally on the reception

In the eastern lands of Islam, the work seems to have circulated mostly within *ahl al-ḥadīṯ* circles. A comprehensive quotation from Ibn Qutayba's *Aʿlām* is preserved in Ibn al-Ǧawzī's (d. 597/1200) *al-Wafāʾ bi-aḥwāl* [or *fī faḍāʾil*] *al-Muṣṭafā*,[32] which in turn is incorporated by Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) in his *Imtāʿ al-asmāʾ bi-mā li-l-Nabī min al-aḥwāl wa-l-amwāl wa-l-ḥafada wa-l-matāʿ*.[33] Ibn al-Ǧawzī gives the following chain of transmission for his lengthy quotation from Ibn Qutayba's work. His *isnād* starts with a transmitter with whom he is known to have studied in Ǧumādā II 561/April–May 1166: Abū l-Qāsim Yaḥyā b. Ṯābit b. Bundār (d. Rabīʿ I 566/November–December 1170)[34] ← his father, Ṯābit b. Bundār (b. 416/1025–26, d. Ǧumādā II 498/February–March 1105)[35] ← Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Qušayš al-Mālikī (b. Rabīʿ II 356/March–April 967, d. Šaʿbān 437/February–March 1046)[36] ← Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Aḥmad b. Hārūn al-Muqriʾ al-Āǧurrī (d. 382/992–93)[37] ← ʿUbayd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Bakīr al-Tamīmī ← Ibn Qutayba.[38] Little seems to be known about Ibn Qutayba's student ʿUbayd Allāh b. Aḥmad

of Ibn Qutayba's works in al-Andalus, see Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba*, 12–14; Bonebakker, "Notes on Some Old Manuscripts"; Bonebakker, "Two Manuscripts"; Soravia, "Ibn Qutayba en al-Andalus."

32. An *editio princeps* of Ibn al-Ǧawzī's excerpt from Ibn Qutayba's work was published by Carl Brockelmann in 1898 on the single basis of MS Leiden Or. 322/1, ff. 20b:23–23b:23. See also Brockelmann, "Muhammedanische Weissagungen" and "Zu den Muhammedanischen Weissagungen"; Bacher, "Muhammedanische Weissagungen." Over the last fifty years, the text of *al-Wafāʾ* has been published repeatedly (albeit not in a critical edition): by Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Wāḥid in 1386/1966 (on the basis of MSS al-Azhar 36 *tārīḫ* and al-Taymuriyya 192; the relevant section is found at 1/61–73); by Muḥammad Zuhrī al-Naǧǧār in 1396/1976 (the manuscript basis for the edition not being specified; the relevant section is found at 1/109–125); and in 1408/1987–88 (*non vidi*). For manuscripts of Ibn al-Ǧawzī's *al-Wafāʾ*, see below, section IV. An annotated English translation of the section (with the exception of the testimonies from the New Testament and the last section) with numerous emendations has been published by Adang in *Muslim Writers*, 267–277.

33. Al-Maqrīzī, *Imtāʿ al-asmāʾ*, 3/383–395. This publication is based exclusively on MS Köprülü 1004, which is the only complete extant copy of al-Maqrīzī's *Imtāʿ al-asmāʾ*; the relevant section is found at 376:30–381:10 (the manuscript is paginated, not foliated). I thank Frédéric Bauden for the information on the extant manuscripts of al-Maqrīzī's *Imtāʿ*.

34. Abū l-Qāsim Yaḥyā b. Ṯābit b. Bundār b. Ibrāhīm al-Dīnawarī al-Baġdādī al-Baqqāl; see Ibn al-Ǧawzī, *Mašyaḫa*, 166f., no. 66; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Šaḏarāt al-ḏahab*, ed. ʿAṭā, 4/400; al-Ḏahabī, *al-ʿIbar*, 4/194; al-Ḏahabī, *Siyar*, 20/505f., no. 322.

35. Ṯābit b. Bundār b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan b. Bundār, Abū l-Maʿālī al-Baqqāl al-Dīnawarī al-Baġdādī; see Ibn al-Ǧawzī, *Mašyaḫa*, 132, 151, 164, 166; al-Ḏahabī, *al-ʿIbar*, 3/351; al-Ḏahabī, *Siyar*, 19/204f., no. 124; Ibn al-Ǧazarī, *Ġāyat al-nihāya*, 1/188; Ibn al-Ǧawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, 9/144f., no. 230; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Šaḏarāt al-ḏahab*, ed. ʿAṭā, 4/125.

36. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ḥarbī al-Simsār *al-maʿrūf bi*-bn Qušayš, who was one of the teachers of al-Ḫaṭīb al-Baġdādī (d. 463/1071); see al-Ḫaṭīb al-Baġdādī, *Tārīḫ Baġdād*, 12/100, no. 6534; al-Qifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāh*, 3/197.

37. ʿUmar b. Aḥmad b. Hārūn b. al-Farağ b. al-Rabīʿ Abū Ḥafṣ al-Muqriʾ *al-maʿrūf bi*-bn al-Āǧurrī; see al-Ḫaṭīb al-Baġdādī, *Tārīḫ Baġdād*, 11/264, no. 6026; Ibn al-Ǧawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, 7/170, no. 268.

38. See MS Leiden Or. 322, f. 20b:23–25 (= Brockelmann, "Ibn Ǧauzī's Kitāb al-Wafā," 46:5–9); MS Âşir

al-Tamīmī, who is mentioned here as the transmitter of the work. According to Gérard Lecomte, ʿUbayd Allāh [ʿAbd Allāh] b. Aḥmad b. Bukayr [Bakr] al-Tamīmī [al-Taymī] is to be identified with Ibn Qutayba's student Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Bukayr al-Tamīmī (d. Ḏū l-ḥiǧǧa 334/July–August 946), who in turn was the teacher of the renowned *ḥadīṯ* scholar ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Dāraquṭnī (d. 385/995). Otherwise, he is known to have transmitted other works of Ibn Qutayba, viz. his *Masāʾil* and his *Iṣlāḥ al-ġalaṭ*.[39]

Some later Ḥanbalite authors still had access to the original work. Abū l-Qāsim al-Taymī al-Iṣfahānī ("Qiwām al-Sunna," d. 535/1140–41) quotes from it in his *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*,[40] as does Ibn Taymiyya (d. 682/1328) in his *al-Ǧawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ*.[41] Ibn Qayyim al-Ǧawziyya (d. 751/1350) includes extensive quotations from the work in his *Hidāyat al-ḥayārā*.[42] Portions of Ibn Qutayba's *Aʿlām* are also included by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Qasṭallānī (d. 923/1517–18) in his *al-Mawāhib al-laduniyya bi-l-minaḥ al-muḥammadiyya* in a section entitled "Fī tanbīh bihi [ṣalʿam] fī l-kutub al-sālifa ka-l-Tawrāt wa-l-Inǧīl bi-annahu ṣāḥib al-risāla wa-l-tabǧīl."[43] As al-Qasṭallānī only occasionally explicitly mentions Ibn Qutayba and his *Aʿlām al-nubuwwa* as his source,[44] he may have gleaned his material from an intermediary source (certainly neither Ibn al-Ǧawzī nor Ibn Qayyim al-Ǧawziyya, who did not include all the quotations adduced by al-Qasṭallānī); throughout his work al-Qasṭallānī takes care as a rule to identify his sources. Al-Qasṭallānī's *al-Mawāhib* was, in turn, al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Diyārbakrī's (d. 996/1588) source for a quotation from Ibn Qutayba that is included in his *Tārīḫ al-ḫamīs fī aḥwāl anfas nafīs*,[45]

Efendi 77, f. 19b:20–23; MS Hekimoğlu 259, f. 28b:20–24; MS Ayasofya 946, f. 22b:17–19; MS Yusuf Ağa 173, f. 17a:14–18; MS Turhan Vâlide 80, f. 31b:10–13. The *isnād* is not included in MS Atıf Efendi 1780; Ibn al-Ǧawzī, *al-Wafāʾ*, ed. *ʿAbd al-Wāḥid*, 61; or Ibn al-Ǧawzī, *al-Wafāʾ*, ed. al-Naǧǧār, 109.

39. Lecomte, "Les disciples directs," 294f., no. 7.

40. Qiwām al-Sunna, *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, 1239–1257, §§ 195–200 (*ḏakara Ibn Qutayba fī Aʿlām al-nabī ṣallā llāh ʿalayhi wa-sallam qāla . . . ṯumma qāla . . . qāla Ibn Qutayba . . . qāla Ibn Qutayba . . . qāla*). On Qiwām al-Sunna, see also "Abū l-Qāsim al-Taymī," *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif-i buzurg-i islāmī*, 6/156–158 (Hassan Ansari), and Hassan Ansari's introduction to Qiwām al-Sunna, *al-Īḍāḥ*.

41. Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Ǧawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ*, 5/199 (see below, IV, paragraph [3]).

42. Cf. Ibn Qayyim al-Ǧawziyya, *Hidāyat al-ḥayārā*, ed. Ḍumayriyya, 126:4–11 = [below, IV, paragraph 2], 127:8–13 = [5], 127:14–129:5 = [18]–[22], 155:4–156:11 = [3]–[4], 159:14–160:5 = [6]–[7], 162:13–163:2 = [12], 164:16–165:3 = [13], 165:9–166:2 = [14]–[15], 168:2–8 = [16], 168:9–169:1 = [17], 169:2–8 = [33], 169:13–171:1 = [28]–[32], 171:2–7 = [27], 171:8–172:1 = [34], 173:1–4 = [26], 173:8–17 = [24], 174:1–8 = [25], 174:9–16 = [8], 184:14–16 = [38], 194:7–11 = [37], 196:7–15 = [23], 199:2–7 = [35], 210:8–16. On Ibn al-Qayyim, see Krawietz, "Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah"; Holtzman, "Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah."

43. Al-Qasṭallānī, *al-Mawāhib*, 2/428–436, containing quotations of paragraphs [3], [4], [38], and [39] of Ibn Qutayba's text (see below, IV).

44. Al-Qasṭallānī, *al-Mawāhib*, 2/431:21 (*Ibn Qutayba fī Aʿlām al-nubuwwa*); 432, l. 1 (*qāla Ibn Qutayba*).

45. Al-Diyārbakrī, *Tārīḫ al-ḫamīs*, 1/24:30–25:3, being a quotation of al-Qasṭallānī, *al-Mawāhib*, 2/431:21–432:4. The text is a partial quotation of paragraph [3] of Ibn Qutayba's text (see below, IV).

and the relevant passages are also included and commented upon in the commentary on *al-Mawāhib* by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Bāqī al-Zurqānī (d. 1122/1710).[46]

An incomplete and (as it seems) unique manuscript of Ibn Qutayba's work, which is preserved in the Syrian National Library, or Maktabat al-Asad al-waṭaniyya, in Damascus,[47] has mostly escaped scholars' attention until now.[48] It provides further indication that the text has been transmitted primarily among the *ahl al-ḥadīṯ*.[49] Moreover, comparison

46. Al-Zurqānī, *Šarḥ*, 6/226–245.

47. MS Damascus, Maktabat al-Asad, *maǧmūʿ* 955/6, ff. 127a–159b. For a description of the manuscript, see al-Albānī, *Fihris*, 93; al-Sawwās, *Fihris*, 207. I thank Pierre Lory and Philippe Vallat (Institut français du Proche-Orient, Damascus) for their help in acquiring a xerox copy of the manuscript and also wish to express my gratitude to the authorities of the Asad Library for making this xerox available. For a surrogate of the manuscript (digitized images of a microfilm), see https://albert.ias.edu/handle/20.500.12111/5899. An edition of the text on the basis of this unique manuscript has recently been prepared by Muḥammad al-Qaḥṭānī which is forthcoming. See https://twitter.com/aldlumi/status/1080890200090390528.

48. Cf. Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba*, 154, no. 17; Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 35f.; cf. also Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, 8/161–165, where the title is not mentioned at all. The text and the *samāʿ* that is included on its title page (f. 127a) are also omitted in Leder, al-Sawwās, and al-Ṣāġarǧī, *Muʿǧam al-samāʿāt*, where most of the other tracts of this collective manuscript and the *samāʿāt* they contain are included (25–39, containing the *samāʿāt* of 955/2, 955/3, 955/4, 955/5, 955/9). The manuscript is mentioned in al-Munaǧǧid, *Muʿǧam*, 62, and in the editor's introduction to Qiwām al-Sunna, *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, 222f., n. 4 (referring to al-Albānī, *Fihris*, 93), and it was consulted by ʿUṯmān Ǧumʿa Ḍumayriyya for his edition of Ibn Qayyim al-Ǧawziyya's *Hidāyat al-ḥayārā*. The latter does not provide, however, any bibliographical details, indicating only that it is preserved in the Ẓāhiriyya Library (Ibn Qayyim al-Ǧawziyya, *Hidāyat al-ḥayārā*, 155, n. 5, and passim).

49. The *maǧmūʿa* contains altogether twelve tracts (written by different hands and evidently assembled together at a late stage), mostly by scholars belonging to the *ahl al-ḥadīṯ*: (1) *al-Arbaʿūn fī šuyūḫ al-ṣūfiyya* by Abū Saʿīd Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Harawī al-Anṣārī al-Mālīnī ("Ṭāwūs al-fuqarāʾ," d. 409/1018–19 or 412/1022), see Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur: Supplementbände* [henceforth GALS], 1/362; (2) *Arbaʿūn ḥadīṯan* by ʿAbd al-Ḫāliq b. Ẓāhir b. Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad al-Šaḥḥāmī (d. 549/1154–55); see Brockelmann, GAL 1/449f., no. 8; (3) *Šarḥ maḏāhib ahl al-sunna* by Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Aḥmad b. ʿUṯmān b. Šāhīn al-Baġdādī (d. 385/995), see Brockelmann, GAL 1/174, no. 13; Brockelmann, GALS, 1/276, no. 14; (4) *al-Taġrīb fī l-duʿāʾ wa-l-ḥaṯṯ ʿalayhi* by Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ġanī b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Surūr al-Ǧammāʿīlī al-Maqdisī al-Ḥanbalī (d. 600/1203), see Brockelmann, GAL 1/437f., no. 14; Brockelmann, GALS, 1/605–607; (5) *Muḫtaṣar makārim al-aḫlāq* by Abū l-Qāsim Sulaymān b. Aḥmad b. Ayyūb al-Laḫmī al-Šāfiʿī al-Ṭabarānī (d. 360/971), see Brockelmann, GALS, 1/279; (6) *Aʿlām rasūl Allāh* by Ibn Qutayba; (7) *Tafḍīl al-faqr ʿalā l-ġināʾ* by Abū Yaʿlā Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ḫalaf b. Aḥmad b. al-Farrāʾ (d. 458/1065), see Brockelmann, GAL 1/502, no. 1; Brockelmann, GALS, 1/686, no. 1; (8) *Maǧlis al-biṭāqa* by Abū l-Qāsim Ḥamza b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Kattānī (d. 357/968); (9) *al-Muḫtār fī uṣūl al-sunna ʿalā siyāq Kitāb al-Šarīʿa* by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Baġdādī al-Āǧurrī (d. 360/970), see Brockelmann, GAL 1/173, no. 8; Brockelmann, GALS, 1/274, no. 9; (10) volume 8 of *Makārim al-aḫlāq wa-maʿālīhā wa-maḥmūd ṭarāʾiqihā* by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ǧaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Sahl al-Sāmarrī al-Ḫarāʾiṭī (d. 327/938), see Brockelmann, GALS, 1/250, no. 7; (11) *Min ḥadīṯ Abī Muḥammad al-Kattānī*, i.e., ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Aḥmad al-Ṣūfī al-Dimašqī (d. 466/1073–74); (12) *Risāla fī l-tawakkul wa-suʾāl*

with Ibn al-Ǧawzī's quotations from the *Aʿlām* shows that the latter adduced the first eight sections containing biblical testimonies in his *al-Wafāʾ* with no modifications in the arrangement of the material and with only few omissions throughout the text. The only exception is the concluding part (see below, IV, paragraphs [39]–[42]), most of which was omitted.

The title of the work as given on the title page of the manuscript (f. 127a) reads as follows: *Kitāb | Aʿlām rasūl Allāh al-munzala ʿalā rusulihi ṣallā llāh ʿalayhim | fī l-Tawrāt wa-l-Inǧīl wa-l-Zabūr wa-l-Qurʾān wa-ġayr ḏālika | wa-dalāʾil nubuwwatihi min al-barāhīn al-nayyira wa-l-dalāʾil al-wāḍiḥa | taʾlīf Abī Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Muslim b. Qutayba al-Dīnawarī raḥmat Allāh ʿalayhi wa-riḍwānuhu*. In the course of the introduction, this version of the title is confirmed with only slight variations when Ibn Qutayba describes the contents of the work as *kitāban ubayyinu fīhi aʿlām rasūl Allāh ṣallā llāh ʿalayhi wa-sallam al-bāhira wa-dalāʾilahu al-ẓāhira min kutub Allāh al-mutaqaddima al-mawǧūda fī aydī ahl al-kitāb*[50] *wa-min al-Qurʾān* (f. 127b:16–18). Both on the title page (f. 127a:6–8) and at the beginning of the text page (f. 127b:2–6), a chain of transmission (*riwāya*) of the work is given that disagrees with the one indicated by Ibn al-Ǧawzī from al-Āǧurrī onwards:[51] al-Mubārak b. ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār b. Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Baġdādī al-Ṣayrafī (b. 411/1021, d. Ḏū l-qaʿda 500/June–July 1107)[52] ← Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Muḥammad b. Ǧaʿfar *al-maʿrūf bi*-bn ʿAdl al-Ǧuzaynī (?)[53] ← Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Aḥmad b. Hārūn al-Muqriʾ al-Āǧurrī ← Abū l-Qāsim ʿUbayd Allāh Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Bakīr al-Tamīmī ← Ibn Qutayba.

The text is incompletely preserved in the manuscript. There is a lacuna on f. 133b:20 (following *bi-ʿulamāʾ al-ġayb*) toward the end of the eighth section ("Ḏikr aṣḥāb al-nabī ...") that must already have occurred in the antigraph of the present copy, and the text breaks off with f. 159b. Ibn Qutayba's description of the structure of the *Aʿlām* in the introduc-

Allāh ʿazza wa-ǧalla by ʿAbd al-Ġanī b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Maqdisī (= author of no. 4 above). See also al-Sawwās, *Fihris*, 204–209. On the predominantly Ḥanbalite character of the manuscript collection of the Madrasa al-ʿUmariyya where the codex was kept before its transfer first to the Dār al-kutub al-Ẓāhiriyya and from there to the Maktabat al-Asad, see Muṭīʿ al-Ḥāfiẓ, *al-Madrasa al-ʿUmariyya bi-Dimašq*, as well as the introduction to Leder, al-Sawwās, and al-Ṣāġarǧī, *Muʿǧam al-samāʿāt*.

50. The formulation suggests that Ibn Qutayba did not believe that the existing scriptures were forgeries.

51. In addition to the *isnād*, the title page has a *samāʿ* that is only partially legible due to water stains that have severely damaged the page.

52. On him, see Ibn al-Ǧawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, 9/154, no. 248; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Šaḏarāt al-ḏahab*, ed. ʿAṭā, 4/130; al-Ḏahabī, *Siyar*, 19/213–216, no. 132; al-Ḏahabī, *al-ʿIbar*, 3/356; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿǧam al-muʾallifīn*, 8/172.

53. His identity is uncertain. He may be identical with Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Muḥammad b. Ǧaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. Ǧaʿfar b. al-Ḥasan b. Wahb, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Bazzār *al-maʿrūf bi*-bn Zawǧ al-ḥurra (b. 369/979–80, d. Ǧumādā II 428/March–April 1037); see al-Ḫaṭīb al-Baġdādī, *Tārīḫ Baġdād*, 2/360, no. 868.

tion suggests, however, that little is missing at its end. Following a lengthy introduction (ff. 127b:13–128a:21), the text is structured as follows:

Aʿlām rasūl Allāh ṣallā llāh ʿalayhī fī l-Tawrāt (f. 128a)

Wa-min qawl Ḥabaqūq al-mutanabbī fī zaman Dāniyāl (f. 129a)

Wa-min ḏikr Šaʿyā lahu (f. 129b)

Wa-min ḏikr Dāwūd lahu fī l-Zabūr (f. 129b)

Ḏikr al-Masīḥ al-nabī fī l-Inǧīl (f. 130b)

Ḏikr Makka wa-l-Ḥaram wa-l-bayt fī l-kutub al-mutaqaddima (f. 131a)

Ḏikr ṭarīq Makka fī Šaʿyā (f. 131b)

Ḏikr aṣḥāb al-nabī wa-ḏikr yawm badr fī Šaʿyā (f. 132a)

Al-aḥādīṯ al-wāfiqa li-mā fī l-kutub al-mutaqaddima min ḏikr al-nabī ṣallā llāh ʿalayhi wa-ṣifātihi wa-ṣifat ummatihi (f. 134a)

Ḏikr rasūl Allāh ṣallā llāh ʿalayhi fī aḫbār al-furs (f. 135a)

Al-istidlāl ʿalā nubuwwatihi bi-smihi ʿalayhi l-salām (f. 138b)

Aʿlāmuhu baʿda wafātihi ṣallā llāh ʿalayhi wa-sallam (f. 140b)

Al-Qurʾān (f. 141b)

Aʿlām al-nabī ṣallā llāh ʿalayhi wa-sallam min aḫbār al-Qurʾān (f. 148b)

Aḫbār al-nabī ṣallā llāh ʿalayhi mimmā yakūnu min ġayr al-Kitāb (f. 152a)

IV.

In the following, a critical edition of the first eight sections of the text, which contain biblical materials (ff. 128a–133b), will be given. The parts that have been included by Ibn al-Ǧawzī in his *Wafāʾ* have been rendered in **boldface**, those that are included in Ibn Qayyim al-Ǧawziyya's *Hidāyat al-ḥayārā* are underlined with a single line, and excerpts of the text that are adduced by al-Qasṭallānī in his *Mawāhib* are wave-underlined. Quotations that have been included by both Ibn al-Qayyim and al-Qasṭallānī are marked with a double line. Variants in the texts of Ibn al-Ǧawzī, Ibn Qayyim al-Ǧawziyya, and al-Qasṭallānī, as well as additions that have no equivalent in Ibn Qutayba's text, are mentioned in the annotation. In addition to the printed editions of Ibn al-Ǧawzī's *Wafāʾ*,[54] the following manuscripts have been consulted and collated to provide a reliable textual basis: (1) MS Atıf Efendi (Süleymaniye) 1780/1, ff. 8b–11b, transcribed by one Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ilyās al-Mūġānī al-Tabrīzī; copy completed in Ǧumādā II 726/May–June 1326;

54. See above, n. 32.

(2) MS Turhan Vâlide (Süleymaniye) Sultan 80, ff. 31b–37a; copy completed on 10 Šawwāl 784/December 17, 1382; (3) MS British Library Or 7709, ff. 30b:10–35a:5; copy completed in Muḥarram 791/January 1389; (4) MS Leiden Or. 322/1, ff. 20b:23–23b:23; copy completed in 846/1442; (5) MS Âşir Efendi 77, ff. 19b–23b; copy completed in Ramaḍān 1080/January–February 1670; (6) MS Hekimoğlu 259, ff. 28b–33b; copy completed in Rabīʿ I 1133/January 1721; (7) MS Ayasofya 946, ff. 22b–26a; copy undated; (8) MS Yusuf Ağa 173, ff. 37a–41a; copy undated.[55] Variations from Ibn Qutayba's *Aʿlām* have been mentioned only when these are attested in all manuscripts. For Ibn Qayyim al-Ǧawziyya's *Hidāyat al-ḥayārā*, the edition by ʿUṯmān Ǧumʿa Ḍumayriyya has been consulted, and the textual basis for al-Qasṭallānī's *al-Mawāhib* has been the edition by Maʾmūn b. Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Ǧannān.

أعلام رسول الله صلى الله عليه في التوراة[56]

[1] **من ذلك قول الله عزّ وجلّ في السفر الأول**[57] **لإبراهيم: «قد أجبتُ دعاءك في إسماعيل وباركتُ عليه وكثّرتُه وعظّمتُه جدًّا جدًّا وسيلد اثنى عشر عظيمًا وأجعله لأمة عظيمة»** [cf. Gen. 17:20].

[2] **ثم أخبر موسى** [128ب] **بمثل ذلك في** هذا **السفر وزاد شيئًا، قال: «لما هربت هاجر من سارة تراءى لها ملك الله وقال: يا هاجر، أمة سارة، ارجعي إلى سيدتك فاخضعي لها فإني سأكثّر ذريتك وزرعك حتى لا يحصوا كثرةً، وها أنت تحبلين وتلدين ابنًا وتسمّينه إسماعيل، لأن الله قد سمع خشوعك، وتكون يده فوق الجميع، ويد الجميع مبسوطة إليه بالخضوع»** [cf. Gen. 16:8–12].

فتدبّر[58] **هذا القول فإن فيه دليلًا بيّنًا على** أن المراد به[59] رسول الله صلى الله عليه، لأن إسماعيل لم تكن يده فوق يد إسحاق[60]، **ولا** كانت يد إسحاق مبسوطةً إليه بالخضوع، وكيف يكون ذلك والنبوة[61] والملك في **بني** إسرائيل والعيص وهما ابنا إسحاق؟ فلما بُعث رسول الله انتقلت[62] النبوة إلى ولد إسماعيل فدانت[63] **له الملوك**[64] **وخضعت له الأمم**[65] **ونسخ الله به كل شرعة وختم به النبيين وجعل الخلافة**

55. A translation of the passages encountered in Ibn al-Ǧawzi's *Wafāʾ* may be found in Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 267–277. For some additional extant manuscripts of Ibn al-Ǧawzī's *al-Wafāʾ* (and its translation into Ottoman Turkish), see Brockelmann, GAL2, 1/503, no. 11; Brockelmann, GALS, 1/916, no. 11; al-ʿAlwaǧī, *Muʾallafāt Ibn al-Ǧawzī* (repeating only the information given by Brockelmann); al-Salāma, *Muʿǧam muʾallafāt*, 148–152, no. 140. For additional manuscripts, see above, n. 32.

56. أعلام رسول الله صلى الله عليه في التوراة: عن أبي محمد عبد الله بن مسلم بن قتيبة، قال من أعلام نبوة نبيّنا صلى الله عليه وسلم الموجودة في كتب الله المتقدمة (ابن الجوزي).

57. الأول: + من التوراة (ابن الجوزي).

58. فتدبر: قال ابن قتيبة فتدبر (ابن الجوزي).

59. فتدبر . . . به: ومن تدبر هذه البشارة جزم بأن المراد بها (ابن قيم الجوزية).

60. إسحاق: + قط (ابن قيم الجوزية).

61. والنبوة: وقد كانت النبوة (ابن قيم الجوزية).

62. انتقلت: وانتقلت (ابن قيم الجوزية).

63. فدانت: ودانت (ابن قيم الجوزية).

64. الملوك: الأمم (ابن قيم الجوزية).

65. الأمم: الملوك (ابن قيم الجوزية).

والملك[66] في[67] أهل بيته إلى آخر الزمان[68] فصارت[69] أيديهم فوق أيدي الجميع وأيدي الجميع بالرغبة إليهم مبسوطة[70] بالخضوع.

[3] **ومن[71] أعلامه في التوراة، قال: «جاء الله من سيناء وأشرق من ساعير واستعلن من جبال فاران»** [cf. Deut. 33:2]. **وليس[72] بهذا خفاء على من تدبّره ولا غموض، لأن مجيئ[73] الله من[74] سيناء إنزاله التوراة[75] على موسى بطور[76] سيناء، هكذا[77] هو عند أهل الكتاب وعندنا، وكذلك يجب[78] أن يكون. وإشراقه[79] من ساعير إنزاله على المسيح[80] الإنجيل[81]، وكان المسيح يسكن من ساعير أرض الخليل بقرية تدعى ناصرة وباسمها سمّي مَن اتبعه نصارى. وكما[82] وجب أن يكون إشراقه من ساعير بالمسيح[83] فكذلك يجب أن يكون استعلانه من جبال فاران بإنزاله[84] القرآن على محمد في جبال[85] فاران وهي[86] جبال مكة.**

[4] **وليس[87] بين المسلمين وأهل الكتاب اختلاف[88] في أن فاران هي مكة. فإن ادّعوا أنها غير مكة وليس[89] ينكر[90] من تحريفهم وإفكهم، قلنا: ليس[91] في التوراة: «إن إبراهيم[92] أسكن هاجر وإسماعيل فاران»** [cf. Gen. 21:21]؟ **وقلنا: دلّونا على الموضع الذي استعلن الله منه واسمه فاران، والنبيّ الذي أُنزل عليه كتاب بعد المسيح، أوليس استعلن وعلن بمعنى واحدٍ وهو ما[93] ظهر وانكشف؟ فهل تعلمون دينًا ظهر ظهور الإسلام[94] وفشا في مشارق الأرض ومغاربها فشوه[95]؟**

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66. الخلافة والملك: خلافة الملك (ابن قيم الجوزية).
67. في: إلى (ابن قيم الجوزية).
68. الزمان: الدهر (ابن قيم الجوزية).
69. فصارت: وصارت (ابن قيم الجوزية).
70. إليهم مبسوطة: مبسوطة إليهم (ابن قيم الجوزية).
71. ومن: قال ومن (ابن الجوزي).
72. وليس: قال علماء الإسلام وهذا لفظ أبي محمد بن قتيبة ليس (ابن قيم الجوزية).
73. مجيء: تجلي (القسطلاني).
74. من: + طور (ابن قيم الجوزية).
75. من جبال فاران . . . إنزاله التوراة: إضافة في هامش الأصل.
76. بطور: من طور (ابن قيم الجوزية).
77. هكذا: كالذي (ابن قيم الجوزية).
78. وكذلك يجب: ويجب (القسطلاني).
79. وإشراقه: إشراقه (ابن قيم الجوزية / القسطلاني).
80. المسيح: عيسى (القسطلاني).
81. على المسيح الإنجيل: الإنجيل على المسيح (ابن قيم الجوزية).
82. وكما: فكما (القسطلاني).
83. بالمسيح: إنزاله على المسيح الإنجيل (القسطلاني).
84. بإنزاله: إنزاله (ابن قيم الجوزية).
85. في جبال: وجبال (ابن قيم الجوزية).
86. وهي: هي (ابن قيم الجوزية).
87. وليس: قال وليس (ابن قيم الجوزية).
88. اختلاف: خلاف (ابن الجوزي / ابن قيم الجوزية)؛ في ذلك اختلاف (القسطلاني).
89. وليس: فليس (ابن قيم الجوزية).
90. ينكر: + ذلك (ابن قيم الجوزية).
91. ليس: أليس (ابن قيم الجوزية / القسطلاني).
92. إبراهيم: الله (القسطلاني).
93. وهو ما: وهما (ابن قيم الجوزية).
94. الإسلام: دين الإسلام (ابن قيم الجوزية).
95. إشارة إلى سورة الأعراف (7): 137.

[5] ومن[96] أعلامه في ا لتوراة: قال الله سبحانه في التوراة لموسى في السفر الخامس: «إني أقيم لبني إسرائيل نبيًّا من إخوتهم مثلك، وأجعل كلامي على فمه» [cf. Deut. 18:18]. فمَن إخوة بني إسرائيل إلّا بنو إسماعيل؟ كما تقول: بكر وتغلب أبناء وائل، ثم تقول: تغلب أخو[97] [129أ] <بكر[98]> وبنو تغلب إخوة بني بكر[99]، يُرجع في ذلك إلى إخوة الأبوين. فإن قالوا: إن هذا النبيّ الذي وعد الله موسى أن يقيمه لهم هو أيضًا من بني إسرائيل، لأن بني إسرائيل إخوة بني إسرائيل، أكْذبتْهم التوراة وأكْذبَهم النظر، لأن في التوراة أنه «لم يقم في بني إسرائيل نبيّ مثل موسى» [Deut. 34:10]. وأما النظر، فإنه لو أراد: إني أقيم لهم نبيًّا من بني إسرائيل مثل موسى، لقال: أقيم لهم من أنفسهم مثل موسى، ولم يقل: مِن إخوتهم، كما أن رجلًا لو قال لرسوله[100]: ائتني برجلٍ من إخوة بني بكر بن وائل، لكان يجب أن يأتيه[101] برجلٍ من بني تغلب بن وائل، ولا يجب أن[102] يأتيه برجل[103] من بني بكر.

ومن[104] قول حبقوق المتنبئ في زمن دانيال

[6] قال حبقوق: «جاء الله من التيمن والقديس من[105] جبال فاران، وامتلأت الأرض من تحميد أحمد وتقديسه، وملك الأرض بيمينه ورقاب الأمم» [cf. Hab. 3:3, 4].

[7] وقال[106] أيضًا: «تضيء لنوره الأرض وتُحْمَل[107] خيلُه في البحر» [cf. Hab. 3:4, 15]، وزادني[108] بعض أهل الكتاب أنه قيل في كلام حبقوق: «وستترع في قسيك[109] إغراقًا وترتوي السهام بأمرك يا محمد ارتواءً»[110] [cf. Hab. 3:9]، وهذا إفصاح باسمه وصفاته، فإن ادَّعوا أنه غير نبيّنا[111] وليس ذلك ينكر من جحدهم وتحريفهم، فمَن أحمد[112] الذي «امتلأت الأرض من تحميده» والذي «جاء من جبال فاران» «فملك الأرض ورقاب الأمم»؟

96. ومن: قال ومن (ابن الجوزي).
97. أخو: إخوة (ابن قيم الجوزية).
98. بكر: -، الأصل، والإضافة عن ابن الجوزي.
99. وبنو تغلب إخوة بني بكر: وبنو بكر إخوة بني تغلب (ابن قيم الجوزية).
100. لو قال لرسوله: ولو قلت لرجل (ابن قيم الجوزية).
101. يجب أن يأتيه: الواجب أن يأتيك (ابن قيم الجوزية).
102. يجب أن: إضافة في هامش الأصل.
103. ولا يجب أن يأتيه برجل: لا بواحد (ابن قيم الجوزية).
104. ومن: قال ابن قتيبة ومن (ابن الجوزي).
105. والقديس من: وظهر القدوس على (ابن قيم الجوزية).
106. وقال: قال وقال (ابن الجوزي).
107. تضيء لنوره الأرض وتُحْمَل: وأنارت الأرض لنوره وحملت (ابن قيم الجوزية).
108. وزادني: قال ابن قتيبة وزاد (ابن قيم الجوزية).
109. قسيك: فسيك، الأصل.
110. The passage that is also mentioned in Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī's *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, in Mingana's edition at 103 (وستترع في قسيك إغراقاً وترعاً وترتوي السهام بأمرك يا محمد ارتراءً) and in his translation (*Religion and Empire*) at 119 ("Thou shalt be filled in thy bows to overflowing, and the arrows shall be drenched at thy command, *O Muhammad*"). Its meaning is obscure. See also Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 269, n. 4, who mentions that already the Hebrew text is not quite clear. She offers the following translation: "You shall be exceedingly filled in your bows, and the arrows shall be drenched at your command, o praised one (*muḥammad*)."
111. غير نبيّنا: غيره (ابن قيم الجوزية).
112. أحمد: + هذا (ابن قيم الجوزية).

ومِن[113] ذكر شعيا له

[8] **قال شعيا عن الله[114]: «عبدي الذي سَرَّت به نفسي»، وترجمه آخر قال: «عبدي خيرتي رضى[115] نفسي أُفيض عليه روحي»** [cf. Isa. 42:1]. **وترجمه آخر فقال[116]: «أُنزِل عليه وحيي[117] فيظهر في الأمم عدلي[118]، ويوصي الأمم بالوصايا** [cf. Isa. 42:1]، **لا يضحك ولا يُسمع صوته في الأسواق** [cf. Isa. 42:2]، **يفتح العيون[119] العور ويُسمع الآذان الصمّ ويحي القلوب الغلف وما أعطيته لا أعطي غيره** [cf. Isa. 42:6–8]، **احمد يحمد الله حمدًا حديثًا يأتي من أقصى الأرض** [cf. Isa. 42:10]، **يفرّح البرية وسكّانها، يهلّلون الله على كل شرف ويكبّرونه على كل رابية»** [cf. Isa. 42:11]. **وزاد آخر في الترجمة: «لا يضعف ولا يغلب ولا يميل إلى** [129ب] **الهوى[120] ولا يُسمع في الأسواق صوته** [cf. Isa. 42:2] **ولا يُذلّ الصالحين الذين هم كالقصبة الضعيفة** [cf. Isa. 42:3] **بل يقوّي الصديقين وهو ركن المتواضعين[121]، وهو نور الله الذي لا يطفأ[122] ولا يخصم حتى يثبّت في الأرض حجتي وينقطع به العذر[123] وإلى توراته تنقاد الجنّ»[124]** [cf. Isa. 42:4]. **وهذا إفصاح باسمه وبصفاته. فإن قالوا: أيّ توراة له؟ قلنا: أراد أنه يأتي بكتاب يقوم مقام التوراة لكم.**

[9] ومثل هذا حديث كهمس عن عبد الله بن شفيق العقيلي عن كعب قال[125]: **«شكا بيت المقدس إلى الله الخراب، فقيل له: لأبدلنّك توراةً محدثةً[126] وعمأًلاً محدثين يدفّون بالليل دفيف النسور ويتحنّنون عليك كما تحنّ الحمامة على بيضها ويملأونك[127] خدودًا سجودًا».**

[10] **ومن[128] ذكر شعيا له، قال: «أنا الله عظّمتُك بالحقّ وأيّدتك وجعلتك نورًا للأمم وعهدًا للشعوب تفتح أعين العميان وتنقذ الأسرى من الظلمات إلى النور»** [cf. Isa. 42:6–7].

[11] **وقال[129] في الفصل الخامس: «اليا ابن سلطانه على كتفه»[130]** [cf. Isa. 9:6] **يريد: علامة نبوته على كتفه، هذا في التفسير** من **السرياني، وأما في العبراني فإنه يقول: «إن على كتفه علامة النبوة».**

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113. ومن: قال ابن قتيبة ومن (ابن الجوزي).
114. ومِن ذكر شعيا له قال شعيا عن الله: في كتاب إشعياء أيضًا (ابن قيم الجوزية).
115. خيرتي رضى: وخيرتي ورضى (ابن قيم الجوزية).
116. وترجمه آخر فقال: أو قال (ابن قيم الجوزية).
117. وحيي: روحي (ابن قيم الجوزية).
118. عدلي: عدله (ابن الجوزي).
119. العيون: + العمي (ابن قيم الجوزية).
120. الهوى: الموتى، مع تصحيح في هامش الأصل.
121. ركن المتواضعين: ركن للمتواضعين (ابن قيم الجوزية).
122. إشارة إلى سورة التوبة (9): 32 وغيرها.
123. العذر: المعذرة (ابن قيم الجوزية).
124. For Ibn Qutayba's rendering of Isa. 42:4, see Bacher, "Muhammedanische Weissagungen," 309–10.
125. ومثل هذا . . . كعب قال: ومنه قول الكعب (ابن الجوزي).
126. For the notion of *tawrāt ḥadīṯa/muḥdaṯa*, see Hamdan, "Nuqūl tawrātiyya."
127. ويملأونك: وبلوبك، مع تصحيح فوق السطر، الأصل.
128. ومن: قال ابن قتيبة ومن (ابن الجوزي).
129. وقال: قال وقال (ابن الجوزي).
130. Bacher ("Muhammedanische Weissagungen," 310) suggests that this is an adaptation of Deut. 33:12.

ومِن[131] ذكر[132] داود له في الزبور

[12] وفي الزبور: «**سبّحوا الربّ**[133] **تسبيحًا حديثًا**[134]، **سبّحوا الذي هيكله الصالحون ليفرح إسرائيل بخالقه وبيوت صهيون من أجل أن الله اصطفى له أمته وأعطاه النصر وشدّد**[135] **الصالحين منهم بالكرامة، يسبّحونه على مضاجعهم ويكبرون الله بأصواتٍ مرتفعةٍ، بأيديهم سيوف ذوات شفرتين لينتقموا لله**[136] **من الأمم الذين لا يعبدونه، يوثقون ملوكهم بالقيود وأشرافهم بالأغلال**» [cf. Ps. 149]. **فمَن**[137] **هذه الأمة التي سيوفها ذات شفرتين غير العرب، ومَن المنتقم بها من الأمم الذين لا يعبدونه ومَن المبعوث بالسيف من الأنبياء غير نبيّنا عليه السلام؟**

[13] **وفي**[138] **مزمور آخر**: «**تقلد**[139] **أيها الجبّار بالسيف**[140] **فإن ناموسك وشرائعك مقرونة بهيبة يمينك** [130أ] **وسهامك مسنونة والأمم يخرّون تحتك**» [cf. Ps. 45:3–6]. **فمَن**[141] **متقلد السيف من الأنبياء غير نبيّنا**[142]، **ومَن**[143] **خرّت الأمم تحته غيره، ومَن قُرِنت**[144] **شرائعه بالهيبة، فإما**[145] **القبول وإما**[146] **الجزية وإما**[147] **السيف، ونحوه**[148] **قوله عليه السلام: نُصِرتُ بالرُعب**[149].

[14] **وفي**[150] **مزمور آخر**: «**إن الله أظهر من صهيون إكليلاً محمودًا**» [cf. Ps. 50:2]. **ضرب**[151] **الإكليل مثلًا للرياسة والإمامة، ومحمودًا**[152] **هو محمد صلى الله عليه.**

[15] **وفي**[153] **مزمور آخر من صفته**[154]: «**إنه يجوز**[155] **من البحر إلى البحر ومن لدن الأنهار إلى منقطع الأرض، وإنه تخرّ**[156] **أهل الجزائر**

131. ومن: قال ابن قتيبة ومن (ابن الجوزي).
132. ذكر: قول (ابن قيم الجوزية).
133. الرب: الله (ابن قيم الجوزية).
134. حديثًا: جديدًا (ابن قيم الجوزية).
135. وشدد: وسدد (ابن قيم الجوزية).
136. لينتقموا لله: وينتقم بهم (ابن قيم الجوزية).
137. فمن: قال ابن قتيبة فمن (ابن الجوزي).
138. وفي: قال ابن قتيبة وفي (ابن الجوزي).
139. وفي مزمور آخر تقلد: قول داود ومن أجل هذا بارك الله عليك إلى الأبد فتقلد (ابن قيم الجوزية).
140. بالسيف: السيف (ابن الجوزي)؛ + لأن البهاء لوجهك والحمد الغالب عليك اركب كلمة الحق وسمت التأله (ابن قيم الجوزية).
141. فمن: وليس (ابن قيم الجوزية).
142. من الأنبياء غير نبيّنا: بعد داود من الأنبياء سوى محمد (ابن قيم الجوزية).
143. ومن: وهو الذي (ابن قيم الجوزية).
144. ومن قرنت: وقرنت (ابن قيم الجوزية).
145. فإما: إما (ابن قيم الجوزية).
146. وإما: او (ابن الجوزي).
147. وإما: او (ابن الجوزي).
148. ونحوه: وهذا مطابق (ابن قيم الجوزية).
149. بالرعب: + مسيرة شهر (ابن قيم الجوزية).
150. وفي: وقال وفي (ابن الجوزي)؛ قول داود في (ابن قيم الجوزية).
151. ضرب: وضرب (ابن قيم الجوزية).
152. ومحمودًا: ومحمود (ابن قيم الجوزية).
153. وفي: قال وفي (ابن الجوزي).
154. وفي مزمور آخر من صفته: وقال في صفته (ابن قيم الجوزية).
155. إنه يجوز: ويجوز (ابن قيم الجوزية).
156. تخر: لتخر (ابن قيم الجوزية).

بين يديه على ركبهم ويلحس أعداؤه التراب، تأتيه الملوك بالقرابين[157] وتسجد له وتدين له الملوك[158] بالطاعة والانقياد، لأنه يخلّص[159] المضطهد البائس ممن هو أقوى منه وينقذ الضعيف الذي لا ناصر له ويرأف بالضعفاء والمساكين[160] [cf. Ps. 72:8–13]، **وإنه يعطى من ذهب بلاد سبأ ويصلى عليه في كل وقت ويبارك في كل يوم** [cf. Ps. 72:15]، **ويدوم ذكره إلى الأبد** [cf. Ps. 72:17]». **فمَن[161] هذا الذي ملك ما بين البحر والبحر وما بين دجلة والفرات إلى منقطع الأرض، ومَن ذا الذي يصلّى عليه ويبارك في كل وقت من الأنبياء غير نبيّنا؟**

[16] **وفي[162] موضع آخر من الزبور قال داود[163]: «اللهم ابعث جاعل السنة حتى[164] يَعلم الناس أنه بشر»[165]. وهذا إخبار عن المسيح وعن محمد عليه السلام قبلهما بأحقاب[166]، يريد: ابعث محمدًا حتى يعلم الناس أن المسيح بشٌر، لعلم داود أن قومًا[167] سيدعون للمسيح ما ادّعوا.[168]**

[17] **وفي[169] شعيا: «قيل لي: قم نظارًا فانظر ماذا ترى تخبر به، قلت: أرى راكبين مقبلين، أحدهما على حمار والآخر على جمل، يقول أحدهما لصاحبه[170]: سقطت بابل وأصنامها المنجّرة[171]»** [cf. Isa. 21:6, 7, 9] **وصاحب[172] الحمار عندنا وعند النصارى هو المسيح. وإذا كان** [130ب] **صاحب الحمار المسيح فلِمَ لا يكون محمد صاحب الجمل؟ أوليس سقوط بابل والأصنام المنجّرة به وعلى يديه، لا بالمسيح؟ ولم يزل في إقليم بابل ملوك يعبدون الأوثان من لدن إبراهيم عليه السلام. أوليس هو بركوب الجمل أشهر من المسيح بركوب الحمار[173]؟**

ذكر المسيح النبيّ[174] في الإنجيل

[18] **قال المسيح[175] للحواريين: «أنا أذهب[176] وسيأتيكم البارقليط، روح الحقّ، الذي لا يتكلم من قِبل نفسه، إنما هو كما يقال له، وهو يشهد عليَّ وأنتم تشهدون، لأنكم معي من قبل الناس، وكل شيء أعدَّه الله لكم يخبركم به»** [cf. John 15:26–27 with John 16:7, 13].

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157. بالقرابين: الفرس (ابن قيم الجوزية).
158. الملوك: الأمم (ابن الجوزي / ابن قيم الجوزية).
159. لأنه يخلص: ويخلص (ابن قيم الجوزية).
160. بالضعفاء والمساكين: بالمساكين والضعفاء (ابن قيم الجوزية).
161. فمَن: قال ابن قتيبة فمن (ابن الجوزي).
162. وفي: قال وفي (ابن الجوزي).
163. وفي موضع آخر من الزبور قال داود: قوله في الزبور لداود سيولد لك ولد أدعى له أبا ويدعى لي ابنًا (ابن قيم الجوزية).
164. حتى: كي (ابن قيم الجوزية).
165. Bacher ("Muhammedanische Weissagungen," 310) suggests this to be a modified translation of Ps. 9:20. For similar spurious quotations, see Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 272, n. 6.
166. قبلهما بأحقاب: قبل ظهورهما بزمن طويل (ابن قيم الجوزية).
167. أن قومًا: أنهم (ابن الجوزي).
168. For parallels to this spurious quotation, see Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 272, n. 6.
لعلم داود أن قومًا سيدعون للمسيح ما ادّعوا: ليس إلهًا وأنه ابن البشر ولا ابن خالق البشر فبعث الله هادي الأمة وكاشف الغمة فبين للأمم حقيقة أمر المسيح وأنه عبد كريم ونبي مرسل لا كما ادعته فيه النصارى ولا كما رمته به اليهود (ابن قيم الجوزية).
169. وفي: قال وفي (ابن الجوزي)؛ وقوله في نبوة (ابن قيم الجوزية).
170. لصاحبه: للآخر (ابن الجوزي).
171. المنجرة: للحبر (ابن قيم الجوزية).
172. وصاحب: قال فصاحب (ابن الجوزي).
173. محمد . . . الحمار: وراكب الجمل هو محمد وهو أشهر بركوب الجمل من المسيح بركوب الحمار وبمحمد سقطت أصنام بابل لا بالمسيح ولم يزل في إقليم بابل من يعبه الأوثان من عهد إبراهيم الخليل إلى أن سقطت بمحمد (ابن قيم الجوزية).
For this scriptural passage and related adaptations, see Bashear, "Riding Beasts."
174. ذكر المسيح النبيّ: قال ابن قتيبة فأما ذكر النبيّ صلى الله عليه (ابن الجوزي).
175. في الإنجيل: قال المسيح: ما في الإنجيل أن المسيح قال (ابن قيم الجوزية).
176. أذهب: ذاهب (ابن قيم الجوزية).

[19] وفي[177] حكاية[178] يوحنا عن المسيح أنه قال: «البارقليط لا يجيئكم ما لم أذهب، فإذا جاء وبّخ العالَم على الخطيئة، ولا يقول من تلقاء نفسه شيئًا ولكنه مما يسمع به يكلّمكم ويسوسكم بالحقّ ويخبركم بالحوادث والغيوب» [cf. John 16:7–8, 13].

[20] وفي[179] حكاية أخرى[180]: «إن البارقليط روح الحقّ الذي يرسله أبي باسمي وهو يعلّمكم كل شيء» [cf. John 14:26].

[21] وقال[181]: «إني سائل[182] أبي أن يبعث إليكم بارقليطًا[183] آخر يكون معكم إلى الأبد، وهو يعلّمكم كل شيء» [cf. John 14:16, 26].

[22] وفي حكاية أخرى[184]: «ابن البشر[185] ذاهب والبارقليط من بعده يجيء لكم الأسرار[186] ويفسّر لكم كل شيء، وهو يشهد لي كما شهدتُ له، فإني أجيئكم بالأمثال وهو يأتيكم بالتأويل» [cf. John 15:26–27 with John 16:7, 13]. وهذه[187] الأشياء على اختلافها متقاربة وإنما اختلفت لأن مَن نقل الإنجيل عن المسيح[188] من الحواريين عدةٌ. والبارقليط هو بلغتهم لفظ من[189] الحمد، إما أحمد وإما محمود وإما محمد وما أشبه[190] ذلك، وهو في الإنجيل الحبشي أو الرومي ابن نعطيس[191]. فمَن هذا الذي هو روح الحقّ الذي لا يتكلم إلّا بما يوحى إليه، ومَن العاقب للمسيح والشاهد له بأن قد بلّغ، ومَن الذي أخبر بالحوادث في الأزمنة مثل خروج الدجال وظهور الدابة وطلوع الشمس من مغربها وأشباه هذا، وبالغيوب من أمر القيامة والحساب والجنة والنار وأشباه [131أ] ذلك مما لم يُذكر في التوراة والإنجيل والزبور غير نبيّنا صلى الله عليه؟

[23] وفي[192] إنجيل في متى[193] «أنه لما حبس يحيى بن زكريا ليُقتل بعث تلاميذه إلى المسيح وقال لهم: قولوا له: أنت هو الآتي[194] أو نتوقع غيرك؟ فأجابه المسيح وقال[195]: الحقّ اليقين أقول لكم: إنه لم تقم النساء عن أفضل من يحيى بن زكريا، وإن التوراة وكتب الأنبياء يتلو بعضها بعضًا بالنبوة والوحي حتى جاء يحيى. فأما الآن فإن شئتم فأقبلوا أن إلياهو[196] مزمع أن يأتي، فمَن كانت له أذنان سامعتان فليسمع[197]» [cf. Matt. 11:2–4, 9–11]. وليس[198] يخلو هذا الاسم من إحدى خلال، إما أن يكون قال: إن أحمد مزمع أن يأتي فغيّروا الاسم كما قال الله جلّ وعزّ ﴿يُحَرِّفُونَ الْكَلِمَ عَن مَوَاضِعِهِ﴾ [Q 4:46]، وجعلوه إليا، وإما أن يكون قال: إن إيل مزمع أن يأتي وإيل هو الله ومجيء الله هو مجيء رسوله بكتابه، كما قال في التوراة: «جاء الله من سيناء»[199] [cf. Deut. 33:2]، يراد: جاء موسى من سيناء

177. وفي: قال وفي (ابن الجوزي).
178. حكاية: إنجيل (ابن قيم الجوزية).
179. وفي: قال وفي (ابن الجوزي).
180. حكاية أخرى: موضع آخر (ابن قيم الجوزية).
181. وقال: وفي موضع آخر (ابن قيم الجوزية).
182. سائل: + له (ابن قيم الجوزية).
183. بارقليطًا: بارقليط، الأصل.
184. حكاية أخرى: موضع آخر (ابن قيم الجوزية).
185. ابن البشر: إن البشير (ابن الجوزي).
186. الأسرار: بالأسرار (ابن الجوزي / ابن قيم الجوزية).
187. وهذه: قال ابن قتيبة وهذه (ابن الجوزي)؛ قال أبو محمد ابن قتيبة (ابن قيم الجوزية).
188. نقل الإنجيل عن المسيح: نقلها عن المسيح في الإنجيل (ابن قيم الجوزية).
189. من: من ألفاظ (ابن قيم الجوزية).
190. وإما محمود وإما محمد وما أشبه: أو محمد أو محمود أو حامد أو نحو (ابن قيم الجوزية).
191. نعطيس: + الى، الأصل.
192. وفي: قال ابن قتيبة وفي (ابن الجوزي).
193. وفي إنجيل في متى: قوله في إنجيل متى (ابن قيم الجوزية).
194. هو الآتي: إيل (ابن قيم الجوزية).
195. فأجابه المسيح وقال: فقال المسيح (ابن قيم الجوزية)
196. أن ألياهو: فإن إيل (ابن قيم الجوزية).
197. فليسمع: فليستمع (ابن قيم الجوزية).
198. وليس: قال ابن قتيبة وليس (ابن الجوزي).
199. وإيل . . . سيناء: وهذه بشارة بمجيء الله سبحانه الذي هو إيل بالعبرانية ومجيئه هو مجيء رسوله وكتابه ودينه كما في التوراة جاء الله من طور سيناء (ابن قيم الجوزية).

بكتاب الله، ولم يأت كتابٌ بعد المسيح إلّا القرآن، وإما أن يكون أراد النبيّ المسمى بهذا الاسم، وهذا لا يجوز عندهم لأنهم مجمعون على أنه لا نبيّ بعد المسيح.

ذُكر[200] مكة والحرم والبيت[201] في الكتب المتقدّمة

[24] **في كتاب شعيا**[202]: «**إنه ستمتلئ**[203] **البادية والمدن قصور آل**[204] **قيذار يسبّحون ومن رؤوس الجبال ينادون، هم الذين يجعلون لله الكرامة ويبثّون تسبيحه**[205] **في البرّ والبحر**» [cf. Isa. 42:11–13]. **وقال**: «**ارفع علماً لجميع الأمم من بعيد فيُصفر بهم من أقاصي**[206] **الأرض، فإذا هم سراع يأتون**» [cf. Isa. 5:26–30]. **وبنو**[207] **قيذار**[208] **هم العرب، لأن قيذار**[209] **هو ابن إسماعيل بإجماع الناس، والعَلَم الذي يرفع هو النبوة، والصفير بهم دعاؤهم من أقاصي الأرض للحجّ**[210]، **فإذا هم سراع يأتون وهو نحو قول الله**[211] **تعالى ﴿وَأَذِّن فِي النَّاسِ بِالْحَجِّ يَأْتُوكَ رِجَالًا وَعَلَى كُلِّ ضَامِرٍ يَأْتِينَ مِن كُلِّ فَجٍّ عَمِيقٍ﴾** [Q 22:27].

[25] **وفي**[212] **موضع آخر من كتاب شعيا**[213]: «**سأبعث من الصبا قومًا فيأتون**[214] **من المشرق مجيبين أفواجًا كالصعيد كثرةً ومثل الطيَّان الذي يدوس برجليه الطين**» [cf. Isa. 41:25]. **والصبا يأتي من**[215] **مطلع الشمس، يبعث**[216] **الله من هناك قومًا من خراسان ومن صاقبها**[217]، **وممن هو نازل بمهبّ الصبا فيأتون مجيبين بالتلبية أفواجًا كالتراب كثرةً، و**«**مثل**[218] **الطيَّان الذي يدوس برجليه**[219] **الطين**»، **يريد أن منهم رجاله كالّين، وقد يجوز أن يكون أراد الهرولة إذا طافوا بالبيت**[220].

[26] [131ب] **وقال**[221] **في ذكر الحجر المستلم**: قال شعيا[222]: «قال الربّ السيد[223]: ها أنا ذا[224] مؤسّس بصهيون **وهو بيت الله** حجرًا

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200. ذكر: قال ابن قتيبة ذكر (ابن الجوزي).
201. والحرم والبيت: والبيت والحرم (ابن الجوزي).
202. في كتاب شعيا: قول إشعيا في موضع آخر (ابن قيم الجوزية).
203. ستمتلئ: ستملأ (ابن قيم الجوزية).
204. قصور آل: قصورًا إلى (ابن قيم الجوزية).
205. ويبثون تسبيحه: ويثنون بتسبيحه (ابن قيم الجوزية).
206. أقاصي: أقصى (ابن قيم الجوزية).
207. وبنو: قال ابن قتيبة وبنو (ابن الجوزي).
208. قيذار: قيدر، الأصل.
209. قيذار: قيذر، الأصل.
210. للحج: إلى الحج (ابن قيم الجوزية).
211. وهو نحو قول الله: وهذا مطابق لقوله (ابن قيم الجوزية).
212. وفي: وقال في (ابن الجوزي).
213. وفي موضع آخر من كتاب شعيا: قول إشعيا في موضع آخر (ابن قيم الجوزية).
214. فيأتون: يأتون (ابن قيم الجوزية).
215. من: + نحو (ابن قيم الجوزية).
216. يبعث: بعث (ابن قيم الجوزية).
217. خراسان ومن صاقبها: أهل خراسان وما صاقبها (ابن الجوزي)؛ أهل المشرق (ابن قيم الجوزية).
218. ومثل: وقوله ومثل (ابن قيم الجوزية).
219. برجليه: إضافة في هامش الأصل.
220. يريد . . . بالبيت: إما أن يراد به الهرولة بالطواف والسعي وإما أن يراد به رجالٌ قد كلّت أرجلهم من المشي (ابن قيم الجوزية).
221. وقال: قال ابن قتيبة وقال (ابن الجوزي).
222. وقال في ذكر الحجر المسلم قال شعيا: قول إشعيا في ذكر الحجر الأسود (ابن قيم الجوزية).
223. السيد: والسيد (ابن قيم الجوزية).
224. ها أنا ذا: أنذا (ابن قيم الجوزية).

حجرًا في زاوية **مكرمة**[225]، فمن كان مؤمنًا فلا يستعجلن، وأجعل العدل مثل الشاقول والصدق مثل الميزان فيهلك الذين ولعوا بالكذب»[226] [cf. Isa. 28:16–17]، **والحجر** بما ذكر الله عزّ وجلّ **في زاوية البيت، والكرامة أنه يُلثم ويستلم**[227].

[27] **وقال شعيا**[228] **في ذكر مكة**: «**سرِّي واهتزبي أيتها العاقر التي لم تلد، وانطقي بالتسبيح وافرحي إذ لم**[229] **تحبلي، فإن أهلك يكونون أكثر من أهلي**» [cf. Isa. 54:1]. **يعني بأهله أهل بيت المقدس من بني إسرائيل، وأراد أن أهل مكة يكونون بمن يأتيهم من الحجّاج والعمار أكثر من أهل بيت المقدس، فشبّه مكة بامرأة عاقر**[230] **لم تلد، لأنه لم يكن فيها قبل النبي**[231] **إلّا إسماعيل وحده، ولم ينزل بها كتابٌ، ولا يجوز أن يكون أراد**[232] **بالعاقر بيت المقدس لأنه بيت الأنبياء ومهبط**[233] **الوحي**[234]، **فلا يشبّه بالعاقر من النساء.**

[28] **وفي شعيا أيضًا من ذكر مكة**[235]: «**قد أقسمتُ بنفسي كقسمي أيام نوح: إني لا أغرق الأرض بالطوفان، كذلك أقسمتُ أني لا أسخط عليك ولا أرفضك، وإن الجبال تزول والقلاع**[236] **تنحط ونعمتي**[237] **عليك لا تزول**» [cf. Isa. 54:9, 10].

[29] **ثم قال**: «**يا مسكينة يا مضطهدة، ها أنا ذا بانٍ بالحسن حجارتك ومزيِّنك بالجواهر ومكلِّل باللؤلؤ سقفك، وبالزبرجد أبوابك، وتبعدين من الظلم فلا تخافي من الضعف فلا تضعفي، وكل سلاح يصنعه صانع لا**[238] **يعمل فيك وكل لسان ولغة تقوم معك بالخصومة تفلحين معها**» [cf. Isa. 54:11, 12, 14, 17].

[30] **ثم قال**: «**وسيسمّيك الله اسمًا جديدًا**» [cf. Isa. 62:2]. **يريد أنه سمّى**[239] **المسجد الحرام وكان قبل ذلك يسمّى الكعبة.**

[31] «**فقومي فأشرقي، فإنه قد دنا نورك ووقار الله عليك: انظري بعينك حولك، فإنهم مجتمعون، يأتيك بنوك وبناتك عَدْوًا فحينئذ تسرّين**[240] **وتزهرين ويخاف عدوّك ويتّسع**[241] **قلبك، وكل غنم قيذار تجمع إليك، وسادات نباوث يخدمونك**» [cf. Isa. 60:1, 4, 5, 7]. **ونباوث هو ابن إسماعيل، وقيذار هو أبو النبيّ وهو أخو نباوث**[242].

[32] **ثم قال: «تفتح أبوابك دائمًا الليل والنهار ولا**[243] **تغلق، ويتخذونك قبلةً وتُدعين بعد ذلك مدينة الربّ، أي بيت الله»** [cf. Isa. 60:11, 14].

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225. مكرمة: ركن منه (ابن قيم الجوزية).
226. For this rendering of Isa. 28:16, see also Bacher, "Muhammedanische Weissagungen," 311.
227. يُلثم ويستلم: يستلم ويُلثم (ابن الجوزي).
228. وقال شعيا: قوله أيضًا (ابن قيم الجوزية).
229. إذ لم: ولم (ابن قيم الجوزية).
230. فشبّه مكة بامرأة عاقر: ويعني بالعاقر مكة لأنها (ابن قيم الجوزية).
231. النبي: محمد النبي (ابن قيم الجوزية).
232. يكون أراد: يريد (ابن قيم الجوزية).
233. ومهبط: ومعدن (ابن قيم الجوزية).
234. الوحي: + وقد ولد أنبياء كثيرًا (ابن قيم الجوزية).
235. وفي شعيا أيضًا من ذكر مكة: قول إشعيا في مكة أيضًا (ابن قيم الجوزية).
236. والقلاع: وان القلاع (ابن قيم الجوزية).
237. ونعمتي: ورحمتي (ابن قيم الجوزية).
238. لا: فلا (ابن قيم الجوزية).
239. سمى: سماها (ابن قيم الجوزية).
240. تسرّين: تشرقون (ابن قيم الجوزية).
241. ويتّسع: وليتسع (ابن قيم الجوزية).
242. وقيذار هو أبو النبيّ وهو أخو نباوث: وقيذار جد النبي وهو أخو نبت بن إسماعيل (ابن قيم الجوزية).
243. ولا: لا (ابن قيم الجوزية).

[33] **وفي**[244] **موضع آخر من شعيا**[245]: «**ارفعي إلى من**[246] **حولك بصرك، تستبهجين**[247] **وتفرحين من أجل أنه يميل**[248] **إليك ذخائر البحر، ويحج إليك عساكر الأمم حتى تعمرك**[249] **قطر الإبل الموبّلة وتضيق أرضك عن القطرات**[250] **التي تجتمع إليك وتساق إليك كباش مدين ويأتيك أهل سبأ، وتسير إليك بأغنام قاذار**[251] **ويخدمك رجالات نباوث**[252]» [cf. Isa. 60:5, 7]، **يعني**[253] **سدنة البيت**[254]، **إنهم من ولد نباوث بن**[255] **إسماعيل**.

ذكر[256] **طريق مكة في شعيا**[257]

[34] [132أ] **وفي شعيا عن الله**: «**إني أعطي البادية كرامة**[258] **لبنان وبهاء الكرمال**[259]» [cf. Isa. 35:2]، **وكرمال ولبنان**[260] **الشام وبيت المقدس، يريد**: «**أجعل الكرامة التي كانت هناك بالوحي وظهور الأنبياء للبادية بالحجّ وبالنبي**[261] **عليه السلام**، ثم قال: «**ويشق في** البادية[262] **مياهًا وسواقي في أرض الفلاة**، ويكون الفيافي[263] والأماكن العطاش ينابيع ومياها، ويصير هناك محجّةً وطريق الحرام[264] لا يمرّ به أنجاس الأمم، والجاهل به لا يصل هناك، ولا يكون به سباع ولا أسد، ويكون هناك ممرّ المخلصين» [cf. Isa. 35:2, 6, 8, 9].

[35] وفي كتاب حزقيل أنه ذكر معاصي بني إسرائيل وشبّههم بكرمةٍ عداها، فقال[265]: «لم[266] تلبث **تلك** الكرمة أن قلعت بالسخطة ورُمي بها عن[267] الأرض، فأحرقت السمائم ثمارها. فعند ذلك غُرِسَ غرسٌ في البدو وفي الأرض المهملة العطشى فخرجت من أغصانها الفاضلة نارٌ أكلت **ثمار** تلك[268] حتى لم توجد فيها عصى قوية ولا قضيبٌ» [cf. Ezek. 19:12–14].

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244. وفي: وقال أيضًا وفي (ابن الجوزي).
245. وفي موضع آخر من شعيا: قوله في نبوة إشعياء أنه قال عن مكة (ابن قيم الجوزية).
246. من: ما (ابن الجوزي / ابن قيم الجوزية).
247. تستبهجين: فتستبهجين (ابن قيم الجوزية).
248. أنه تميل: أن الله تعالى يصير (ابن قيم الجوزية).
249. تعمرك: تعمّ بك (ابن قيم الجوزية).
250. القطرات: المقطرات (ابن قيم الجوزية).
251. قاذار: فاران (ابن قيم الجوزية).
252. رجالات نباوث: رجال نباوت (ابن قيم الجوزية).
253. يعني: يريد (ابن قيم الجوزية).
254. البيت: الكعبة (ابن قيم الجوزية).
255. إنهم من ولد نباوث بن: وهم أولاد نبت ابن (ابن قيم الجوزية).
256. ذكر: قال ابن قتيبة ذكر (ابن الجوزي).
257. ذكر طريق مكة في شعيا: قول إشعياء أيضًا لمكة (ابن قيم الجوزية).
258. كرامة: إضافة في هامش الأصل.
259. الكرمال: الكنزمال (ابن قيم الجوزية).
260. وكرمال ولبنان: وهما (ابن قيم الجوزية).
261. بالحج والنبي: بالنبي وبالحج (ابن قيم الجوزية).
262. في البادية: بالبادية (ابن قيم الجوزية).
263. الفيافي: بالفيافي (ابن قيم الجوزية).
264. الحرام: الحرم (ابن قيم الجوزية).
265. وفي كتاب حزقيل أنه ذكر معاصي بني إسرائيل وشبّههم بكرمةٍ عداها فقال: قول حزقيل في صحفه التي بأيديهم يقول الله عز وجل بعد ما ذكر معاصي بني إسرائيل وشبّههم بكرمة غذاها وقال (ابن قيم الجوزية).
266. لم: ما (ابن الجوزي).
267. عن: على (ابن قيم الجوزية).
268. تلك: + الكرمة (ابن قيم الجوزية).

[36] **وذكر**[269] **الحرم في كتاب شعيا قال: «إن الذئب والحمل فيه يرعيان معًا وكذلك جميع السباع لا تؤذي ولا تفسد في كل حرمي»،** [cf. Isa. 11:6, 9] **ثم ترى تلك الوحوش إذا خرجت من الحرم عاودت الذعر وهربت من السباع، وكان السبع في الطلب والحرص على**[270] **الصيد كما كان قبل دخوله الحرم.**

ذكر[271] أصحاب النبيّ وذكر يوم بدر في شعيا

[37] قال شعيا وذكر قصة العرب **يوم بدر:** «يدوسون الأمم كدياس[272] البيادر، وينزل البلاء بمشركي العرب **ويهزمون»** [cf. Isa. 21:10]، **ثم قال:** «وينهزمون **من** بين يدي سيوف مسلولة وقسي مؤتّرة[273] ومن شدّة الملحمة[274]» [cf. Isa. 21:15].

[38] **فهذا**[275] **ما في كتب الله المتقدمة الباقية في أيدي أهل الكتاب** من ذكر نبيّنا وصفاته وأعلامه [132ب] وأهل الكتاب **يتلونه ولا يجحدون ظاهره، خلا اسم نبيّنا، فإنهم لا يسمحون بالإقرار به تصريحًا. ولن يُغني ذلك عنهم** عندهم، **لأن**[276] **اسم النبيّ بالسريانية عندهم مشفحا**[277]**، ومشفح**[278] **محمد بغير شكّ، واعتباره أنهم يقولون**[279]: **شفحا لالاها**[280]**، إذا أرادوا أن يقولوا: الحمد لله. وإذا كان الحمد شفحا فمشفح محمد**[281]**، ولأن الصفات التي أقرّوا بها هي وفاقٌ لأحواله وزمانه ومخرجه ومبعثه وشرعته. فليدلّونا على مَن له هذه الصفات**[282] **ومَن خرّت**[283] **الأمم بين**[284] **يديه وانقادت لطاعته**[285] **واستجابت لدعوته، ومَن صاحب الجمل الذي هلكت بابل وأصنامها به؟ وأين هذه الأمة من ولد قيدر بن إسماعيل والذين ينادون من رؤوس الجبال بالتلبية وبالأذان، والذين** جعلوا له الكرامة و**بثّوا تسبيحه في البرّ والبحر؟ هيهات أن يجدوا ذلك إلّا في محمد** صلى الله عليه **وأمته؟**

[39] **ولو**[286] **لم** نأت[287] **بهذه** الأنباء والقصص[288] **من كتبهم ألم يكن مما**[289] **أودع** الله القرآنَ دليلٌ على ما أودعها من ذكره[290]، وفي تركهم جحد ذلك وإنكاره، وهو يقرعهم به دليل على اعترافهم له، فإنه جلّ وعزّ يقول ﴿الَّذِينَ يَتَّبِعُونَ الرَّسُولَ النَّبِيَّ الْأُمِّيَّ الَّذِي يَجِدُونَهُ مَكْتُوبًا

269. وذكر: قال ابن قتيبة وذكر (ابن الجوزي).
270. على: في (ابن الجوزي).
271. ذكر: قال ابن قتيبة ذكر (ابن الجوزي).
272. كدياس: دياس (ابن قيم الجوزية).
273. مؤترة: موتورة (ابن قيم الجوزية).
274. الملحمة: + وهذا إخبار عما حلّ بعبدة الأوثان من رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وأصحابه يوم بدر ويوم حنين وفي غيرها من الوقائع (ابن قيم الجوزية).
275. فهذا: قال ابن قتيبة فهذا (ابن الجوزي).
276. لأن: وهذا (القسطلاني).
277. مشفحا: مشفح (القسطلاني).
278. ومشفح: قال أبو محمد ابن قتيبة مشفح (ابن قيم الجوزية).
279. يقولون: يقولن (القسطلاني).
280. لالاها: لاها (ابن قيم الجوزية / القسطلاني).
281. محمد: + بغير شك (ابن قيم الجوزية).
282. له هذه الصفات: هذه الصفات له (القسطلاني).
283. خرت: خرجت له (القسطلاني).
284. بين: من بين (القسطلاني).
285. لطاعته: له (القسطلاني).
286. ولو: قال ابن قتيبة ولو (ابن الجوزي)؛ على أنا لو (القسطلاني).
287. نأت: يكن (ابن الجوزي).
288. الأنباء والقصص: الأخبار (ابن الجوزي).
289. مما: فيما (القسطلاني).
290. ما أودعها من ذكره: ذلك (القسطلاني).

عِنْدَهُمْ فِي التَّوْرَاةِ وَالإِنْجِيلِ يَأْمُرُهُم بِالمَعْرُوفِ وَيَنْهَاهُمْ عَنِ المُنْكَرِ﴾ [Q 7:157] ويقول[291] عن المسيح ﴿إِنِّ رَسُولُ اللهِ إِلَيْكُم مُصَدِّقًا لِمَا بَيْنَ يَدَيَّ مِنَ التَّوْرَاةِ وَمُبَشِّرًا[292] بِرَسُولٍ يَأْتِي مِن بَعْدِي اسْمُهُ أَحْمَدُ﴾ [Q 61:6] **ويقول** ﴿يَا أَهْلَ الكِتَابِ لِمَ تَكْفُرُونَ بِآيَاتِ اللهِ وَأَنْتُمْ تَشْهَدُونَ **يَا أَهْلَ الكِتَابِ لِمَ تَلْبِسُونَ الحَقَّ بِالبَاطِلِ** [133أ] **وَتَكْتُمُونَ الحَقَّ وَأَنْتُمْ تَعْلَمُونَ**﴾ [Q 3:70–71] وقال[293] ﴿الَّذِينَ آتَيْنَاهُمُ الْكِتَابَ **يَعْرِفُونَهُ كَمَا يَعْرِفُونَ أَبْنَاءَهُمْ**﴾ [Q 2:146] **وقال** ﴿قُلْ **كَفَى بِاللهِ شَهِيدًا بَيْنِي وَبَيْنَكُمْ وَمَنْ عِنْدَهُ عِلْمُ الكِتَابِ**﴾[294] [Q 13:43] وقد كان رسول الله صلى الله عليه يدعوهم إلى اتباعه وتصديقه **فكيف يجوز**[295] أن يحتجّ عليهم بباطل من الحجج ويُحيل بذلك[296] على ما عندهم وفي[297] أيديهم، **ويقول: من علامة نبوتي** وصدقي **أنكم تجدوني** عندكم مكتوبًا، وهم لا يجدونه كما ذكر، وأيضًا[298] <أوليس> ذلك مما يزيدهم منه بعادًا أو عما يزيدهم عليه بعدًا **وقد كان غنيًا عن أن يدعوهم بما ينفّرهم** ويستميلهم بما يوحشهم ولمَ[299] أسلم من أسلم من علمائهم كعبد الله بن سلام وتميم الداري وكعب وقد وقفوا منه على مثل هذه الدعاوى التي لا تصحّ عندهم لا سيّما وهو يحتجّ بهم على قريش ويقوى[300] عليهم أو لم يكن له آيةً إن تعلمه علماء بني إسرائيل.[301]

[40] وفي الحديث أن رسول الله صلّى الله عليه دعا اليهود فقال: كيف عبد الله بن سلام فيكم؟ قالوا: عالِمنا وابن عالِمنا وسيدنا وابن سيدنا، قال: أرأيتم إن أسلم تسلمون، قالوا: نعم، فخرج عليهم عبد الله بن سلام فشهد بالحقّ واحتجّ له، فلما سمعوا ذلك قالوا: خَرِف الشيخ. ويقال: إياه عنى الله تعالى بقوله ﴿وَمَنْ عِنْدَهُ عِلْمُ الكِتَابِ﴾ [Q 13:43] وليس احتجاجنا على المكذّبين بالرسل بما في كتب الله لأنا رأيناهم يؤمنون بها ومن لم يؤمن بالرسول المبلغ للكتاب لم يؤمن بالكتاب، ولكنا رأينا الحجّة تلزمهم فيها بإخبار موسى عن عيسى وإخبار عيسى عن محمّد وبين المُخْبِر والمخبَر عنه قرون كثيرة وأحقابٌ، وهذا لا يجوز إلّا عند من آمن بالرُسل لإخبارها عن الله بذلك، فإن ادّعوا أن الكتب التي في أيدي أهل الكتاب مصنوعة صنعها كبراؤهم ليعقدوا لأنفسهم بها الرئاسة ويستدعوا من العوامّ الانقياد والطاعة وأن ما فيها من ذكر نبيّ يسمّى عزير (؟)[302] وأنه لا إبراهيم ولا داود ولا موسى ولا عيسى، خرجوا بهذا القول عن كل فطرة وأبطلوا به كل معرفة إلاّ ما لحقته العيون وكفى بذلك جهلًا وحيرةً.

[41] ولو كانت الحجّة لا تثبت إلّا بإقرار الخصم أو سكوته لم تثبت أبدًا إلّا [133ب] بمشيته، لأن الكلام واسع واللسان كلفٌ وقد رأيتُ من الناس من لا يسكت وقد أسكته الحقّ ولا ينقطع وقد قطعته الحجّة ورُبّ كلام أبلغ منه العِيّ وقول أحسن منه للانقطاع وإنما يكفيك من الكلام أن يخرج خصمك عما عرف الناس وعما اختلفوا[303] عليه، فإذا بلغ هذه الغاية، فأمسك عنه فلا تزده، فإن الزائد فيما لا مزيد فيه متعرّض للخطأ بعد الصواب ومساوٍ للخصم في الشتم[304] وسوء الأدب بعد الظهور وليس يجوز الكذب على الإخبار بأتية موسى وعيسى

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291. ويقول: + حكايةً (القسطلاني).
292. مبشرًا: إضافة في هامش الأصل.
293. وقال: ويقول (القسطلاني).
294. وقال . . . الكتاب: وكانوا يقولون لمخالفيهم عند القتال هذا نبي قد أظل مولده ويذكرون من صفته ما يجدون في كتابهم فلما جاءهم ما عرفوا كفروا به حسدًا وخوفًا على الرياسة ويحتمل أنهم كانوا يظنون أنه من بني إسرائل فلما بعثه الله من العرب من نسل إسماعيل عظم ذلك عليهم وأظهروا التكذيب فلعنه الله على الكافرين (القسطلاني).
295. يجوز: جاز لرسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم (ابن الجوزي).
296. ويحيل بذلك: ثم يحيل ذلك (القسطلاني).
297. وفي: وما في (القسطلاني).
298. وأيضًا: أوليس (القسطلاني).
299. ولم: وقد (القسطلاني).
300. ويقوي: وبقوا، الأصل.
301. [40]–[42]: قلت وما زال أهل الكتاب يعرفون رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم بصفاته ويقرّون به ويعدون بظهوره، ويوصون أهاليهم بالإيمان به، فلما ظهر آمن عقلاؤهم وحمل الحسدُ آخرين على العناد كحيي بن أخطب وأبي عامر الراهب، وأمية بن أبي الصلْت، وقد أسلم جماعة من علماء متأخري أهل الكتاب وصنّفوا كتبًا يذكرون فيها صفاته التي في التوراة والإنجيل، فالعجب ممن يتيقن وجود الحقّ ثم يحمله الحسد على الرضا بالخلود في النار (ابن الجوزي).
302. عزير (؟): خربد، الأصل.
303. اختلفوا: احسلوا، الأصل.
304. الشتم: + شره (إضافة في هامش الأصل).

وأعلامهما لأنهما خبر قرن عن قرون وأمم مختلفة في الدين عن أمم مختلفةٍ، ولو جاز أن يكون مثله باطلًا لجاز أن يقولوا في نبيّنا صلّى الله عليه مثله وأن يقولوا في القائمين بعده وأن يكون المولود في زمن المعتصم يشكّ في المنصور والمشاهد لخلافة وُلد العباس يشكّ في خلافة بني أمية، وهذا وأشباهه من الأمور التي تقرب منا بوحش السامع لقرب العهد ولا فرق بينها وبين الأمر الأول، لأنها كلّها أخبار قرن عن قرنٍ إلّا أن القرن قلّ عددها في واحدٍ وكَثُرَ في آخر.

[42] وأما قولهم إن ما في الكتب من ذكر نبيّ منقلع لآخر بعده عزير (؟)[305] فمن النابذون لأهل الكتاب العابدون؟ وهذا مستحيل لأن اليهود أعداء النصارى ويكذّبون بنبوة المسيح، والنصارى أعداء المسلمين ويكذّبون بنبوة محمّد عليه السلام، فكيف يزيدون في كتبهم ذكر أنبياء هم بهم جاحدون وكانوا بحذف الذكر ونقص المدح والثناء أجدر لو وجدوا إلى ذلك سبيلًا لذمّ (؟)[306] المسلمين، وهذا أشدّ استحالة لأن المسلمين لو أرادوا الزيادة في كتبهم لم يزيدوا إلّا ليحتجّوا عليهم بذلك فكيف يصلون إلى الزيادة سيّما من حيث لا يعلمون، وإن قالوا أن للأنبياء أصحاب شبه ومخاريق فإن الشبه باطلة كاسمها فهل يتّبعون في الشبه بعلماء الغيب [. . .][307] وفلق البحر وتسعمائة ألف حتى عبروا وإطباقه على أكثر منهم حتى غرقوا [134أ] وكإحياء الموتى وخلق الطير من طين وهل يجوز أن يحتال محتال حتى يأتي بطير من البحر بطير أبابيل معها حجارة من سجّيل فيُهلك بها أمةً وينصر بها أمة بل كيف يحتال بهذا مولود في ذلك الوقت أو كيف أمر الفيل من قريب قد لحقه وراءه بشر كثير فمن كان في عصر رسول الله صلى الله عليه فهو لنا كالعيان وفي عام الفيل كان مولده بأميّ هو وأميّ وسنذكره فيما بعده إن شاء الله.

305. عزير (؟): خربد، الأصل.
306. لذم (؟): ام، الأصل.
307. هنا سقطت قطعة من المتن.

Chapter Five
Some Hitherto Neglected Biblical Material in the Work of Ibn Ḥazm

Camilla Adang

Introduction

In 1934, Miguel Asín Palacios published an article describing the contents of a series of tracts by the Andalusi Muslim writer Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064) that had sometime earlier been discovered in Istanbul by Hellmut Ritter.[1] One of the sixteen tracts making up the collection is *al-Uṣūl wa-l-furūʿ*.[2] Although the title suggests that it deals with legal doctrine, it is in fact almost exclusively concerned with issues of dogma and might be described as a primitive version of what is arguably Ibn Ḥazm's most important work: *Kitāb al-Fiṣal fī l-milal wa-l-ahwāʾ wa-l-niḥal*.[3] To my knowledge, *al-Uṣūl wa-l-furūʿ* has been overlooked by most scholars interested in Ibn Ḥazm's biblical criticism and polemic against Judaism.[4] This is not, perhaps, surprising, since such attention has mainly focused on his "Refutation of Ibn al-Naġrīla," contained in the same collection.[5] Scholars may fur-

1. Asín Palacios, "Un códice inexplorado."

2. Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Uṣūl wa-l-furūʿ*, first published in 1978 (edited by Muḥammad ʿĀṭif al-ʿIrāqī et al.) and then, in an equally inadequate edition, in 1404/1984.

3. See Asín Palacios, "Un códice inexplorado," 3. The contents of the tract are summarized in the same article, pp. 3f. *Kitāb al-Fiṣal* was translated almost in its entirety by Asín Palacios in volumes 2–5 of his *Abenházam de Córdoba*. See also on this work Aasi, "Muslim Understanding of other Religions." Asín's view, considered plausible by the present author, is rejected by al-Qaddūrī in his *Taʾrīḫ naṣṣ al-Faṣl fī l-milal wa-l-niḥal li bn Ḥazm wa-sabab iḫtilāf nusaḫihi wa-basṭ ḫuṭṭa taḥqīqiyya*, 156ff.

4. An exception is Samīr al-Qaddūrī in his *Taʾrīḫ naṣṣ al-Faṣl fī l-milal wa-l-niḥal li bn Ḥazm wa-sabab iḫtilāf nusaḫihi wa-basṭ ḫuṭṭa taḥqīqiyya*.

5. The contents of this tract were first described by García Gomez, "Polémica religiosa." The Arabic text was published in Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Radd ʿalā Ibn al-Naġrīla*; a revised edition appeared in *Rasāʾil Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī*. For a Hebrew translation of the text, see Hannah Shemesh, "Ibn Ḥazm's *al-Radd ʿalā Ibn al-Naghrīla*." On this tract and the question of the identity of the Jew against whom it is directed, see

thermore have got the impression from Asín Palacios' article that there is little in *al-Uṣūl wa-l-furūʿ* that was not already known from *al-Fiṣal*. Yet the work constitutes a valuable additional source. For one thing, it enables us to correct passages in *al-Fiṣal* whose reading is unclear, and it offers sometimes significant variants.[6] Moreover, the work includes materials that are not found elsewhere in Ibn Ḥazm's oeuvre. Among these is a lengthy fragment containing biblical "testimonies" to the Prophet Muḥammad, which will be presented in translation in the following pages.

Biblical Testimonies to Muḥammad

The practice of quoting biblical passages in support of the mission of Muḥammad started early in the history of Islam. The Qurʾān itself declares that Muḥammad is described in the Torah and the Gospel.[7] That this was denied by Jews and Christians only made Muslims more eager to produce proof texts. They were aided in their search by converts to Islam, mainly Christians, who often did no more than apply to Muḥammad the passages that had earlier been claimed as testimonies to Jesus. One of the earliest collections of biblical texts taken as references to Muḥammad is *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* by ʿAlī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī (d. after 253/867), a former Nestorian.[8] Of the many authors who seem to have been influenced by Ibn Rabban's work, either directly or indirectly, mention should be made here of his younger contemporary, Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889), who wrote a tract on

Perlmann, "Eleventh-Century Andalusian Authors"; Perlmann, "Medieval Polemics," 109f.; Arnaldez, "Controverse d'Ibn Ḥazm"; Wasserstein, *Rise and Fall*, 199–205; Powers, "Reading/Misreading"; Stroumsa, "From Muslim Heresy to Jewish-Muslim Polemics"; Fierro, "Ibn Ḥazm et le *zindīq* juif" (an English translation is included in Adang, Fierro, and Schmidtke, *Ibn Ḥazm of Cordoba*: "Ibn Ḥazm and the Jewish *zindīq*," 497–509).

6. An example is the passage in *al-Fiṣal* in which Ibn Ḥazm describes the various sects within Judaism. Among them, he mentions the ʿĀnāniyya, "wa-hum aṣḥāb ʿĀnān al-Dāwūdī wa-tusammīhim al-Yahūd ..." The two words that follow and that would tell us how the Jews call the ʿAnāniyya are unintelligible. Several solutions have been offered. Thus Asín Palacios, *Abenházam de Córdoba*, 2/211, n. 85, suggests one might have to read here "wa-tusammīhi al-Yahūd Raʾs al-Ǧālūt," i.e., the Jews called ʿAnān ben David "the Exilarch." This suggestion is followed by Wasserstrom, "Species of Misbelief," 150, n. 80. On the basis of *al-Uṣūl wa-l-furūʿ*, we are able to correct the obscure passage to "wa- tusammīhim al-Yahūd bi-l-Qaraʾīn wa-l-minīn," i.e., Karaites and sectarians, which confirms Moshe Perlmann's suggestion in "Eleventh-Century Andalusian Authors," 158, n. 44.

7. Q 7:157; 2:129; 61:6. On the practice of quoting biblical and pseudobiblical materials in support of the veracity of the mission of Muḥammad, see Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur*, 316f., 325–329; Goldziher, "Über mohammedanische Polemik," 372–379; Schreiner, Zur Geschichte der Polemik," 599–601, 613f., 625–628, 642–647; Brockelmann, "Muhammedanische Weissagungen"; Fritsch, *Islam und Christentum im Mittelalter*, 74–96; Bouamama, *La littérature polemique musulmane*, 199–215; Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds*, 75–110; Adang, *Muslim Writers*, passim.

8. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, translated into English as *The Book of Religion and Empire*. On this work and its authenticity, see Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 27–30. See also chapters 7 and 12 in the present volume.

the proofs for Muḥammad's prophethood entitled *Aʿlām al-nubuwwa*.[9] The work has come down to us in a unique manuscript,[10] and parts of it are further known through Ibn al-Ǧawzī (d. 597/1200), Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328), Ibn Qayyim al-Ǧawziyya (d. 751/1350), al-Qasṭallānī (d. 923/1517), and al-Diyārbakrī (d. 990/1582).[11] That Ibn Ḥazm's *al-Uṣūl wa-l-furūʿ* contains a substantial section from the work has so far passed unnoticed. The fragments translated here seem to be the earliest quotations we possess of this tract by Ibn Qutayba.[12] They are, furthermore, the earliest indication of the work's presence in al-Andalus.[13]

Most authors adducing passages from the Bible in support of Muḥammad's prophethood did not question the integrity of the Jewish scriptures. In their interpretation of Qurʾānic verses which cast doubt on the authenticity of these scriptures, the accusation of misrepresentation (*taḥrīf*) applied only to the exegesis given by the Jews of an otherwise uncorrupted text.[14] There was nothing paradoxical, therefore, in their quoting biblical testimonies for their own benefit. Ibn Ḥazm, on the other hand, subscribed to a more radical interpretation of the concept of *taḥrīf* and devoted much energy to demonstrating that the Jewish scriptures as they were known in his day were a forgery, concocted by Ezra the scribe and a number of other impious falsifiers.[15] That Ibn Ḥazm, too, can be seen to quote materials from these very scriptures as testimonies of the prophet is, therefore, a paradox, one he is aware of and explains away by claiming that these particular passages have been preserved by God from distortion so that they might serve as a testi-

9. Variant titles are *Kitāb Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa* (*min al-kutub al-munzala ʿalā l-anbiyāʾ*) and *Kitāb al-Aʿlām*; see Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba*, 154; Ibn Qayyim al-Ǧawziyya, *Hidāyat al-ḥayārā*, 1905 ed., 99. Lecomte classified the work among the "ouvrages disparus ou d'authenticité douteuse" in *Ibn Qutayba*, 54. He was apparently unaware of the fact that substantial parts of this work had been recovered, as early as 1889, from Ibn al-Ǧawzī's *Kitāb al-Wafāʾ*; see Brockelmann, "Ibn Ǧauzī's Kitāb al-Wafā," 46–54. Hence, they also do not appear in his article "Les citations." Georges Vajda also seems to have overlooked these passages; see his "Observations."

10. See chapter 4 in the present volume.

11. See Margoliouth, "On 'The Book of Religion and Empire,'" 171f., 175; Ibn al-Ǧawzī, *al-Wafāʾ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid; see also note 9 above.

12. Unless the testimonies quoted by al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī (wrote ca. 355/966) stem from this work. Al-Maqdisī refers to a certain Q-t-bī. One of the *nisba*s used to indicate Ibn Qutayba is al-Qutabī; see Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba*, 28. See al-Maqdisī, *al-Badʾ wa-l-taʾrīḫ*, 5/29.

13. On the transmission of Ibn Qutayba's works to al-Andalus, see Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba*, 12–14.

14. On the issue of *taḥrīf* in general, see Di Matteo, "Il 'taḥrīf'"; Caspar and Gaudeul, "Textes de la tradition musulmane"; Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds*, 19–26; and the literature cited in Adang, *Muslim Writers*. Cf. also Nickel, *Narratives of Tampering*.

15. See especially Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, 1/16–224. On Ibn Ḥazm's interpretation of *taḥrīf*, see Di Matteo, "Le pretese contraddizioni"; Stieglecker, "Die muhammedanische Pentateuchkritik"; Perlmann, "Eleventh-Century Andalusian Authors," 150–162; Perlmann, "Medieval Polemics," 110–114; Roth, "Forgery and Abrogation"; Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds*, 26–35.

mony for Islam and against the Jews. In *Kitāb al-Fiṣal* only a few such references occur,[16] whereas in *al-Uṣūl wa-l-furūʿ* an entire section is devoted to them.[17] Since most materials from *al-Uṣūl wa-l-furūʿ* are expanded and elaborated upon in *al-Fiṣal*, the fact that most of the testimonies from the former work are not reproduced in the latter seems at first surprising. However, I would suggest that Ibn Ḥazm deliberately omitted these particular passages. As has been shown by Ignaz Goldziher and Israel Friedlaender, Ibn Ḥazm expanded *al-Fiṣal* by incorporating an originally independent tract into it. With the inclusion of this tract, the character of the work changed completely.[18] As far as Judaism was concerned, the emphasis shifted from a description of, and mild polemic against, this religion to an impassioned demonstration of the alleged apocryphal and blasphemous nature of its scriptures. This demonstration was for the benefit of Ibn Ḥazm's own coreligionists, many of whom, he found, had a deep respect for the Jewish scriptures, which they considered a genuine revealed book.[19] In this context, then, Ibn Ḥazm probably did not wish to stress the fact that quite a number of biblical passages could, if so desired, be taken as references to the prophet, since this would have defeated his primary purpose of destroying his fellow Muslims' reverence for the Jewish scriptures.

In what follows I provide a translation of the proof texts from Ibn Hazm's *al-Uṣūl wa-l-furūʿ* that derive from Ibn Qutayba's tract.. The translation is based on the two editions of *al-Uṣūl wa-l-furūʿ* available to me (see note 2). Some obscure passages have been clarified with the aid of Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī's *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, Ibn al-Ǧawzī's *Kitāb al-Wafāʾ*, and Ibn Qayyim al-Ǧawziyya's *Hidāyat al-ḥayārā*. I have refrained from indicating all the *variae lectionis* and have given only the most significant emendations. The eulogies that follow the names of God, Muḥammad, and other prophets have generally been omitted, and biblical names have been adapted to the more familiar anglicized forms.

Translation

Some of the signs of the prophet in the Torah:

> [1] Among them are the words of God in the first book (*sifr*) [of the Torah], spoken to Abraham: "I have heard your prayer with regard to Ishmael and I have

16. Deut. 18:18, Deut. 33:2, Isa. 66:2f., and a paraphrase of Dan. 2:31–45; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, 1/111f., 102. The first two of these "testimonies" had become fixed ingredients of Muslim polemical and apologetical tracts. They also appear in *al-Uṣūl wa-l-furūʿ*, whereas the other two do not. These, too, evidently derive from Ibn Qutayba's work, rather than from a full text of the Bible, since they fail to live up to Ibn Ḥazm's usual standards of accuracy.

17. Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Uṣūl wa-l-furūʿ*, ed. al-ʿIrāqī et al., 1/187–195; 1984 ed., 49–54.

18. Goldziher, "Über muhammedanische Polemik," 363ff.; Friedlaender, "Ibn Ḥazm's Milal wa'n-Nihal." But see Aasi, "Muslim Understanding of Other Religions," 77, for a different opinion.

19. Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, 1/215.

blessed him, and shall multiply him and make him exceedingly numerous, and he shall beget twelve mighty men and I will make him a great nation" [cf. Gen. 17:20]. Moses reported similar things in this book, and added something, viz.: "When Hagar fled from Sarah, an angel of God appeared to her and said, 'Hagar, maid of Sarah, return to your mistress and submit to her, for I shall multiply your progeny and your offspring until it cannot be numbered for multitude. Behold, you are with child and shall bear a son, and you shall call him Ishmael, for God has heard your humility; and his hand shall be over the hands of everyone, and everyone's hands shall be stretched out toward him in submission'" [cf. Gen. 16:8–12]. Now ponder these words, for they contain clear evidence that the one who is intended is the Messenger of God, for the hand of Ishmael was not over the hand of Isaac, nor was the hand of Isaac stretched out toward him in submission. How could it be, when the dominion and the prophethood were among the children of Israel and Esau, who are the sons of Isaac?[20] But when the Messenger of God was sent to us, the prophethood passed to Ishmael's offspring, and kings bowed to him, nations submitted to him; God abrogated through him every law (*šarīʿa*) and sealed with him the [succession of] prophets, and granted the caliphate and the kingship to the people of his house until the end of time; their hands have come to be over the hands of everyone, and the hands of everyone are stretched out toward them in submission.

[2] It is said in the Torah: "God's revelation[21] came from Mount Sinai, rose up from Seir, and appeared from the mountains of Paran" [cf. Deut. 33:2]. The coming of God's revelation from Mount Sinai is His revealing the exalted Torah to Moses, son of Amram, on Mount Sinai, according to the People of the Book and according to us. Similarly, His rising up from Seir must mean the revelation of the pure Gospel to Jesus, son of Mary, who is the Messiah, son of Mary; the Messiah, now, lived in Seir in the land of the Galilee[22] in a village called Nazareth; after this name his followers are called *Naṣārā* [Christians]. And as God's rising up from Seir must refer to the Messiah, so His rise from the mountains of Paran must indicate the revelation of the Qurʾān to our lord Muḥammad. Paran, now, is a mountain near the noble [city of] Mecca, for it is said in the Torah that Abraham settled Hagar and Ishmael in Paran [cf. Gen. 21:21]. The prophet is the one on whom the Book was sent down after the Messiah; "to appear" and "to rise

20. For "*Ismāʿīl wa l-ʿAmīṣ*," read "*Isrāʾīl wa l-ʿIṣ*," i.e., Jacob and Esau, who represent Judaism and Christianity, the faiths that were revealed before the Qurʾān was sent down on a descendant of Ishmael.

21. It seems that Ibn Ḥazm interpolated the word *waḥy* (revelation) so as to avoid an anthropomorphism. However, when the verse is repeated some pages later in a different context, the word is omitted and the potential anthropomorphism reappears. Whether this is an oversight on the part of Ibn Ḥazm or one on the part of the copyist cannot be ascertained, though I am inclined to think the latter is the case.

22. For *arḍ al-ḫalīl*, read *arḍ al-ǧalīl*.

up" have the same meaning, namely, to ascend and to become manifest, and is there any religion that has manifested itself the way the Islamic religion has?

[3] In the Torah, in the fifth book, He says to Moses, son of Amram: "I will raise up for the children of Israel a prophet from among their brethren like you, and I will put my words in his mouth" [cf. Deut. 18:18]. Who, now, are these "brethren" of the Israelites if not the descendants of Ishmael, in the same way that we say: Bakr and Taġlib are both sons of Wāʾil, hence Taġlib is Bakr's brother, and the descendants of Taġlib are the brethren of the descendants of Bakr. This goes back to the fact that the two fathers are brothers.[23] And if they say that the one of whom God promised to Moses that he would be sent to him is himself an Israelite, since the Israelites are the brethren of the Israelites, the Torah proves them to be liars, and sound reasoning also proves them wrong, for it is said in the Torah that there arose not a prophet among the Israelites like Moses [cf. Deut. 34:10]; and as for sound reasoning: if He had meant to say "I will raise up for them a prophet from among the Israelites, like Moses," He would have said "I will raise up for them someone from among themselves, like Moses" and not "someone from among their brethren." Similarly, when a man says to his messenger: "Bring me a man from the brethren of Bakr b. Wāʾil," he should bring a man from the Banī Taġlib b. Wāʾil, and not someone from the Banī Bakr.

[4] Isaiah mentions that he was told, "Stand guard as a watchman and watch, and report what you see." And I [i.e., Isaiah] said, "I see two riders approaching, one of them on an ass and the other on a camel, and one of the two said, 'Fallen is Babylon, and its graven idols'" [cf. Isa. 21:6, 7, 9]. Now, according to us and according to the Christians, the man riding the ass is the Messiah, son of Mary. And if the one on the ass is the Messiah, why should not the man riding the camel be Muḥammad? For the destruction of Babylon and its graven idols was brought about by him only, and it occurred exclusively at his hands; not by the Messiah, for from the days of Abraham onward [until our prophet appeared][24] there continued to be kings in the area of Babylon who worshiped idols. And is not [the Prophet Muḥammad] better known for his riding a camel than the Messiah is for riding an ass? God knows best what is correct, and to Him is the return and the refuge.

[5] The Messiah, God's prayers and peace be upon him, said to the apostles: "The Paraclete will come to you, the Spirit of Truth who will not say anything on his own authority, except what he will have been told. He will bear witness to me, and you will bear witness [as well] because you are with me on the part

23. For *iḫwat al-abawayn*, read *uḫuwwat al-abawayn*.
24. The words within brackets have been added from Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 83.

of the people (Jn. 15:26-27) and all that God, mighty and exalted is He, has prepared [for you], he will tell you.[cf. Jn. 14:25; Jn. 16:13].[25]

[6] According to the account of John the Messiah said: "The Paraclete will not come to you until I leave, and when he comes, he will reprove the world for its sins; he will not say anything on his own authority, but will speak to you of whatever he hears; he will govern you with justice, and will tell you about events and hidden things." [cf. Jn. 16:7-11]. In another account [it says]: "The Son of Man will leave, and the Paraclete after him will come to you with secrets, and he will explain to you every thing; he will bear witness to me like you bear witness to me. I come to you with parables and he will bring [their] interpretation." Despite their discrepancy, these things are compatible, for they only differ because several apostles transmitted them from the Messiah in the Gospel.

[7] Who, now, is the Spirit of Truth who does not utter except what has been revealed to him, and who is the one who comes after the Messiah, and testifies that he has conveyed [God's message]? And who is the one who has reported the truth and [informed about] the hidden things, such as the emergence of the Dajjāl, the appearance of the Beast, and the like, and the matter of the Resurrection and the Reckoning, the Garden and the Fire, which are not mentioned in the Torah, the Gospel, or the Psalter, [who then,] if not our prophet Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him peace?[26]

[8] In the Gospel of Matthew it is said that when John, the son of Zechariah, was arrested to be executed, his disciples sent word to the Messiah, and [John] told them: "Ask him: Are you the one who is to come or will there be another?" [Mt. 11:3]. And the Messiah answered him: "The very truth I am telling you: women have not produced anyone nobler than John son of Zechariah, and the Torah and the books of the prophets have succeeded one another with prophecy and revelation until John came. As for now, if you wish, accept that Elijah is the one who is due to come; he who has ears that hear, let him hear" [Mt. 11:14]. One of the following things must apply regarding this name. Either it originally said "*Aḥmad* [i.e., Muḥammad] is the one who is due to come", and they altered the name, changing it to "Elijah", like God, mighty and exalted is He, says: "they changed the words from their places" [Q 4:46, 5:13]. Or, alternatively, it said that *Īl* is the one who is due to come; now *Īl* is God (Allāh) and the coming of God is the coming of His messenger with His book, as He says in the Torah: "God—meaning *the Book of God*—came from Sinai," [Deut. 33:2] and no book has come

25. The Paraclete (usually rendered *al-Baraqlīṭ* in Arabic), is the Comforter, or Counselor, or Advocate mentioned various times in the Gospel of John. Many Muslim writers interpret these passages as clear references to Muḥammad; see Rubin, *Eye of the Beholder*, 22f. (with references to earlier studies), and now Anthony, "Muḥammad, Menaḥem, and the Paraclete."

26. On the eschatological descriptions in the Qurʾān, see Smith, "Eschatology."

after the Messiah except the Qurʾān. Or that indeed the prophet by that name was meant [but that is not acceptable to them, since they are all agreed that there was no prophet after the Messiah].[27]

[9] In the Book of Isaiah it is said: "The house of Kedar[28] will fill the deserts and the cities with palaces; they will praise God, and from the tops of the mountains they will call; they are the ones who will give glory to God and who will declare His praise over land and over sea" [cf. Isa. 42:11f.]. And it is said: "Raise up an ensign for him among all the nations from afar; he will whistle for them from the corners of the earth and lo, swiftly they come" [cf. Isa. 5:26]. The sons of Kedar now are the Arabs, for Kedar is a son of Ishmael, as is generally accepted. The ensign that is raised is the prophethood, and the whistling for them is calling them from the corners of the earth to the pilgrimage (*ḥaǧǧ*), and lo, they come swiftly. This is in the same vein as these words of God: "And proclaim among men the pilgrimage, and they shall come unto thee on foot and upon every lean beast; they shall come from every deep ravine" [Q 22:28].[29]

[10] Ibn Qutayba says: Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd has said: Yazīd b. Hārūn told me: I was told by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Salama, who had it from Hilāl b. Abī Hilāl, who had it from ʿAṭāʾ b. Yasār, who had it from ʿAbd Allāh b. Salām and ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, who said: "I find in the Torah: 'O prophet, We have sent you as a witness, and a bearer of good tidings, and a warning [Q 33:45], and as a refuge for the nations; you are My servant and My messenger, and I will call you the Trusting; you are neither coarse nor rough, and do not cry in the market streets; you do not reward evil with evil, but are pardoning and forgiving; I shall not make you die until through you I shall have straightened the crooked community, and animated through you blind eyes, deaf ears, and uncircumcised hearts, so that they will say, There is no god but God'" [cf. Isa. 42:1, 2, 6, 16, 18, 19].

[11] Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd told me [i.e., Ibn Qutayba]: Muʿāwiya b. ʿAmr told me on the authority of Abū Isḥāq, who heard it from al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Musayyib, who had it from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Ṣāliḥ that Kaʿb [al-Aḥbār] said: "In the Torah I find: 'Aḥmad is My elected servant; he is neither coarse nor rough, and does not cry in the market streets; he does not reward evil with evil, but he is pardoning, forgiving, and merciful; his place of birth is Mecca, his place of migration Ṭāba;[30] his kingdom is in Syria, and his nation consists of those who praise and

27. The text in Ibn Ḥazm's *Uṣūl wa-l-furūʿ* has several lacunae in this section, so that the translation is somewhat tentative. Several obscure passages could be clarified on the basis of Sabine Schmidtke's edition of the relevant part of Ibn Qutayba's *Aʿlām al-nubuwwa* [chapter 4 in the present volume] and Ibn al-Ǧawzī's *al-Wafāʾ bi-aḥwāl al-Muṣṭafā*.

28. For *ilā Qīdār*, read *ahl Qīdār*.

29. The translation is taken from Arberry, *Koran Interpreted*.

30. Another name for Medina; see Yāqūt, *Buldān*, 1977 ed., 4/53, s.v. "Ṭayba."

extol God on every plateau and in every depression. They ritually purify their extremities and wrap themselves from their waists down in the *izār*. They are the guardians of the sun,[31] and the one who calls them to prayer is in the celestial sphere. They are characterized by prayer and battle alike; [God-]fearing at night, they are lions in the daytime. They drone like bees during their performance of the *ṣalāt*, wherever you may encounter them [...].'"[32] God knows best what is right, and to Him is the return and the refuge.

On the annunciation of our prophet Muḥammad by David:

Among the things that David has recorded concerning him in the Psalter (*Zabūr*) is: "Sing the Lord a new praise, praise the one whose temple [is made up of] the righteous. Let Israel rejoice in its maker, and let Zion[33] repent, because God has chosen unto Himself His community and given it victory. The righteous ones among them He has rewarded with honor; they praise Him upon their beds and extol God with ringing voices and with two-edged swords in their hands. Through them, God wreaks vengeance on the nations that do not worship Him, and they bind their kings with chains and their nobles with fetters" [cf. Ps. 149]. Which, now, is that nation whose swords are two-edged if not the Arabs, and who is the one to wreak vengeance on the nations that do not worship Him, and who among the prophets is the one who was sent with the sword if not our prophet, peace be with him and may God's mercy be with his singular nation?

This is a clear indication, a light that will never be extinguished, for what evidence is clearer than this glorious proof and the obvious truth from the Sunna and the Arabic Book [i.e., the Qurʾān], the like of which could not be produced by men and *jinn* banded together, not even if they backed one another [Q 17:88], that is, as helpers.

Thus ends what God has revealed to David in the Psalter. What evidence could be clearer than this? Praise be to God, who led us hither, for God knows best what is right!

31. The translation is conjectural. *Ruʿāt* or *duʿāt al-shams* may be a reference to the importance of the sun in determining the times of prayer.

32. The text is obscure here. Both editions have *wa-law ʿalā kamāla*, which does not seem to make sense. Perhaps one should read with Ibn Qayyim al-Ǧawziyya, *Hidāyat al-ḥayārā*, 80, 94, *wa-law ʿalā kunāsa* ("be it on top of refuse"), in which case the idea would seem to be that Muslims can pray virtually anywhere. Cf. Ibn Ḥazm's discussion of this issue in *al-Muḥallā*, *masāʾil* 392ff.

33. For *Šimʿūn*, read *Ṣahyūn*.

Conclusions

In the above pages, some fragments were presented from a work by Ibn Qutayba as found in a little-known tract by Ibn Ḥazm. This tract, apparently an embryonic version of *Kitāb al-Fiṣal*, constitutes a valuable additional source for the study of Ibn Ḥazm's biblical criticism. It has been argued that the biblical testimonies translated here were deliberately excluded by Ibn Ḥazm from his later work, since he wanted to persuade his coreligionists that the Jewish scriptures were best left alone. The presence of these fragments in a book by Ibn Ḥazm testifies to the relatively early transmission of Ibn Qutayba's work to Islamic Spain. Ibn Ḥazm's quotations from this work seem to be the earliest ones we possess.

Chapter Six
A Jewish Reply to Ibn Ḥazm: Solomon b. Adret's Polemic against Islam

Camilla Adang

In the year 1863, Joseph Perles published a collection of short Hebrew tracts by the Barcelonan rabbi Solomon b. Adret (d. 1310 CE).[1] One of them turned out to be a belated reply to the arguments that had been raised by the famous Muslim writer Ibn Ḥazm of Cordoba (d. 456/1064) against Judaism more than two hundred years earlier. It is this tract that forms the topic of the present chapter. After some general remarks about the author, his tract, and its significance, I shall present extensive sections from Ibn Adret's polemic.

Introduction: The Circumstances

a) Ibn Adret

Solomon b. Abraham b. Adret[2] (some prefer the more Hebrew-sounding "Ibn Aderet") was born around the year 1233 CE in Barcelona, the city in which he was to spend most of his life acting as rabbi to the local Jewish community. He seems to have belonged to an influential family of merchants and moneylenders, and he, too, was in a position to extend loans to Christians and fellow Jews alike. His many Christian customers seem to have included the king of Aragon.

Ibn Adret was one of the foremost Jewish scholars of his day and an important communal leader, whose responsa on halakhic issues were sought by Jews from Spain and abroad: requests for his advice reached him from Portugal, Germany, France, Bohemia,

1. Perles, *R. Salomo b. Abraham b. Adereth*. A modern edition was prepared by Bezalel Naor.

2. On the life and works of the author, see Perles, *R. Salomo b. Abraham b. Adereth*; *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. "Adret, Solomon ben Abraham"; *Encyclopaedia Hebraica*, s.v. "Adret, R. Shelomo ben Avraham," vol. 1, cols. 572–576 (S. Asap); Baer, *History of the Jews*; Sáenz-Badillos and Targarona Borrás, *Diccionario de autores judíos*, 87f. See also Epstein, *The "Responsa" of Rabbi Solomon ben Adreth*.

Sicily, and Crete, as well as from Muslim-ruled areas such as North Africa and Palestine. A large number of these responsa have been published, but they still await systematic study.[3] The same goes for Ibn Adret's tract against Islam.

b) The Tract and Its Purpose

The tract carries the following title: *Maʾamar ʿal Yishmael she-ḥibber ʿal ha-datot ve-hu ksil she-dibber af ʿal datenu ha-shlema, ve-hu la-rav ha-gadol rabbenu Shlomo bar Avraham ben Adret*, which roughly translates to "Tract against Ishmael who wrote about the religions and who is an idiot who also discussed our perfect faith, by the great Rabbi, our master Solomon b. Abraham b. Adret.[4] It takes up twenty-four pages in Perles' edition.[5] The tract did not receive much attention, until in 1894 Martin Schreiner published a brief article[6] in which he identified the unknown Ishmael as none other than the famous Muslim polymath Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), who had vehemently attacked Judaism in a series of polemical treatises.[7] Some years earlier, Schreiner had published an important and still useful article about Muslim polemics against the Jews[8] and had thoroughly familiarized himself with Ibn Ḥazm's main polemical work, *Kitāb al-Fiṣal fī l-milal wa-l-ahwāʾ wa-l-niḥal*.[9] He must therefore immediately have recognized the source of Ibn Adret's quotations and paraphrases.[10] Other students of Muslim-Jewish and Jewish-Muslim polemics have recognized the significance of Ibn Adret's text but seem to have shied away from it,[11] perhaps because the Hebrew is far from easy, and the refutation raises a number of questions that are not so easily answered. Some of these questions will be addressed in the following.

It is beyond any doubt that Ibn Adret wrote his tract for Jewish readers, and that he had no intention of trying to persuade Muslims, who would not have had access to his work in any case, since the Hebrew language was known to very few of them. But who were these Jews that he felt would benefit from it? What prompted this rabbi who, after all, was living in the Christian part of Spain to write a tract refuting Islamic arguments

3. For an exception, see Orfali Levi, "R. Selomoh ibn Aderet," and Orfali Levi, "La cuestión de la venida."

4. This last addition suggests that the title was given by a copyist rather than by Ibn Adret himself.

5. Perles, *R. Salomo b. Abraham b. Adereth*, 1–24 of the Hebrew section.

6. Schreiner, "Die apologetische Schrift des Salomo b. Adret."

7. His main arguments will be surveyed briefly below.

8. Schreiner, "Zur Geschichte der Polemik."

9. Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, translated by Miguel Asín Palacios in *Abenházam de Cordoba*.

10. The parallels between Ibn Ḥazm's work and the tract discussed here were also pointed out by Moshe Zucker; see his "Berurim be-toledot."

11. An exception is Norman Roth in his article "Forgery and Abrogation"; and more recently Jacobs, "Interreligious Polemics" and Hames, "A Jew amongst Christians."

against Judaism? And why now, more than two hundred years after the death of the author he refutes?

As for the question what prompted him, let us look at the explanation given by Yitzhak Baer, who in his classic *History of the Jews in Christian Spain* devotes a large section of his chapter on mysticism and social reform to the "communal and religious authority" of Ibn Adret.[12] Baer accepts Schreiner's identification of "Ishmael" as Ibn Ḥazm, and states:

> Ibn Adret himself [like his famous teacher Nahmanides[13]] had occasion to dispute matters of faith with Christians and to counter, both orally and in writing, the arguments of Raymond Martini, the learned Dominican friar, and others like him. These Christian theologians and polemicists relied, it appears, to a large extent upon the anti-Jewish writings of the eleventh century Mohammedan scholar Ibn Ḥazm, who had in his day crossed literary swords with Samuel ha-Nagid. Ibn Adret therefore devoted a special work to a refutation of Ibn Ḥazm's strictures upon Judaism.[14]

In Baer's view, then, Jews reading Ibn Adret's tract might find arguments that could be used in discussions with Christians. However, it is not likely that the Christians were Ibn Adret's ultimate target. In fact, as we shall see, he states in his tract that the Christians, in spite of their enmity toward the Jews, agree with them with regard to the textual integrity of the Torah. The Christians, he adds, are much more knowledgeable than the Ishmaelite people about the Holy Scriptures.

Another possibility is that Ibn Adret was requested to write a tract in defense of Judaism and against Islam by coreligionists living under Islamic rule, most likely in al-Andalus. I mentioned earlier that Ibn Adret received queries from Jews living under Muslim rule, and they may well have asked him to write such an epistle, in the same way that the Jewish community in Yemen had applied to Maimonides, who then wrote his famous *Iggeret Teman*.[15] Ibn Adret may simply have wished to strengthen the faith of the common believers and perhaps, if the tract was intended for Jews living under Muslim rule, to provide them with arguments they might use in discussions with their Muslim interlocutors—though this usually seems to be only a secondary goal in tracts of this type.

Ibn Adret himself does not provide a clear-cut explanation, but it seems that he was afraid that the biblical criticisms of the Muslim author he refutes might appeal to Jewish skeptics and rationalists. He may have felt that the Muslim's arguments had not yet been satisfactorily refuted, even though we find attempts to do so in the works of Abraham b.

12. Baer, *History of the Jews*, 1/280–305.
13. My addition.
14. Baer, *History of the Jews*, 1/281.
15. Translation and commentary in Maimonides, *Epistles of Maimonides*, 91–207.

Daud (d. 1180 CE) and perhaps those of others such as Yehuda ha-Levi (d. 1141 CE) and Maimonides (d. 1204 CE).

Whatever the immediate impetus, the work fits perfectly into Ibn Adret's program of defending the Torah against the dangers posed by rationalism and other threats.[16]

c) Ibn Adret's Vorlage

Although it has been established beyond any doubt that the arguments that are being refuted by Ibn Adret stem from one or more polemical tracts by Ibn Ḥazm, the question of the Barcelonan rabbi's direct source remains to be answered. We have no indication that Ibn Adret knew any Arabic—in fact he himself seems to deny any such knowledge[17]—nor is there any compelling reason why he should have known that language; after all, his native Barcelona, where he spent most of his life, had been under Christian rule for a long time. We may safely assume, then, that he cannot have had access to a complete text of Ibn Ḥazm's tract.[18] But what, then, was Ibn Adret's *Vorlage*? In what form were Ibn Ḥazm's polemical works preserved and transmitted in the Jewish community in Spain? Unfortunately, we have no solid information, but it seems safe to conjecture that an excerpt or a set of quotations from the Muslim author's work circulated among the Jews of Spain, initially in Arabic and later in Hebrew translation.

While it is possible that Ibn Adret did not know the identity of the Muslim thinker whose arguments he refutes in his reply, it is more likely that he was well aware of it but chose not to mention Ibn Ḥazm's name so as to broaden the relevance of his own reply: in this way, it is directed not against one particular Muslim, long dead, but against Muslims, and Islam, in general.

What is interesting is that Ibn Adret adopts a polemical style not unlike Ibn Ḥazm's own. He calls the Muslim scholar a vainglorious man who does not understand what he is talking about, a brainless idiot, and, most often, *ha-meshugga' ha-zeh*, "this madman."[19] In comparison with Ibn Adret's polemical tract against the Ishmaelite, his tract against a likewise unidentified Christian (possibly Raimundus Martini, d. 1285 CE) is completely dispassionate and devoid of the vilifications that characterize his tract against Ibn

16. Cf. his role in the Maimonidean controversy, in which he took the side of the antirationalists. See Touati, "La controverse de 1303–1306."

17. See Alfonso Carro, "Los judíos en el Islam medieval," 105, and Schreiner, "Die apologetische Schrift," 42 (Schreiner, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 274): "Aus dem Schreiben des Salomon b. Adret an Jakob Abbāsī, den Uebersetzer des Mischnacommentars des Maimonides zur Section 'Nāsīm' geht hervor, dass er des Arabischen unkundig war."

18. This was also recognized by Schreiner, "Die apologetische Schrift," 42 (Schreiner, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 274) and Abu Laylah, *In Pursuit of Virtue*, 13.

19. Some Jewish polemicists reserve this and other derogatory nicknames for the Prophet Muḥammad; see Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur*, 302f., 416.

Ḥazm.[20] It would seem, then, that Ibn Adret adopts the style of the tract—or set of excerpts—he is refuting, which means either that his source preserved this particular feature of Ibn Ḥazm's writing or, if it did not, that Ibn Ḥazm's reputation for vilifying his opponents was still as much alive among the Jews as it was among the Muslims.

In order better to appreciate and follow Ibn Adret's arguments, I shall now give a brief survey of Ibn Ḥazm's main arguments against Judaism.[21]

d) Ibn Ḥazm's Main Arguments

According to Ibn Ḥazm, Jewish law has been abrogated by Islam and has ceased to be valid. It is therefore of no relevance to Muslims. Another reason Muslims should steer clear of the Torah in Ibn Ḥazm's view is that it has been corrupted by the Jews in the course of history.

The Israelites turned to foreign gods soon after Moses died. Moses was succeeded by a series of rulers, the judges, quite a few of whom were idolators. Under their rule, the Israelites began to hold the Torah in contempt, subjecting it to distortion. Of the twenty successors to King Solomon, no fewer than fifteen worshiped idols. All the while, there was only one single copy of the Torah in existence, and this was kept in the Temple, where the only ones to have access to it were the High Priests. They had ample opportunity to tamper with the Torah at will; the common people had no way of noticing the difference. The fact that the people had no access to the text meant that there could be no uninterrupted transmission, which is the ultimate guarantee of authenticity.

Moreover, one king of the house of David, Jehoahaz, deleted the name of God from the text, and his successor, Jehoiakim, surpassed him in impiety by burning the Torah. With the invasion of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, who razed the Temple to the ground, every remaining doubt concerning the fate of the Torah was removed.

The inhabitants of Judah were deported to Babylon, where they developed a new religion, Judaism, which, with its newly invented prayers and rituals, was totally different from the original Mosaic faith. Ibn Ḥazm holds the rabbis responsible for the creation of Judaism as it was known in his day—an argument which seems to echo Karaite views.

When they were allowed to return to Jerusalem, the Jews not only rebuilt their Temple but also rewrote their Torah, and it is plain to see that it does not represent the divine revelation. According to Ibn Ḥazm, Ezra, the biblical scribe, is the author of the Torah in its contemporary form, which has little to do with the book originally revealed to Moses.[22]

20. Cf. Orfali Levi, "R. Selomoh ibn Aderet," and especially "La cuestión de la venida."

21. For a full discussion of Ibn Ḥazm's polemics against Judaism, with an extensive bibliography, see Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds*; Adang, *Islam frente a Judaísmo*; Adang, *Muslim Writers*.

22. Nevertheless, the Muslim controversialist believes that even this distorted version of the Torah

e) Earlier Responses to Ibn Ḥazm's Polemic

Ibn Ḥazm's polemic against Judaism takes up 109 printed pages in the most commonly used edition of *Kitāb al-Fiṣal*, and he repeats many of his arguments in other tracts, most importantly the *Radd ʿalā Ibn al-Naġrīla al-Yahūdī*,[23] which may or may not be an attack on Ismāʿīl b. al-Naġrīla, also known as Shemuel ha-Nagid, the Jewish poet and vizier of Granada.[24] This challenge to the very foundation of the Jewish faith could not, of course, remain unanswered, and it is surprising, therefore, that we have to wait until the thirteenth century for the first more or less systematic refutation: the tract by Ibn Adret.[25]

For unless we assume that Ibn al-Naġrīla wrote a tract against the Qurʾān in reaction to Ibn Ḥazm's polemic against the Jewish scriptures (and there seems to be a growing tendency among scholars to assume that he did not, in fact, write such a tract),[26] Ibn Ḥazm's refutations of Judaism do not seem to have elicited any written response from his Jewish contemporaries.[27] At least, no such response has come down to us, nor do we find references to it in Jewish sources—or Muslim ones, for that matter. Of course, later Jewish authors such as Yehuda ha-Levi, Abraham b. Daud, and Maimonides did polemicize against Islam, and they may in fact have had the arguments of Ibn Ḥazm in mind. In the case of *ha-Emuna ha-Rama* (The exalted faith) by Ibn Daud, this is actually quite clear.[28] But Ibn Adret's is the earliest extant *monographical* reply by a Jew to Ibn Ḥazm's arguments. A possible explanation may be that Jews living under Islamic rule were cautious, in view of the fact that the punishment for blasphemy and offending the Prophet Muḥammad could be death. Ibn Adret, living in Christian Barcelona, had no such fears.

After these introductory remarks, let us look at Ibn Adret's arguments against the Muslim polemicist.

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contains certain passages predicting the advent of the Prophet Muḥammad and the religion of Islam. These passages are among the few he believes to have been preserved by God from distortion. This argument is not taken up by Ibn Adret, perhaps because he did not encounter it in his *Vorlage.*

23. Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Radd ʿalā Ibn al-Naġrīla al-Yahūdī.*

24. On this issue, see Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds*, 27, 67, 71, 123; García Gómez, "Polémica religiosa"; Arnaldez, "Controverse d'Ibn Ḥazm"; Perlmann, "Eleventh-Century Andalusian Authors"; Perlmann, "Medieval Polemics"; Perlmann, "Polemics, Muslim-Jewish"; Perlmann, "Polemics, Islamic-Jewish"; and the publications referred to in n. 26 below.

25. Unless one accepts Zucker's theory that the tract was written by a Jewish contemporary of Ibn Ḥazm; see his "Berurim be-toledot."

26. See Wasserstein, *Rise and Fall*, 199–205; Stroumsa, "From Muslim Heresy to Jewish-Muslim Polemics"; but cf. Fierro, "Ibn Ḥazm et le *zindīq* juif" (an English translation is included in Adang, Fierro, and Schmidtke, *Ibn Ḥazm of Cordoba*: "Ibn Ḥazm and the Jewish *zindīq*," 497–509); and cf. Brann, "Textualizing Ambivalence," 130.

27. Although he held numerous oral discussions with Jews; see Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 61, 67, 94–96, 102, 109, 219, 239.

28. See Fontaine, *In Defence of Judaism*, 81f., 94, 162–164, 166, 189, 192, 235, 260f.

Ibn Adret's Response

In the introductory passage [1], the first part of which is in rhymed prose, Ibn Adret says[29] that he saw "a stupid man who considers himself smart, one idiotic Ishmael, whose eyes misled him and whose blindness deluded him into talking about our Holy Book, the Book of the Law of Moses, peace be with him." This wretched scoundrel, he says, talks about things that he does not understand. As in other Jewish writings, the name Ishmael, or more often Ishmaelite, stands for Muslim.[30] It is interesting that Ibn Adret states that he saw this Ishmael. It is not clear what he means by this. If he is trying to suggest that he actually met the Muslim against whom he is polemicizing, he is, of course, misleading his readers, for almost two centuries had passed since Ibn Ḥazm wrote his works. If Ibn Adret is merely saying that he saw the Ishmaelite's book, the question remains what book, exactly, he saw. As noted above, it is highly unlikely that Ibn Adret had access to a complete copy of Ibn Ḥazm's main work(s), and he probably had to rely on a set of excerpts in Hebrew.

At the beginning of his nonsense, says Ibn Adret, this man says that he found scandalous things that the Torah ascribes to Judah—namely, that he fornicated with his daughter-in-law—and to Reuben, who allegedly did the same with the mother of his brothers Dan and Naftali. "Those are his words."

Ibn Adret says that although it is not proper to reply to such an idiot, especially since to refute and to correct him is a simple matter for anyone, even for a baby, he will nevertheless reply to him, so that people who follow in his footsteps will not consider themselves smart but may be guided by the light of truth. It would seem that Ibn Adret was afraid that Jewish skeptics and rationalists might be persuaded by the Muslim's criticism. He explains that it is his aim to strengthen the view, already held by anyone endowed with reason, that the whole of the Mosaic law is true, including all the reports of miracles and signs as well as the proofs of the Jews' closeness to God that are described in it.

The Muslim, he found, had taken exception to various episodes in the Torah, such as that of the golden calf and that of the spies who rejected what Moses (called here "the father of prophets") had told them and who as a result met their punishment and perished in the desert.[31] All these episodes and others like them testify to the truth of the [2] Holy Book, to which nothing was added and from which nothing was struck; all that was and that happened, whether it reflects positively or negatively on the Israelites, was written down truthfully.

29. The following pages cover most of Ibn Adret's arguments, although at times I have summarized them. I have usually chosen to paraphrase the author's rather dense and concise prose. References to pages in the Hebrew text (in Perles' edition) are given in square brackets.

30. See Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur*, 256–261. In the following pages, I have usually translated "Ishmael(ite)" as "Muslim."

31. Cf. Num. 13 and 14.

> All the men of religion [says Ibn Adret] acknowledge that the whole Torah was received by our master Moses, peace be with him, from the mouth of the Almighty on Mount Sinai and was transmitted to the People of Israel. We have not heard anyone from the adherents of the other faiths dispute this or deny these events. The Christians and the Muslims are all agreed on this without anyone doubting it. If what is written in the Book is not the truth from the mouth of our master Moses, peace be with him, but something that has been added afterward, then how can we explain that King David, and all the kings that proceed from his dynasty, would tolerate what is written in the Book, in which it is explicitly said that they were born from fornication, and not erase it?

What Ibn Adret is saying here is that the fact that details about King David's dubious genealogy may be encountered in the Torah proves the book's authenticity. If they had wanted to change the Torah, they would certainly have changed this detail. The fact that we find in the Torah that King David's mother, who was a Moabite, issued from the fornication that the mother of the family committed with her own father, Lot, shows that these words are from God, communicated by His prophet, for the alternative is inconceivable: people would surely have removed this episode. Rather than seeing this problematic story as proof of the Torah's falseness, then, Ibn Adret sees it as proof of its authenticity.

Additional proof of the scripture's genuineness is the agreement between the manifold copies that have always existed of the book:

> If anyone should claim that all this has been added to the Book, and that all that appears in this section of it dates back to the time after the destruction of the Temple, anyone endowed with reason and anyone who has a brain in his skull should now ask himself if it would have been possible to gather all the copies that were in the hands of the Israelites in the east, in the west, in the north, and in the south and to distort all of them in the same manner, without a single copy escaping that differed from its peers in as much as a subject, one word, or several words.

It would have been an impossible task, for what enemy of the people and distorter of religion could have gathered all the books until not a single copy was left? Who could have distorted all of them—including the books of the prophets and the historical writings that contain many disputed matters—supposedly without any of the believers noticing? The suggestion that there might have been a king or a prince hostile to the Jews who gathered all the books together and inserted changes into them, and that the people were too frightened to delete what he had written and distorted, is for Ibn Adret just one of the claims of a confused madman whose idiocy has no boundaries. For, he repeats, it is impossible that not even one copy should have escaped. And even if all the kings would conspire to distort the Torah, they would be unable to do so, for after some time the Jews would correct the distortions and remove what had been added.

And another thing: how is it that we do not know when and where the idiot lived who supposedly distorted all this?

Ibn Adret then points out that the Christians, who precede the nation of the Muslims (who follow their error)[32] and who disagree with the Jews with regard to belief—even these Christians have responded to this claim. There is no doubt that the Christian people are much more knowledgeable than are the Muslims about the Holy Scriptures, that is, the Book of the Law, all the prophets, and the historical writings. Now they, who came earlier and were so numerous, would no doubt have discovered any distortion in the Holy Books, if there was any. So, Ibn Adret queries, how can this idiot come and allege that the Holy Scriptures have been distorted—the books of the truth that the ancients brought forth, whose text and language Jewish scholars have spent all the days of their lives analyzing in all their details, [3] with a dedication unmatched by the scholars of any of the other religions, as befits the true law and the writings transmitted from the mouth of the Almighty concerning holy matters that were not committed to writing by mere coincidence? For thus stood the learned men who received the law from the mouth of Moses, and thus they transmitted it to their disciples, carefully explaining all the precepts to the point that they did not leave a single word in the whole law unaccounted for. This, for Ibn Adret, is evident and clear to anyone who applies himself to the books of the ancient sages on the interpretation of the Law, namely, the Talmud, which has been elaborated by the Jews generation after generation, going back to the period of the Second Temple, and which was received in the days of the First Temple from the prophets, from Joshua and the elders, and from Moses, who heard and received it from the mouth of the Almighty on Mount Sinai.

Ibn Adret is emphasizing here that the Torah was handed down in an uninterrupted chain of transmitters, something that Ibn Ḥazm had denied in his writings. He proceeds to ask: "So how can this brainless idiot suggest that distortions occur in such a Holy Book that is perfect in all its grammatical structures, unmatched in its accuracy by any book of any nation or in any language? This is nothing but blindness and insanity that has taken possession of him." This argument seems to echo discussions about the miraculous inimitability of the Qurʾān and the Torah.[33]

Ibn Adret continues:

> Also, the madman says that he found in the Book things in which there is so much distortion that no religious scholar can deny it, and he prides himself on having found these things, saying that none of his predecessors had been alert

32. Presumably because the Muslims, unlike the Jews, accept Jesus as a prophet and even as the Messiah.

33. On this topic, see Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds,* chapter 1, and Sadan, "Identity and Inimitability." See also chapter 5, part II, in Adang, *Muslim Writers.*

> to them. Furthermore, he says that he put many of our learned men on the spot and that they became confused by these things.

What the "madman" had supposedly discovered and was using as an argument against his adversaries is that in the Torah, "in the fourth chapter of the second book," he says, where Moses' acceptance of his mission to Pharaoh is mentioned, the sons of Jacob and their sons and their history are introduced as follows: "Now these are the names of the sons of Levi according to their families."[34] The text then names the three sons of Levi, son of Jacob: Gershon, Kohath, and Merari.[35] The Torah lists the sons of Gershon and of Merari[36] and then states: "And the sons of Kohath were 130 [years]."[37] According to the text, Kohath had four sons: Amram, the father of Moses and Aaron; Izhar; Hebron; and Uzziel.[38] The sons of Aaron, in turn, were Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar,[39] and his grandson was called Pinhas; the sons of Korah (son of Izhar, son of Kohath) were Asir, Elkana, and Abiasaf.[40]

Then it says in the first chapter of the fourth book that the Almighty ordered Moses, in the second month of the second year of the Jews' exodus from the land of Egypt, to make a census of the Israelites,[41] and it mentions that the sons of Kohath above the age of one month together with all others who were registered numbered 8,600.[42] Their leader was Elizaphan ben Uzziel ben Kohath ben Levi ben Jacob.[43] The number of the sons of Kohath who were registered and who were aged between thirty and fifty years was 2,700.[44]

Ibn Adret now quotes the "madman" as saying: "This is one of the most nonsensical things that can be; that the sons of Kohath were only four, and that the sons of these four men were only seven in number" (to which Ibn Adret adds: "among them Moses and Aaron, peace be upon them, and Elizaphan, their leader"). In other words: How could so few men generate such a large offspring? [4] Would the intelligence of anyone endowed with reason accept this? "These are the words of the madman," says Ibn Adret, adding:

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34. Exod. 6:16ff. Ibn Adret has *le-mišpaḥotam* ("according to their families") whereas the standard Hebrew text has *le-toledotam* ("according to their genealogies"). This discrepancy, as well as other, similar ones occurring in the text, seems to suggest that Ibn Adret was quoting the passages from memory.

35. Exod. 6:16.

36. Exod. 6:17, 19.

37. Cf. Exod. 6:18. Here, again, there is a slight difference between Ibn Adret's quotation and the biblical text.

38. Exod. 6:18; Num. 3:17.

39. Exod. 6:23; Num. 3:2.

40. Exod. 6:24; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, 1/169; Asín Palacios, *Abenházam de Córdoba*, 2/314.

41. Num. 1:1.

42. Num. 3:27f.

43. Num. 3:30.

44. Cf. Num. 4:34–36; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, 1/169; Asín Palacios, *Abenházam de Córdoba*, 2/314f.

> Now, I say that when he prides himself on the fact that no man before him has hit upon these things that he has found, he speaks the truth: no man before him reached the degree of mental illness that he has. And when he says that many of our learned men became confused in their replies to his madness, he is either slandering our learned men, or he is lying because he never actually talked to any of them.

Ibn Adret is surprised that the "madman" is so troubled by the story about the increase in the descendants of Levi; if he would just take a look at the Torah, he would see that all the remaining tribes increased much more in number than that of Levi, and that although the first progenitors that are mentioned in the scripture are few, their tribes subsequently grew greatly, exceeding that of the Levites. Thus Reuben, son of Jacob, is mentioned in the Book as having fathered Hanoch, Pallu, Hezron, and Carmi.[45] Pallu, one of the four, fathered only one son, Eliab, who then had three sons, Nemuel, Dotan, and Abiram. Although these progenitors were few, the census that took place in the second year of the exodus from the land of Egypt and that counted the sons of Kohath found that the descendants of Reuben aged twenty years or more were 46,500 in number.[46] Just think, exclaims Ibn Adret, what their number would have been if they had counted everyone from the age of one month and up!

Judah, son of Jacob, had three sons who created dynasties: Shelah, Perez, and Zerah. Perez had two sons, Hezron and Hamul, and in the census the number of their descendants, aged twenty and up, was 64,600.[47] If all sons from the age of one month were included, it would probably rise to 200,000 or more. The Muslim sees in these improbably high numbers evidence of falsification of the text, says Ibn Adret, who adds that everybody knows that there has to be a reason for such additions, and in this case, what could the reason be? What would the Jews gain by inflating the numbers; what interest would this serve? None; in fact, the contrary is true. When the Israelites left Egypt, they were few in number and powerless, which made the miracle of their conquest of the lands of thirty-one kings all the greater.[48] Ibn Adret also invites his readers to consider what God said to Gideon: "The troops with you are too many for me to give the Midianites into their hand. Israel would only take the credit away from me, saying: 'My own hand has delivered me.'"[49] The size of army was gradually reduced: "Then the Lord said to Gideon: 'The troops are still too many [...].'"[50] Eventually, "the number of those who lapped [water]

45. Cf. Exod. 6:14f.; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, 1/168; Asín Palacios, *Abenházam de Córdoba*, 2/314.
46. Cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal,* 1/173ff.; Asín Palacios, *Abenházam de Córdoba*, 2/319ff.
47. Cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, 1/146, 170; Asín Palacios, *Abenházam de Córdoba*, 2/282, 317.
48. See Josh. 12:9–24.
49. Judg. 7:2.
50. Judg. 7:4.

was three hundred [...],[51] and God spoke to Gideon: 'With the three hundred who lapped I will deliver you and give the Midianites into you hand [...].'"[52] The smaller the number of fighters, the greater the miracle, in other words, and with this the Muslim's argument loses its force. "Once more, then," says Ibn Adret with a certain smugness, "I expose the distortions of this madman."

As for the elders and the generations that are mentioned in the Torah: not all their descendants are explicitly named; only some of them are recorded, even though they had many more sons in addition to these. Scripture mentions only those who need to be mentioned because they are the heads of their clans, according to their families; the others are mentioned only by name. And in the case of Joseph, the Torah refers explicitly only to his sons Manasseh and Ephraim, because they became the fount of all the offspring of Joseph, their father.[53]

Therefore, when the sons of Kohath are mentioned, the Torah names only those who were to be leaders of clans according to their families, except that in the end, it also mentions Nadab and Abihu, even though they were *not* heads of families, since they died in the lifetime of their father, Aaron, without leaving sons. This happened because they offered illicit fire before the Lord,[54] which the Torah proceeds to mention as a warning. The same applies to most of the narratives in the Torah.

Furthermore, Ibn Adret notes, in this context the Torah mentions the fathers and the generations of their sons and their sons' sons only selectively. The sons of Aaron are mentioned, but the sons of Moses are not referred to here at all, even though it is explicitly written that he already had Gershom and Eliezer,[55] and they produced many more generations than did all the others, as is written in the books of the Chronicles:[56] "The sons of Moses were Gershom and Eliezer. The sons of Gershom: Shebuel the chief. The sons of Eliezer: Rehabiah the chief. Eliezer had no other sons, but the sons of Rehabiah were very numerous." Here one can see with one's own eyes, says Ibn Adret, that the Torah does not give the names of *all* the descendants of Kohath, and it is possible that it does not mention the remaining children born in turn to them, but only those included for the reasons discussed. Ibn Adret deems this argument sufficient by itself to prove his point, but in addition it is possible that the sons of Moses who are not mentioned also had many children.

Moreover, the course of nature demonstrates that it is not necessarily true that [6] every generation of a family is equal in number. That is to say: if the father and his sons

51. Judg. 7:6.
52. Judg. 7:7.
53. Ibn Adret quotes Gen. 48:6.
54. Num. 3:4.
55. Cf. 1 Chron. 23:15.
56. 1 Chron. 23:15–17.

did not produce many sons, this does not necessarily mean that the grandchildren did not have many sons either, and that they had only the same number of sons as the generation of the father. It is quite possible that the grandchildren of Kohath had many sons. Reuben, the eldest son of Jacob, had only four sons, and Dan only one, namely Hushim, but Benjamin, who was the youngest of the brothers, already had ten sons before he went down to Egypt.[57] It is furthermore possible that they had several wives and thus had many children; this, says Ibn Adret, is not at all inconceivable.

Ibzan the judge had thirty sons and thirty daughters,[58] and in the light of what is written in the scripture, the explanation is that he had many wives, for it is stated that this is how Gideon came to have seventy sons.[59] It is even possible for one man to have a thousand sons. Would it be so strange if King Solomon had a thousand sons, or even several thousands of them, given the fact that according to the scripture he had seven hundred princesses and three hundred concubines?[60]

Even in Ibn Adret's own time, he points out, the kings and princes of the Muslims have many sons by many women, yet no one is astonished by that or considers it impossible or inconceivable.[61] Ultimately, he concludes, only someone whose heart is inclined to lies and unbelief will call this possibility into question.

If God wants to multiply a nation or a family, he argues, there is nothing to prevent Him from doing so; this is something that only the unbelievers of all religions will deny. After all, the Scripture testifies that thus it was promised to the patriarchs. To Abraham God said: "Look toward heaven and count the stars, if you are able to count them. . . . So shall your descendants be."[62] To Isaac He said, "I will make your offspring numerous as the stars of heaven,"[63] and to Jacob He said, "Do not be afraid to go down to Egypt, for I will make of you a great nation there."[64] In addition, it is written: "Live! I made you grow like a plant in the field."[65]

This, for Ibn Adret, is one of God's ways to show to Pharaoh and all his nation that it is not within their power to oppress the nation that God has blessed, or to decimate it, even if the Pharaoh ordered the killing of their children and oppressed them through

57. Cf. Gen. 46:21.
58. Judg.12:8f.
59. Judg. 8:30.
60. 1 Kings 11:3.
61. Interestingly, in his *Fiṣal* (1/175f.), Ibn Ḥazm discusses Muslims with many children but says that only few of them had more than thirty. Apparently, this passage was not contained in Ibn Adret's *Vorlage*.
62. Gen. 15:5.
63. Gen. 26:4.
64. Gen. 46:3.
65. Ezek. 16:7.

hard labor in order to prevent them from procreating. For the Scripture testifies: "The more they were oppressed, the more they multiplied and spread."[66]

If we consider the offspring that the Israelites could have had in the period of their stay in Egypt, Ibn Adret argues, the potential count rises to a great number, even accepting that they dwelt in Egypt for only 210 years and assuming that they did not have twins. Furthermore, there is no reason to assume that they did not marry until they reached the age of twenty or even thirty, or that they married only one woman each, or that they produced only three or four sons each.

To elaborate, Ibn Adret sketches the following scenario: When Joseph went to Egypt he was seventeen years old and still herding the flock together with his brothers.[67] After he had been sold, his brother Judah went down and took an Adullamite woman, had three sons by her, and gave them in marriage, one after the other; but after the death of his two oldest sons he did not give Tamar, his daughter-in-law, to his son Shelah in marriage.[68] [7] Seeing that Shelah had grown up and that Judah did not give her to him in marriage, she "did what she did", and as a result Judah had Perez and Zerah by her. Perez married and had two sons, Hezron and Hamul. All of this happened before Jacob's arrival in Egypt, for all the sons and grandsons of Judah were counted among those who came to Egypt with Jacob. The number of years that passed between the sale of Joseph and Jacob's journey to Egypt was twenty-two at the most, for Joseph was thirty years old when he was brought before Pharaoh—and he had therefore been in Egypt for thirteen years, since he had been sold at the age of seventeen, as mentioned above—and seven years of wealth and two years of famine had passed by the time Jacob came to Egypt. Within this short period of time, Joseph's brother Judah not only had sons, but grandsons as well. Ibn Adret acknowledges that this might seem unlikely, but he insists it is not to be rejected.

Ibn Adret then adduces more scriptural evidence to prove that the early generations were extremely fruitful, and that only a few progenitors were needed to create a large progeny:

> You will furthermore see that at the time of the flood only Noah and his three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, escaped, and his sons had children after the flood. The sons of Ham were four: Cush, Mizraim, Put, and Canaan. Cush had six sons, namely, Sebah, Havilah, Sabtah, Sabtecah, Raamah, and Nimrod. Nimrod was the third generation removed from Noah—Ham, Cush, Nimrod—and the Book speaks of only ten sons until the birth of Nimrod. Then it says that Nimrod became king, and the beginning of his rule was in four great cities: Babel, Erech, Accad, and Calnah. Then he went to Assyria and built Nineveh, Rehoboth-ir,

66. Exod. 1:12.
67. Gen. 37:2.
68. Gen. 38.

> Calah, and Resen, and Resen is the great city between Nineveh and Calah.[69] [The first generations of the Noahides did not engage in polygamy, for only the three sons escaped, with their respective wives.] Therefore, says that confused man, how could it be possible that within such a short period the sons of Ham increased to such an extent that Nimrod became king over them and was able to build all those magnificent cities, plus the city of which the Scripture testifies that it was "the great city," and which was surely built in order to be populated not by mosquitoes but by the large numbers of people that were already born and that were multiplying in his days?

By the time of Abraham the world was filled with people, even though not much time had passed since the flood; already Noah had seen the world become filled through his three sons! Ibn Adret continues:

> If the madman argues against all this and denies it all [saying that it is impossible that so few people could engender such numerous offspring], we shall repeat and ask him once more if he knows of any reason that would have led us to inflate the numbers of the people that are mentioned in the Scripture, and what necessity might have driven us to it.

Ibn Adret then moves on to refute the arguments of all those who denounce the Jews, including the Muslim polemicist, and to clarify why the Holy Book tells the story of Judah and his daughter-in-law and that of Reuben and his father's wife, the mother of his brothers:

> This is actually a question that we are not obliged to answer; it is enough that we know that it all came from God to Moses. Nothing compels us to know why, just as we do not need to know why He forbade us to eat pork and other prohibited things [8] and why He forbade the common folk to wear garments made of mixed fibres, whereas the priests were ordered to wear priestly garb made out of linen and wool;[70] or why He forbade the ritual slaughter of fowl, ordering them to be killed by wringing the neck instead. It is the same with all the precepts: it is enough for us to know with certainty that they have been given for a reason, and that there is no senseless thing in the words of the Holy One.[71]

Among these precepts, says Ibn Adret, there are some whose purpose is revealed to those with insight, but most of the narratives in the Torah are for known benefits. These include narratives about certain acts that people are required to abstain from or, conversely, to perform. Thus, the narrative of Lot and his daughters is told in order to deter some-

69. Gen. 10:6–8, 10–12.
70. Cf. Deut. 22:11; Exod. 28.
71. This view comes surprisingly close to Ibn Ḥazm's own Ẓāhirite beliefs.

one who knows that he has a low tolerance for alcohol from excessive drinking; for after all, it was Lot's drinking that caused him to fornicate with his daughters, who, it should be added, arranged the whole scene out of a laudable desire to ensure the continued existence of the world. Thus even a narrative which at first sight seems objectionable and of doubtful morality serves an edifying purpose, although it does not contain an all-out ban on drinking.

Similarly, in the story of Judah and his daughter-in-law, the purpose of the Torah is to regulate the *yibbum*, the levirate marriage of a man to the wife of a brother who has died without leaving offspring.

[9] But what about another objectionable story, that of Reuben and one of his stepmothers? Ibn Adret suggests that it never actually happened; the reason Jacob transferred Reuben's birthright to Joseph was not that the former slept with one of his father's concubines, as is suggested in Gen. 35:22, but that he simply preferred Joseph. Reuben did not sin; he never touched his stepmother.[72]

Ibn Adret now takes up what constitutes the central argument in Ibn Ḥazm's polemical tracts and must have been at the core of his *Vorlage* as well: the allegation that the Torah, unlike the Qurʾān, was not widely known among the people and could therefore not have been handed down in an uninterrupted transmission. Ibn Adret's aim is to demonstrate, on the basis of biblical texts, that there were multiple copies of the Torah available and that the nation was aware of its contents, which was denied by Ibn Ḥazm.

In addition, says Ibn Adret, the "madman" claims that the Torah was never in the hands of any Jew apart from the priest, that is, the rabbi, and that no one else had access to it. In this narrative, this situation persisted for more than a thousand years, and in this period all manner of corruption took place: the religion was lost, the kings apostatized and worshiped idols, they killed the men of religion and the prophets, and from the first one down to the last they abandoned themselves to idol worship and forsook the religion of the Torah until no prophets were left among them, except for one. But the likes of Isaiah, Elijah, and so on were no longer there.

Ibn Adret also cites the Muslim as claiming that the Jews admit that King Jehoahaz ben Josiah ben Amon ben Manasseh, of the House of David, erased all the names of the Lord Almighty from the Torah; that the king who succeeded him, his brother Jehoiakim ben Josiah, burned the Torah in its entirety;[73] and that the Torah was subsequently lost until, a long time later, one of the scribes, called Ezra, returned it to them. According to

72. Cf. Babylonian Talmud, Shab. 55b. Reuben resented the fact that his father, Jacob, had moved to the tent of Bilhah, his concubine, thus humiliating Reuben's mother, Leah. Reuben moved his father's couch back into Leah's tent, which was an insult to Bilhah and to Jacob; hence the condemnation of Reuben in Genesis.

73. Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, 1/193, 196 (Asín Palacios, *Abenházam de Córdoba*, 2/345, 350); Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Radd ʿalā Ibn al-Naġrīla*, § 60; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ǧamharat ansāb al-ʿArab*, 506f.

the Muslim, the Jews believe that Ezra, being a prophet, had preserved Moses' Torah, and that it was therefore not surprising that he should return it. However, the Muslim polemicist denies this, asserting that no prophet comes and recites the book of a prophet who preceded him; thus Moses did not recite and preserve the prophetic revelations given to Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, or Noah, and there is absolutely no doubt that they were prophets who were accorded a divine revelation and commandments that Moses did not receive.

Ibn Adret counters these claims as follows:

> His first claim—namely, that the Torah existed in one copy only and was not known to the people—is stupidity, for he errs with regard to what he saw in the Torah, viz: "When Moses had finished writing down in a book the words of this law to the very end, Moses commanded the Levites who carried the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord, saying: 'Take this book of the law and put it beside the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord your God; let it remain there as a witness against you.'"[74]

According to Ibn Adret, the Muslim thinks that this means that only the Levites, not the whole community of Israel, had the Torah. But he is greatly mistaken, for the Torah was present among all of them, as it is written: "Then Moses wrote down this Law, and gave it to the priests, the sons of Levi, who carried the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord, and to all the elders of Israel."[75] These elders of Israel are the teachers of the Law, the ones who instructed the people. Ibn Adret claims that it is impossible in the case of any revealed law [10] that all the priests of a given nation know all the books of their religion and belief; such expertise is limited to the elders and the sages, and those who are endowed with knowledge and who peruse the books and teach and persuade the rest of the people through them. It would have been impossible for Moses to give a book to every single one of them, but he did give one to the priests and the elders, who are knowledgeable about the Torah and to the leaders of the nation. One copy he gave to the Levites, to be put beside the Ark of the Covenant so that its precepts might be known and so that afterward anyone could come and write a copy for himself as he pleased, to read and to teach his children, in accordance with the command "Recite these words to your children and talk about them."[76]

Moreover, every king had to write a copy for himself, as is written: "[When he has taken the throne of his kingdom], he shall have a copy of this Law written for him [in the presence of the levitical priests]. It shall remain with him and he shall read in it all

74. Deut. 31:24–26.
75. Deut. 31:9.
76. Deut. 6:7.

the days of his life."[77] With regard to the Israelite community at large, the Torah says: "[Therefore write this song,] and teach it to the Israelites; put it in their mouths."[78] Now if the Torah had *not* been present among the Israelites in written form, Ibn Adret reasons, they could obviously not have taught it or been reminded of its contents, with all its manifold precepts. Furthermore, according to the Book of Joshua, after the death of Moses, the Lord gave him the following order: "This book of the Law shall not depart out of your mouth; you shall meditate on it day and night, so that you may be careful to act in accordance with all that is written in it."[79] This, in Ibn Adret's view, constitutes additional proof of the fact that knowledge of the Torah among the people was widespread.

In addition, says Ibn Adret, this confused man should realize that the Jews have been ordered to write the whole Torah on stones, so that those stones will stand forever and anyone who comes might learn from them, even other nations, for it is written in seventy tongues.[80] Joshua did as he was told, for it is written in the Torah: "And there, he [Joshua] wrote on the stones a copy of the Law of Moses, which he [Moses] had written in the presence of the Israelites."[81] Ibn Adret points out that Moses is said to have written the text "in the presence of the Israelites"; but even if, as Ibn Adret's target claims, Moses did indeed write it before the Levites only, there are two good reasons he should have given the book to the Levites. The first one is that if corruption were to occur in one of the books, be it by a letter or a word, this particular copy of the Law, deposited with the Levites, would serve as a touchstone against which possible corruption, whether intentional or unintentional, could be corrected.

The second reason is that the Levites are the teachers of the Torah and of the laws that have been instituted to worship the Lord, as it is written: "They [i.e., the Levites] teach Jacob your ordinances [and Israel your Law]."[82] If the Israelites were to transgress the Law, there would be in the hands of the Levites a book of the Law with which to persuade the people and to show them that they have sinned and are to be punished, for

77. Deut. 17:18f.

78. Deut. 31:19.

79. Josh. 1:8.

80. Ibn Adret is quoting Deut. 27:2f., 8: "You shall set up large stones and cover them with plaster. You shall write on them all the words of this law"; "You shall write on the stones all the words of this law very clearly." According to the famous commentator Rashi (Rabbi Shlomo Yitzhaki, d. 1105 CE), the last two words, *ba'er heṭev* in Hebrew, mean "in the seventy languages of the world." This interpretation clearly suited Ibn Adret's purpose; it was claimed (by Jews and Christians alike, and against the Muslims) that a scripture transmitted in more than one language, and by more than one nation, was more likely to be genuine than a scripture adhered to by one nation only and transmitted in only one language. This was obviously an attempt to disqualify the Qurʾān, which, unlike the Bible, was accepted by only one religious community and was not, at first, translated into other languages.

81. Josh. 8:32.

82. Deut. 33:10.

already the Lord Himself testified against them in His Holy Book: "[Assemble to me all the elders of your tribes and your officials, so that I may recite these words in their hearing and call heaven and earth] to witness against them. For I know that after my death [you will surely act corruptly]."[83] And even if after a while some of the kings sinned, there was never a time in which the many sages and prophets among them did not possess countless copies of the Torah. Ibn Adret emphatically disavows the idea that the whole of Israel would be held accountable for the sins of their kings, for, he argues, the pious people did not cease to try and persuade them, and there were many followers of the truth worshiping the Lord.

[11] Even if one of the kings erased names from one copy of the Torah, this does not mean that he erased the entire Torah, and even if he tried to erase everything, he would not have succeeded, for this is not in the power of any man. First of all, the people would not have agreed to it; and even if they had agreed, the task would have been impossible to carry out, what with the Lord's promise that "it will not be lost from the mouths of his descendants."[84]

As to the Muslim's claim that the Jews admit that Jehoiakim burned the Torah in its entirety and that it disappeared from the hands of the Jews until Ezra returned it to them: Ibn Adret declares this a lie, arguing that the Jews never admitted any such thing, nor will they ever do so; rather, the opposite is true. He reiterates that the truth is that not even one letter of the Torah was forgotten, nor will it be forgotten, as the rabbis say in the tract Shabbat. But he announces that he will not dwell on the matter any further, so as to avoid confusing the issue that he wants to discuss.

Ibn Adret agrees with the Muslim's claim that no one should accept the testimony of only one man, conceding that one cannot accept the whole of the Torah and its precepts on the authority of one single man, even if this one man was known as a prophet. If one accepts the eternal words and great principles of the Torah on the authority of one such man, it may turn out that this man is not a prophet at all, even if he works wonders, for not everything that appears in the eyes of the masses to be a miracle really is one; and not even everything that looks like a miracle in the eyes of the sages is one. Many of the things that seem to transcend the natural course of things and to constitute miracles are actually merely natural phenomena, or human trickery, or imagination, or the work of a demon—to be distinguished from the true miracles that God has wrought. Because of this uncertainty, it is unacceptable to rely on the miracle alone. Moreover, even a true prophet can become confused and corrupted in his belief; there are many such cases, such as that of Hananiah ben ʿAzor, who was a true prophet and became a false one, leading the

83. Deut. 31:28f.
84. Deut. 31:21.

people astray with his corrupted views and saying that it was the Lord who ordered him to do so.[85] Therefore, one should contemplate the words of the Torah.

What Ibn Adret is saying here is that a miracle in itself is not sufficient proof. This calls to mind Saʿadya Gaon's discussion of this topic. The Gaon wrote in his *Book of Beliefs and Opinions* (*Kitāb al-Amānāt wa-l-iʿtiqādāt*) that the primary reason for the Jews' belief in Moses or in any other prophet is the intrinsic ethical value of the message he carried. First it has to be ascertained that the prophet's message is sound, and only then will miracles be demanded in support of what he preaches. Should his message have no value, however, no miracles will be required, since no miracle can prove the truth of what is inherently untrue and unacceptable.[86]

Ibn Adret goes on to argue that God gave to the sons of Noah a law that included only seven principles; thereafter, He renewed and augmented it for the assembly of the people of Israel, producing a complete Law including 613 principles to which none may ever be added and from which none may be removed; therefore, the Law of God is called *Temima* ("perfect"), and the Jews have been ordered not to "add to it or take anything from it."[87]

Neither of these laws—that is, the law of the Noahides and the Law of Moses—was revealed by God to one man only, who then proceeded to transmit and explain it to his followers. Rather, they were revealed by God to all those who were present, as is stated in the Book of Deuteronomy: "To you it was shown [so that you would acknowledge that the Lord is God; there is no other beside him]. From heaven He made you hear His voice to discipline you. On earth He showed you His great fire, while you heard His words coming out of the fire."[88] In this way, there could be no suspicion that the prophet had invented the revelations, and there would be no chance that he would distort what he, and all the others, had heard from God. As is written in the Book of Exodus, "The Lord said to Moses: 'I am going to come to you in a dense cloud, in order that the people may hear when I speak with you and trust you ever after.'"[89] Ibn Adret notes that when the people heard what God said to Moses, it was not, of course, through their senses, but through the intellect. Likewise, when Moses saw what he saw when he stood on Mount Sinai, it was not with the eyes, but as a matter of extrasensory perception.

A similar thing can be said, Ibn Adret argues, about the Noahide law. When God ordered Noah to leave the ark and gave him the precepts, He was addressing not only Noah, but all those who were with him.

A prophetic revelation, then, can be genuine only if it was sent down perceptibly in the presence of the community. This criterion is obviously aimed at disqualifying the

85. See Jer. 28.
86. See Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 174.
87. Heb. Deut. 13:1= Gk. 12:32.
88. Deut. 4:35f.
89. Exod.19:9.

Qurʾān, for although the Prophet Muḥammad would transmit the revelations that he received to his followers, the reception of the revelations itself was an entirely private and solitary event, not shared by anyone.

Ibn Adret continues: What this confused man says about Moses not having preserved the scrolls of the prophethood of Abraham, Jacob, and Noah, that is, not having promulgated their precepts, is irrelevant; for those he mentions were not prophets who were sent with a written law, since Moses himself was the first prophet sent with such a law.

Moreover, what the Muslim says about Moses not having recorded or promulgated the precepts given to his predecessors is incorrect, for [13] Moses recorded in the Torah the commandments that the Lord gave to the first man, before the fall from Paradise and after it. After the flood, He allowed certain things to the Noahides that had been forbidden to Adam, for Adam's sins had now been atoned for. All these things, Ibn Adret insists, were recorded in the Torah by Moses, just like the precepts that had been given to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

And just like Moses recorded the precepts that had been given to the earlier prophets, the precepts given by Moses himself were referred to by later prophets. Ibn Adret cites the words of "the one who marked the end of the cycle of prophets," namely, Malachi: "Remember the teaching of my servant Moses, [the statutes and ordinances]."[90]

Ibn Adret then announces his intention to explain what he describes as a source of error for people whose minds are confused, namely, the claim that the Torah was forgotten by Israel, or that the books of the Torah were lost at some time, until not a single book could be found except by coincidence or because its holder happened to have received it from one of the sages.

Ibn Adret once more quotes the verse "It will not be lost from the mouths of his descendants"[91] and goes on to show that contrary to the Muslim's allegations, the Jews in exile were never without their prophets and leaders:

> You will see with your own eyes that there were in Babel a number of sages and prophets apart from Ezra, such as Daniel and his friends, Mordechai, Zerubbabel, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, who were true prophets whose prophetic mission is not denied by the scholars of any religion. Also there was among them a large congregation of great sages, who knew the whole Torah, so how can they say that the Book was forgotten? And why do the Muslims credit its restitution to Ezra alone? Know that our holy Torah is called the Perfect Law of the Lord, and there is no defect in what is perfect. Moreover, we have been ordered not to add to it or take anything from it.

90. Mal. 3:22 (= 4:4).
91. Deut. 31:21.

Ibn Adret argues that if even one of the details of the Torah's precepts were to be forgotten, it would be as if the whole Torah had fallen into oblivion, for it is one interlinked whole, and all its precepts, the general and the specific alike, have a single origin. As proof that the Jews were never deprived of their sages' guidance, he asserts that in the days of Ezra, when the exiles left Babel, the sages and the elites of the nation stayed behind. [15] Of the Levites, who were teaching the law, no one left Babel for Judah in the beginning: "As I reviewed the people and the priests, I found there none of the descendants of Levi." So Ezra dedicated himself to teaching the Torah to the people of Judah.[92] Admittedly, there were other sages and prophets in Judah, such as Haggai and Zechariah,[93] but no one had set his heart on teaching and educating the people like Ezra had, and it is from his mouth that they learned the Torah, so that not a single detail of it was lost on them: "For Ezra had set his heart to study the law of the Lord, [and to do it, and to teach the statutes and ordinances in Israel]."[94] He was the reason the Torah will not be forgotten from the world; had it not been for him, the Torah would have undergone changes because of the small number of people who knew it, taught it, and educated the people about it.

Rather than accusing Ezra of producing a corrupted Torah, Ibn Adret credits him with preventing its fall into oblivion. Nevertheless, this work had to be repeated by others. Thus, when Hillel came from Babylon, he had to remind the people of the land of Israel of a practice that had been neglected. Also, in the days of R. Hiyya, who, like Ezra and Hillel, is credited in the Talmud with having restored the Torah, there were some great and wonderful men, such as R. Ishmael bar Yosi, R. Hoshaia, Levi, Bar Kafra, R. Shimon, and R. Hanna, as well as others—a great congregation made up of a selection of the sages of Israel. Ibn Adret thus professes astonishment at the claim that the Torah fell into complete oblivion until R. Hiyya restored it. He explains that what happened, in fact, is that part of the nation was scattered in the rural towns, where there was no temple nor were there any sages, and it is a well-known fact that in places that are left without a teacher, the law will eventually be forgotten by its people. R. Hiyya and his sons made a great effort to return to such places and to restore knowledge of the Torah there. In those places, therefore, it would indeed have fallen into oblivion but for the efforts of R. Hiyya and his sons, and that is what is referred to in the Talmudic tract Baba Mezia.[95]

Ibn Adret once more takes up the attack on the Muslim polemicist. [16] What this person alleges, he says, is that the Torah of Moses was lost and that not a single copy of it could be found among the people, until Hilkiah the priest found a certain book in the Temple and sent it to King Josiah, and that it was restored with all the precepts and warnings that it contained, as though the people had not known them at all in the meantime,

92. Ezra 8:15.
93. Ibn Adret is quoting Ezra 5:1f.
94. Ezra 7:10.
95. Babylonian Talmud, BM 85b.

as is written in the Books of the Chronicles.[96] This narrative suggests that the sole copy of the law had been missing for a long time. However, Ibn Adret shows that there are indications that the pious King Josiah was well aware of the precepts and prohibitions of the Torah. How could he have known them, asks Ibn Adret, and how could he have worshiped the Lord in the correct way, unless he had a copy of the Law in his possession? Also, there had been prophets in the days of the king's ancestors, as there were in his own day, and they never desisted from trying to persuade the people and to inform them of the words of the Torah of Moses; how could they have continued to do so if no one possessed a copy of the Torah? After all, Josiah had been obliged to write down a copy of the Torah for himself, as the Scripture commands: "He shall have a copy of this Law written for him [...]. It shall remain with him and he shall read in it all the days of his life."[97] Moreover, Ibn Adret argues, from the day on which the king decided to seek the true God, the position of the true prophets and the servants of the Lord was strengthened, and they began to instruct the people. However, the particular book that is mentioned in the Chronicles was not found until the eighth year of Josiah's reign. Are we to suppose, Ibn Adret asks, that the Torah of Moses was not in the hands of the people and their leaders for a full ten years, even though Josiah cleaved closely to the ways of the Lord, and all the servants of the Lord with him? This is something that the intellect cannot accept. In reality, this particular copy had been in the Temple all along, in a hidden place that was only now discovered. Its discovery merely inspired Josiah to meditate on the wrongs that had been committed by his predecessors. The Torah, then, had not disappeared from the face of the earth, as was claimed by the Muslim polemicist, and its contents were continuously being transmitted.

Ibn Adret quotes two further examples to prove his point:

> On that day they read from the Book of Moses in the hearing of the people; and in it was found written that no Ammonite or Moabite should ever enter the assembly of God, because they did not meet the Israelites with bread and water, etc. When the people heard the Law, they separated from Israel all those of foreign descent.[98]

And also:

> And they found it written in the Law, which the Lord had commanded by Moses, that the people of Israel should live in booths during the festival of the seventh

96. Ibn Adret refers to 2 Chron. 34:14–19, 3–5.
97. Deut. 17:18f.
98. Neh. 13:1f.

> month, and that they should publish and proclaim in all their towns and in Jerusalem as follows: "Go out to the hills and bring branches of olive . . ."[99]

According to Ibn Adret, these texts show that the people did not know the precept of the Succah nor the command to keep away from Ammonites and Moabites. The precepts had not vanished, the Book had not disappeared; the people were simply no longer aware of its contents and commandments. What Ibn Adret is arguing here is that it was the knowledge of the precepts that was lost, not the Holy Book itself. This is not to say that all of the people were unaware of the precepts; but it is impossible that all the members of the nation, without exception, follow the way of the Torah by observing all the commandments and refraining from all that they have been warned against, for there are always people who transgress the Law deliberately, and there are also those who transgress involuntarily, out of ignorance.

Ibn Adret then refers to Ibn Ḥazm's accusation that the religion practiced by the Jews is an invention by the rabbis, an argument which seems to echo Karaite views:

> Furthermore, the madman says that all the Jews admit that they do not live according to the Torah, and that the prayers that they are nowadays obliged to perform were not obligatory to them in the days of their kingdom, from the time of Moses' mission until the recognition of their kingdom; they no longer act in accordance with the laws of the Levites with regard to the sacrificial offerings and tithes that their religion prescribed to them at that time. Nowadays they act differently from all this. They admit that it was their rabbis and heads who wrote their precepts. And moreover, he claims that if the Jews say that the early precepts indeed applied as long as they were in the Holy Land, they admit in fact that the law of Moses used to be incumbent upon them then, but that it is no longer binding nowadays. What helps to prove our point, says the Muslim, is the fact that those who lived when Moses was still alive were never circumcised; only when they entered the Holy Land, when Joshua circumcised them with a sword, was this practice instituted. This, says the Muslim, is what we wanted them to admit, for it is tantamount to the collapse of their religion. All these are the words of the madman.

The Muslim's argument, then, is that according to the Jews themselves some precepts are not necessary outside the Holy Land, which means, in fact, that they have been abrogated.

Ibn Adret expresses the wish that the "madman" and all those who follow him and his madness be struck dumb; and he denounces the madman for talking, without any self-control but with much disdain, about the Torah that the Lord has given through Moses, the famous, truthful prophet who is accredited by common agreement, just like

99. Neh. 8:14f.

he talks about the law of delusion that "their deceiving prophet," that is, Muḥammad, wrote for them.

If the madman were to take an in-depth look at the perfect Torah, says Ibn Adret, he would see that his replies are mere stupidity, clearly characteristic of the mentally ill. The poor man does not know that the true Torah has three conditions: time, space, and means. It is not only the holy, perfect Torah—which requires the acceptance of a supreme, divine wisdom directing all matters—that is built on those three principles; all religious precepts, as well as courteous behavior and the government of states, necessarily require them as an axiom. Thus, for example, the Torah prohibits work on the Sabbath and demands [19] stoning for anyone who does so anyway; it orders that anyone who eats leaven at Pesah be excommunicated; and it prescribes sitting in the Succah in the seventh month. Are we to conclude from this, asks Ibn Adret rhetorically, that all work is forbidden and evil in the eyes of the Lord, and likewise the eating of leaven and sitting in ordinary houses, and that what He prefers is rest and idleness, eating matzot, and sitting in booths at all times, in the same manner that He has decreed once and for all which animals may be slaughtered and has forbidden the consumption of animals that have not been duly slaughtered, as well as creeping things? Such a claim, Ibn Adret asserts, would be madness, for the Torah does not forbid work except at certain known times, so that people may be reminded of what happened and be renewed at those times, as it is written in the Torah: "So that [...] you may remember the day of your departure from the land of Egypt";[100] "So that your generations may know that I made the people of Israel live in booths";[101] and "Six days you shall labor ...,"[102] thereby commanding the Jews to keep the Sabbath. And this applies to a large part of the commandments of the Torah; it is the condition of time.

As for the place, the Torah has ordered the offering of sacrifices, which is to be performed in certain locations. It is said by some that this act is appreciated by God wherever it takes place. But this is a lie, says Ibn Adret, for He did not order people to worship Him in that way except in the Holy Land, and moreover in a specific place in that land. Sacrifices at any other place have been forbidden, as the Torah says: "Take care that you do not offer your burnt offerings at any place you happen to see. But only at the place that the Lord will choose [...]."[103] So, Ibn Adret concludes, He has singled out a known place in one part of the land and has forbidden all the remaining places. This condition applies to many precepts, including the sacrifices and the tithes; it is the condition of place.

100. Deut.16:3.
101. Lev. 23:43.
102. Deut. 5:13; Exod. 20:9; Exod. 34:21; and cf. Exod. 35:2.
103. Deut. 12:13f.

As for the means, Ibn Adret notes that God has ordered that people make Him a dwelling place, and that the priest who officiates before Him wear certain clothes and ritually slaughter before Him certain species of animals on the altar. In addition, some argue that He prefers certain buildings; that the altar ought to be built from certain materials that He has selected; that pleasing articles, such as candelabras, should be placed before Him; that the one who worships Him should wear clothing that is pleasing to the eye and of good quality; that the worshipper should stand before Him and slaughter an animal that is fat and good, be it a deer, an ass, or fat swans; and that He should be worshiped through the ministrations of a respected man, a High Priest.

It has also been said that it is written that the worshippers are to be selected from the important people of the nation, such as kings and princes, but according to Ibn Adret that is a lie, for this is not what the Torah orders, only specific items of clothing. It also requires that the building be a specific building, and that the vessels used there be specific vessels and no others, and that only members of a specific family, namely, the Levites, worship before Him; furthermore, their worship should take place through the ritual slaughter of specific animals, fowl and beasts only, each one mentioned in the Torah. This befits a religion of truth that points to divine, spiritual matters and whose precepts and deeds are not a matter of simple coincidence, as is the case with invented religions; such a claim only an idiot with no brain in his skull could accept. This state of affairs is not liable to replacement or change.

Ibn Adret goes on to criticize the "madman's" claim that circumcision is a precept that depends on the condition of the body, not on time, place, or means, and that it was not practiced in the desert until Joshua performed it. This objection, too, Ibn Adret retorts, arises from his scant knowledge of the relation of the Torah to the ones who received it. The Law did not want to endanger the body, and therefore it did not prescribe initially, in the desert, what it was to prescribe later, when the Israelites had settled in their own land. This is a case of *pikuaḥ nefesh* ("saving a life"), which puts aside almost all precepts, and for that reason [20] the Israelites were exempted from circumcision in the desert, for they did not have specific times to dwell and to travel, and it was dangerous to be circumcised when they were on the move, for they would be putting themselves in danger. This is what gave rise to the statements about their having been forbidden to practice circumcision, as is said in the tract Yebamot.[104]

Ibn Adret insists that there is no change or replacement of a commandment here; rather, it is a general rule which governs all the precepts. Is someone who kindles a fire on the Sabbath guilty of replacing a commandment if he does it because it is needed by a sick person who can thus be saved from danger, even though the Torah says, "You shall kindle no fire in all your dwellings on the Sabbath day"?[105] Likewise, all the religions are

104. Babylonian Talmud, Yeb. 71b–72a.
105. Exod. 35:3.

in agreement, to the extent of accepting it as an axiom, that there is almost nothing that stands in the way of saving the life of another. This is not replacing precepts or changing the Torah.

Ibn Adret also dismisses the Muslim's argument that the prayers that are incumbent on the Jews in his time were not incumbent on the people in the days of the kingdom, which constitutes a replacement; this argument, too, Ibn Adret scoffs, is madness and blindness on his part.

According to Ibn Adret, there are different prayers for different circumstances; in other words, the contents of prayer vary with the circumstances in which the worshipper finds himself. A sick man needs to pray for recovery, whereas a healthy man will pray for the continuation of his good health. A captive will pray for return to his land, whereas a free man will pray that he will never be exiled; a rich man will pray that he may remain rich and well fed, whereas a poor man will pray for well-being and food. It is inconceivable, therefore, that there should be one identical prayer for all these different people, since they all have different needs and wishes.

Ibn Adret comes back to the Muslim's accusation that the Jewish religion has been invented by the rabbis and that the Torah lacks uninterrupted transmission. He explains the importance of the rabbis as interpreters, and hence protectors, of the Law:

> The madman furthermore says that the Jews admit, with regard to their religion, that it was composed by their rabbis and leaders. Those are his words. What he is trying to say by this is that what is incumbent on us is not from our holy prophet, our master Moses, peace be with him, but only things that our sages wrote down from their imagination [i.e., the Mishnah and the Talmud]. Now this is sheer madness, and his talk is like that of someone who has never studied a book, neither a book belonging to any of the religions nor a book by a writer endowed with any wisdom.

Ibn Adret argues that it is a known fact that things written down in a book by a wise man will of necessity be profound; the wiser the man, the more profound and comprehensive his words and his intentions. Also, the wise man, from the fullness of his wisdom, can include many meanings in a minimum of words, and for this reason the books of the prophets are more profound than others and need many explanations, as is the case also with the books of the philosophers: the later philosophers have to put much effort into trying to understand and to explain what the earlier ones have said. The same applies, Ibn Adret argues, to a book that encompasses what is, what was, and what will be, [21] such as the complete and perfect Torah, which includes in its wisdom all that was, from the first creation to the limits of all wisdom, and all that has been written down and explained by the prophets in all its details and allusions, and all that has been expounded by the prophets. These, in turn, transmitted to the sages what the Torah contains in the way of allusions, for any book that contains many principles must contain many allusions and analogies. And thus Moses transmitted to Joshua and the elders of his generation what

God had said; and Joshua transmitted it to certain prophets, who transmitted it to the men of the Great Assembly, who transmitted it to their pupils. Therefore, it is impossible that the meaning of the whole Torah, which, in its generalities and its specifics, has been transmitted orally, should be forgotten by the entire nation.

The sages are described by Ibn Adret as the pillar that supports the community of believers. They come together to study and explain the Law with the help of the Almighty who illuminates their eyes, while His Shekhina stands among them. An important guideline is to follow the majority of people who agree with a certain opinion. In this context, Ibn Adret quotes a biblical passage:

> Carry out exactly the decision that they announce to you from the place that the Lord will choose, diligently observing everything they tell you. [...] Do not turn aside from the decision that they announce to you, either to the right or to the left. As for anyone who presumes to disobey the priest appointed to minister there to the Lord your God, or the judge, that person shall die.[106]

Ibn Adret adds that the Torah says, "You shall not follow a majority in wrongdoing."[107] It is well known, he says, that as time passes, doubts in the interpretation of the Torah increase, and there is thus a growing need for the great sages to clarify its principles. Accordingly, in the time of the early sages, such as Hillel and Shammai, there was disagreement on six issues only, but after a long time had passed the people were divided on more issues, and they needed to go back to the principle established by the Torah, namely, to follow the opinion of the majority, as it is also said, "One and many; the Halakha is according to the many." To prevent the further proliferation of doubts, Ibn Adret reports, the sages compiled books on the interpretation of the Torah—outlining what is accepted by all, and concerning which no one disagrees; and similarly what gave rise to disputes. They revealed the views of each one of them and transmitted to their people a tradition of wisdom, laying out who followed a particular view, who subscribed to the opposite view, and how many were in each camp, given that the Halakha is according to the majority. They also indicated which [22] sages enjoyed the most support, saying, for example, "R. Meir and R. Yehuda; the Halakha is according to R. Yehuda," or "R. Yosi and R. Shimon; the Halakha is according to R. Yosi."

Similarly, Ibn Adret continues, every single religious community needs to rely on its sages for their interpretation of the law. This does not impair the perfect Torah but only strengthens it. The sages are the guardians of the Torah. It is true, Ibn Adret acknowledges, that the sages have added certain precepts and set certain limits, but this does not mean that they have changed the Torah; moreover, it was all done out of love for the Law.

106. Deut. 17:10–12.
107. Exod. 23:2.

Having thus defended the rabbis, who had been denounced by the Muslim writer as the inventors of Judaism, Ibn Adret tackles the allegation that the Torah has been abrogated. He quotes his adversary as claiming that the Jews have abolished work and that they do not hold it possible that God order a thing and then rescind it, for this would mean that the truth would change into a lie, a precept would become a transgression, and a transgression would turn into a precept. The Muslim comments that this argument is the only one the Jews are known to have, and it is of the weakest ones possible, for the Almighty gives life to His creatures after He has caused them to die, puts creatures to death and afterwards revives them, and deprives a strong nation of its power and humiliates it at the hands of a formerly humiliated nation; and He strengthens and shows mercy to whom He will when He will with health, favors, or disasters, and no one can take Him to task for what He does.[108] In response, Ibn Adret says that this argument proves the Muslim's delusion: on the basis of the little he has seen of the Jewish religion and the little he knows of the Jews' arguments, he thinks that he has penetrated deeply into the true teachings of the Law and the faith.

Ibn Adret rejects the claim that the Jews supposedly hold that nothing the Almighty does or wishes or orders can be reversed or substituted; to the contrary, He gives His orders for a certain period of time, and may replace them at some other time. [23] Sometimes He even changes a precept or law that He formerly said He would institute for a long time, and this is because He wished or ordered something on certain conditions. When the condition no longer applies, the promise also becomes void.

The truth is, Ibn Adret states, that the Almighty prescribed for the sons of Noah seven principal precepts only, and the transgression of each one of them was to be punished with the death penalty. The members of the community of believers, including Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, as well as the tribes and everyone born from them until Moses and from Moses until the giving of the Torah on Sinai, were considered Noahides and were bound by that Noahide law, and thus obliged to kill any transgressor. If a person robbed or hit his fellow man, the court at that time was obliged to execute him. So when Moses killed the Egyptian who had hit a fellow Hebrew, he was in fact carrying out the required verdict.

After some time, Ibn Adret continues, God made the community of Israelites stand on Mount Sinai and gave them a perfect Torah, making certain changes, such as that no one will be put to death for robbery or for hitting a fellow man. The death penalty applied by the court was replaced by a deadly punishment from heaven or by excommunication, or in some cases it was waived completely; but in any case there is a divine punishment for whoever does not act in accordance with what has been ordered.

A married woman used to be forever forbidden to another man; her first husband could not ever divorce her and let her go. But after this point, the Torah ruled that she

108. Cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, 1/100, discussed in Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 216f.

could be released with a *get* (divorce). Also, every animal used to be forbidden for consumption, even if it had been duly slaughtered, but this, too, was changed by the Torah. And there are other things that were likewise forbidden in the Noahide law, but with the coming of the Torah at Sinai, the Jews received a new Halakha. According to Ibn Adret, none of this can be considered abrogation, because when God issued the Noahide law, He did not say that it was to be forever and that it would not be changed. Analogously, on the nonfestive days of the year, as well as on the intermediate days of the festivals of Succot and of Pesah, it is acceptable and proper to occupy oneself with day-to-day things, and this is pleasing in the eyes of the Lord, whereas idleness is condemned. But on the Sabbath, all productivity is forbidden and idleness is desirable. Similarly, the eating of matza is forbidden after Pesah, when it is once more proper to eat leavened foods. Another example is the Succah, the booth made of twigs and branches that one must dwell in during a certain month, after which one is expected to go back and live in one's house. Ibn Adret argues that there are many more cases like these in which the Muslim sees abrogation, but which are in fact instances of precepts that have been instituted for specific times.

Ibn Adret concludes his tract by quoting a number of biblical passages that confirm that Moses' Torah is the final Law that will be perpetually binding and cannot be abrogated,[109] and that one should not listen to the words of prophets or those who divine by dreams with their promises of omens and portents. This is, of course, a dig at Muḥammad.

109. Exod. 27:21; Deut. 11:21; Deut. 13:1f.

Chapter Seven
Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and His Transmission of Biblical Materials from the *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-Dawla* by Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī: The Evidence from Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Mafātīḥ al-Ġayb*

Sabine Schmidtke

In 1922, Alphonse Mingana published an English translation of the *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* by the Christian convert to Islam, Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Sahl Rabban al-Ṭabarī (d. ca. 251/865), followed in 1923 by an edition of the text on the basis of the single known manuscript owned by the John Rylands Library in Manchester (MS Crawford 631). The manuscript, which had been purchased by Alexander William Crawford Lindsay (1812–1880) in 1843, is concluded by a colophon (dated 4 Muḥarram 616/March 22, 1219) stating that it was transcribed in Baghdad from an autograph rough copy of the text. Soon after the publication of the edition of the text in 1923, Paul Peeters and, shortly thereafter, Maurice Bouyges questioned the authenticity of the work, suggesting that it was a twentieth-century forgery.[1] Peeters and particularly Bouyges repeated these charges on various occasions,[2] and, although numerous scholars have put forth convincing arguments for the authenticity of the work, the issue continued to be discussed over most of the twentieth century and beyond.[3]

One of the arguments put forward by Peeters and Bouyges was that there is no positive evidence that any later author ever used the book and the rich material it contains. Among the defenders of its authenticity, only few were able to respond to this particu-

1. Peeters, review of *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*; Bouyges, *Le "Kitab ad-Din wa'd-Dawlat" ... est-il authentique?*

2. Peeters, review of *The Early Spread of Christianity*; Bouyges, *Le "Kitab ad-Din wa'd-Dawlat" ... n'est pas authentique*; Bouyges, "ʿAliy ibn Rabban aṭ-Ṭabariy"; Bouyges, "Nos informations sur ʿAliy ... aṭ-Ṭabariy."

3. See Appendix 1: "Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī and His *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-Dawla* in Modern Scholarship: A Chronology of the Relevant Publications."

lar charge. Writing in 2007 and fully convinced of the authenticity of the work, David Thomas still states that "little use was made of them [i.e., the arguments put forward in the *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*] by Muslim authors in the centuries immediately following"—the only author likely to have used the book being Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-ʿĀmirī (d. 381/992) in his *Kitāb al-Iʿlām bi-manāqib al-Islām*.[4] By contrast, Ibn Rabban's earlier refutation of Christianity, which is referred to twice in *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* and which has been incompletely preserved in what seems to be a unique manuscript,[5] is known to have been used by at least two later authors: quotations from his *al-Radd ʿalā* [*aṣnāf*] *al-Naṣārā* are preserved in a later refutation of Christianity by the fourth/tenth-century convert from Christianity al-Ḥasan b. Ayyūb, and parts of it have been refuted by the seventh/thirteenth-century Coptic author al-Ṣafī Ibn al-ʿAssāl.[6]

It seems to have escaped the attention of most participants in this debate that already in 1888 Martin Schreiner had provided an important clue to prove that the *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* had in fact been used by later scholars. In his article "Zur Geschichte der Polemik zwischen Juden und Mohammedanern" he pointed out that Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210), in his commentary on the Qurʾān, *Mafātīḥ al-ġayb*, adduced some biblical passages containing predictions of the Prophet Muḥammad which he had gleaned from "Ibn Razīn" al-Ṭabarī, as he explicitly states (*hākaḏā nuqila ʿan Ibn Razīn al-Ṭabarī*).[7] Schreiner correctly identified the latter as Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī.[8] However, he was writing ten years before the publication of the handlist of the Bibliotheca Lindesiana[9] containing the first published description of Ibn Rabban's *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* and was therefore unable to identify the exact source. In his doctoral dissertation, submitted in September 1940, and subsequently in a brief note published in 1941, Moshe Perlmann followed up Schreiner's remark.[10] Comparing the scriptural quotations adduced by Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī with those included in Ibn Rabban's *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, Perlmann argued for the authenticity of the work. The note is written in Perlmann's characteristic brief style covering less than a page. It seems that in the subsequent debate surrounding the *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* his contribution was often overlooked, except by Bouyges, who remained unconvinced and in an article published in 1949–50 renewed his attack on Min-

4. Thomas, "ʿAlī ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī," 141; and Thomas, "Ṭabarī's *Book of Religion and Empire*."

5. Bouyges, "ʿAliy ibn Rabban aṭ-Ṭabariy"; Ibn Rabban, *al-Radd ʿalā l-Naṣārā*.

6. Sepmeijer argues ("Een Weerlegging," 4–9) that al-Ḥasan b. Ayyūb almost certainly used Ibn Rabban's *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* as a source for chapter 4 of his refutation, although al-Ḥasan does not explicitly refer to either the author or the work there. For Ibn al-ʿAssāl, see Samir, "La réponse d'al-Ṣafī Ibn al-ʿAssāl."

7. Schreiner, "Zur Geschichte der Polemik," 642ff.

8. Schreiner, "Zur Geschichte der Polemik," 645f., n. 4.

9. Lindsay, *Bibliotheca Lindesiana*.

10. Perlmann, "Study of Muslim Polemics"; Perlmann, "Note on the Authenticity."

gana (the editor and translator of the text, who had passed away in 1937) and on other defenders of the work's authenticity.[11]

In 2007, Camilla Adang published another important piece of evidence for the later use of Ibn Rabban's *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* on the basis of the comprehensive *kalām* treatise *Kitāb al-Munqiḏ min al-taqlīd* of the Twelver Šīʿite Sadīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī (d. after 600/1204), completed on 9 Rabīʿ I 581/June 9, 1185.[12] This work contains a chapter dealing with the biblical passages that were adduced by Muslims as proof of the veracity of the prophethood of Muḥammad. These were gleaned, as al-Ḥimmaṣī states explicitly, from "Ibn Rabāʾ al-Ṭabarī"/"Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabīb." Moreover, Adang was able to show that al-Ḥimmaṣī took the entire material quoted in this chapter not directly from Ibn Rabban's *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* but rather from an intermediate source, the *Kitāb Ġurar al-adilla* by the Muʿtazilite author Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1045). The latter work is apparently no longer extant, and its contents can be only partly recovered on the basis of quotations in later books.[13]

When inspecting Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's quotations from Ibn Rabban in his *Mafātīḥ al-ġayb*, Schreiner duly noticed that the reference to Ibn Rabban is followed by an additional reference to Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Kitāb al-Ġurar*. However, the way in which Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī refers to the two authors does not suggest that Abū l-Ḥusayn may have been his source for the quotations from Ibn Rabban.[14] Moreover, on the basis of the little that was known by the end of the nineteenth century about the Muʿtazila, Schreiner was unable to identify Abū l-Ḥusayn. Perlmann for his part was in no better position, for although a few authentic Muʿtazilite texts had come to light during the first half of the twentieth century, virtually nothing was known about the later development of the school or about Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī that could have helped him to draw further conclusions as to Faḫr al-Dīn's source. Confronted in the *Mafātīḥ al-ġayb* with the two references that do not suggest any link between Ibn Rabban and Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, Perlmann omitted the reference to the latter altogether.

A comparison between the chapter of al-Ḥimmaṣī's *Munqiḏ min al-taqlīd* discussing the biblical predictions of the Prophet Muḥammad and the corresponding sections of Faḫr al-Dīn's *Mafātīḥ al-ġayb* reveals a substantial degree of verbal and structural agree-

11. Bouyges, "Nos informations sur ʿAliy . . . aṭ-Ṭabariy."

12. Adang, "Rare Case" [chapter 12 in the present volume].

13. That Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī in his *Ġurar al-adilla* assembled biblical references supporting the veracity of Muḥammad's prophethood is also mentioned by Masʿūd b. ʿUmar al-Taftazānī (d. 793/1390) in his *Šarḥ al-Maqāṣid fī ʿilm al-kalām*, 5/43:13f.: *wa-la-qad ǧamaʿa Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī fī kitāb Ġurar al-adilla mā yūqifu min nuṣūṣ al-tawrāh ʿalā ṣiḥḥat nubuwwat Muḥammad (ṣalʿam)*. An earlier reference to Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's *Talḫīṣ al-muḥaṣṣal* (p. 43:11) suggests that al-Taftazānī is quoting this remark from the latter work, which is, however, not the case; see al-Ṭūsī, *Talḫīṣ al-muḥaṣṣal*, 154. On Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, see EI3 1/16–19 (W. Madelung). See also chapter 8 in the present volume.

14. See below, Appendix 2, end of section 3b, beginning of section 3c.

ment. It becomes evident that Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, like al-Ḥimmaṣī, did not have Ibn Rabban's *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* at his disposal but was relying on an intermediate source, Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *Kitāb al-Ġurar*. In theory, Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī may also have used al-Ḥimmaṣī's *Munqiḏ* rather than Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Ġurar*; the *Munqiḏ* had been completed a few years before Faḫr al-Dīn embarked on writing his exegesis,[15] and Faḫr al-Dīn was, according to Twelver Šīʿite sources, a student of al-Ḥimmaṣī.[16] However, Faḫr al-Dīn's section on biblical predictions contains material that is not included in al-Ḥimmaṣī's *Munqiḏ* and which is mostly taken, directly or indirectly, from Ibn Rabban's *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*. Assuming that Faḫr al-Dīn did not have access to Ibn Rabban's work itself, it is most plausible that he gleaned his entire material from Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Ġurar*. Moreover, Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī is known to have been closely familiar with the writings of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, which further supports the assumption that he was drawing on the same source as al-Ḥimmaṣī, namely, Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *Ġurar al-adilla*, rather than using al-Ḥimmaṣī's work itself.[17]

Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's discussion of biblical predictions of the Prophet Muḥammad is included in his exegesis of Q 2:40 and is introduced by him as follows: "We now mention some of [the evidence] that has been adduced in the books of the former prophets announcing the advent of Muḥammad, God bless him and grant him peace" (*wa-la-naḏkur al-ān baʿḍ mā ǧāʾa fī kutub al-anbiyāʾ al-mutaqaddimīn min al-bišāra bi-maqdam Muḥammad ṣallā Allāh ʿalayhi wa-sallam*). The biblical material is then presented in seven numbered sections, each consisting of one or several related scriptural quotations followed by a discussion. This numbered arrangement of the material, which is characteristic of Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, has no parallel in al-Ḥimmaṣī's *Munqiḏ*.[18] Moreover, while the parallel introductory passage in the *Munqiḏ* explicitly identifies Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *Ġurar* as the source for the following biblical predictions of the Prophet Muḥammad, Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī refrains from identifying his source.

Section 1 is an abbreviated version of a scriptural passage also found in al-Ḥimmaṣī's *Munqiḏ min al-taqlīd*.[19] Both authors have it indirectly from Ibn Rabban's *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*.[20] This is not clear from Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, who does not mention his source, but

15. For a tentative chronology of al-Rāzī's writings, see Shihadeh, "From al-Ghazālī to al-Rāzī," and Griffel, "On Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's Life."

16. See the editor's introduction to al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/5–12.

17. That Ibn Rabban's *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* was widely transmitted through Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Kitāb al-Ġurar* is corroborated by Zaydī sources; see chapter 15 in the present volume.

18. Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's text is reproduced in Appendix 2.

19. Al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/504:17–506:3. The page numbers of the Qum edition are indicated in square brackets in the edition and the translation prepared by Adang in "Rare Case."

20. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 67:11–18; *Religion and Empire*, 78:17–79:2 (corresponding to Gen. 16:6–12).

al-Ḥimmaṣī explicitly refers to Ibn Rabban in the *Munqiḏ*.[21] Al-Ḥimmaṣī also cites Abū l-Ḥusayn for the explanation of the passage given in his and Faḫr al-Dīn's work alike,[22] showing that both are drawing on Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Ġurar*, though Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī omits a passage from a Jewish informant that al-Ḥimmaṣī retains.

Section 2 follows immediately upon section 1 both in Faḫr al-Dīn's *Mafātīḥ al-ġayb* and in al-Ḥimmaṣī's *Munqiḏ*, whereas in Ibn Rabban's *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* the relevant scriptural passages (Deut. 18:15, 18:18f.) are adduced only somewhat later.[23] The verbal agreement between the quotations leaves no doubt that Ibn Rabban was the ultimate source. The entire section in *Mafātīḥ al-ġayb* is again an abbreviated version of what can be found in al-Ḥimmaṣī's *Munqiḏ*.[24] The explicit references in the *Munqiḏ* to Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī[25] indicate that the entire section in the *Munqiḏ*, and therefore also in the *Mafātīḥ*, where no source is indicated, is again based on Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Ġurar al-adilla*.

Section 3a follows immediately upon section 2 in the *Mafātīḥ* and in the *Munqiḏ*,[26] and also in Ibn Rabban's *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* the scriptural passages adduced (Deut. 33:2f.; Gen. 21:20f.) follow immediately on the passage adduced in the passage corresponding to Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's section 2.[27] The subsequent discussion of the passage in the *Mafātīḥ* is again an abbreviated version of what can be found in al-Ḥimmaṣī's *Munqiḏ*. The renewed reference in the *Munqiḏ* to Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī[28] shows once more that the entire section in the *Munqiḏ* and therefore also in Faḫr al-Dīn's *Mafātīḥ* is based on Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Ġurar*.

Section 3b follows immediately upon section 3a both in the *Mafātīḥ* and in the *Munqiḏ*,[29] whereas Ibn Rabban adduces the scriptural passage in question (Hab. 3:3–13) in a later chapter of his *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*.[30] Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī presents a slightly abbreviated version of the scriptural passage, but like al-Ḥimmaṣī, he concludes the passage with an indication of the source: *hākaḏā nuqila ʿan Ibn Razīn al-Ṭabarī* in the *Mafātīḥ* and *hākaḏā naqala Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī* in the *Munqiḏ*.[31] The similarity of the concluding remark suggests that both authors gleaned it from their apparent shared source, Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Ġurar al-adilla*.

21. Al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/505:7: *wa-hākaḏā naqala Ibn Rabāʾ al-Ṭabarī wa-fī baʿḍ al-nusaḫ Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabīb*.
22. Al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/504:19: *qāla al-Šayḫ Abū l-Ḥusayn*.
23. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 73:13–74:1; *Religion and Empire*, 85:17–29.
24. Al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/506:4–507:7.
25. Al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/506:9: *qāla al-šayḫ*; 506:19: *qāla*.
26. Al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/507:8–508:11.
27. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 74:16–75:1; *Religion and Empire*, 86:24–87:7.
28. Al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/507:13: *qāla al-šayḫ*.
29. Al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/508:12–509:1.
30. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 103:5–104:12; *Religion and Empire*, 119:6–120:4.
31. Al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/509:1.

Section 3c follows immediately upon section 3b both in the *Mafātīḥ* and in the *Munqiḏ*,[32] and it contains a detailed discussion of the scriptural passages adduced in sections 3a and 3b that is largely independent of Ibn Rabban's interpretation of these verses. The text in the *Mafātīḥ* is a considerably abbreviated version of what can be found in the *Munqiḏ*. At the beginning of the section, Faḫr al-Dīn explicitly mentions Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Kitāb al-Ġurar* as his source (*amma l-Naṣārā fa-qāla Abū l-Ḥusayn raḥimahu Allāh fī kitāb al-Ġurar*). Al-Ḥimmaṣī also introduces two passages in this section with *qāla*,[33] both again referring to Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *Ġurar*.

Section 4 contains a lengthy quotation from Isaiah (Isa. 60:1–7) taken from Ibn Rabban's *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*.[34] It is followed by a discussion which again proves to be an abbreviated version of that found in the *Munqiḏ*,[35] where al-Ḥimmaṣī once more refers to Abū l-Ḥusayn.[36] This shows that both al-Ḥimmaṣī and Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī used Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Ġurar* as their source. Unlike al-Ḥimmaṣī,[37] Faḫr al-Dīn does not adduce any other quotations from Isaiah. His statement concluding this section echoes the formulation used by al-Ḥimmaṣī at the end of a lengthy section containing additional scriptural selections from Isaiah.[38]

Section 5 of the *Mafātīḥ al-ġayb*, quoting Gen. 17:20, has no parallel in al-Ḥimmaṣī's *Munqiḏ*, but the passage is also found in Ibn Rabban's work,[39] from which it undoubtedly comes. The argument based on it, introduced by *wa-l-istidlāl bihi*, is not in Ibn Rabban's work, however. This again suggests that Faḫr al-Dīn was quoting Ibn Rabban via Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, for as has been seen, it is a characteristic feature of Abū l-Ḥusayn that his discussion of the scriptural passages is quite different from that in his source.

Section 6 of the *Mafātīḥ* has likewise no parallel in al-Ḥimmaṣī's *Munqiḏ*, but this time it is not even clear that it comes from Ibn Rabban. The scriptural passage is an amalgamation of John 15:26 and 16:7, and though Ibn Rabban discusses similar biblical passages concerning the Paraclete in a chapter entitled "The Prophecy of the Christ about the Prophet" (*nubuwwat al-Masīḥ ʿalā l-Nabī ṣalʿam*),[40] he does not have this amalgamation. One would assume Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī still to be using Abū l-Ḥusayn, who may have preferred other sources to Ibn Rabban for his New Testament quotations.

Section 7 of the *Mafātīḥ* consists exclusively of a long quotation from Daniel (Dan. 2:31–45). The same passage is found with minor differences in Ibn Rabban's *al-Dīn wa-*

32. Al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/509:2–510:16.
33. Al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/509:2, 5.
34. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 94:14–95:7; *Religion and Empire*, 109:25–110:15.
35. Al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/510:17–512:1.
36. Al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/511:11: *qāla al-šayḫ*.
37. Al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/512–515.
38. Al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/515:11ff.
39. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 66:17–67:5; *Religion and Empire*, 77:23–78:4.
40. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 118–124; *Religion and Empire*, 140–146.

l-dawla.[41] Since Ibn Rabban is so far the only medieval Muslim author known to have quoted this passage,[42] there can hardly be much doubt that it comes from him, presumably via Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Ġurar* once again, though it is impossible to tell, since al-Ḥimmaṣī does not cite it.

Appendix 1

Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī and His *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* in Modern Scholarship: A Chronology of the Relevant Publications

[1888] Martin Schreiner, "Zur Geschichte der Polemik zwischen Juden und Mohammedanern," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 42 (1888), 591–675.

[1898] James Ludovic Lindsay [Crawford], *Bibliotheca Lindesiana: Handlist of Oriental Manuscripts, Arabic, Persian, Turkish*, introd. Michael Kerney, Aberdeen: privately printed, 1898, 10, 50.

[1920] Alphonse Mingana, "A Semi-official Defence of Islam," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1920), 481–488.

[1922] *The Book of Religion and Empire: A Semi-Official Defence and Exposition of Islam Written by Order at the Court and with the Assistance of the Caliph Mutawakkil (A.D. 847–861) by ʿAlī Ṭabarī*, trans. with a critical apparatus from an apparently unique MS in the John Rylands Library by Alphonse Mingana, Manchester/New York: Manchester University Press, 1922; repr. Lahore, 1986 (not including Mingana's introduction, pp. v–xxi); Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing, n.d. (including Mingana's introduction).

[1923] *The Book of Religion and Empire* [*Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*]*: A Semi-Official Defence and Exposition of Islam, Written by Order at the Court and with the Assistance of the Caliph Mutawakkil (A.D. 847–861) by Ali Tabari*, ed. from an apparently unique MS in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, by Alphonse Mingana, Manchester, New York: Manchester University Press, 1923; repr. Benghazi (Libya), n.d., with no reference to Mingana as the editor.

[1924] Theodor Nöldeke, review of *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla = The Book of Religion and Empire*, by Ali Tabari, ed. Alphonse Mingana, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 45 [n.s., 1] (January 1924), cols. 22–28.

[1924] Paul Peeters, review of *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla = The Book of Religion and Empire*, by Ali Tabari, ed. Alphonse Mingana, *Analecta Bollandiana* 42 (1924), 200–202.

41. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 113:5–114:6; *Religion and Empire*, 133:12–134:17.

42. See Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 265. That it was also quoted by Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064) is of little relevance for our context as there is so far no evidence that Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī was familiar with the writings of Ibn Ḥazm.

[1924] Maurice Bouyges, *Le "Kitab ad-Din wa'd-Dawlat" récemment édité, traduit et défendu par Mr A. Mingana est-il authentique? Lettre à Monsieur le Directeur de la John Rylands Library, Manchester*, Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1924.

[1925] D. B. MacDonald, review of *Le "Kitab ad-Din wa'd-Dawlat" récemment édité et traduit par Mr A. Mingana est-il authentique?* by Maurice Bouyges, *Moslem World* 15 (1925), 210–211.

[1925] Maurice Bouyges, *Le "Kitab ad-Din wa'd-Dawlat" récemment édité, traduit et défendu par Mr Mingana n'est pas authentique: Seconde Lettre à Mr. Le Directeur de la John Rylands Library, Manchester*, Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1925.

[1925] "[Library Notes and News:] Tabari's Apology for Islam," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library Manchester* 9 (1925), 10.

[1925] Alphonse Mingana, "Remarks on Ṭabari's Semi-Official Defence of Islam," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library Manchester* 9 (1925), 236–240.

[1926] Georg Graf, review of *Le "Kitab ad-Din wa'd-Dawlat" ... est-il authentique?* and *Le "Kitab ad-Din wa'd-Dawlat" ... n'est pas authentique*, by Maurice Bouyges, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 29 (1926), cols. 511–513.

[1927] Alphonse Mingana, "Kitāb ud Dīn wa-d-Daulah," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library Manchester* 11 (1927), 99–100.

[1928] Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Sahl Rabban al-Ṭabarī, *Firdaws al-ḥikma fī l-ṭibb*, ed. Muḥammad Zubayr al-Ṣiddīqī, Berlin-Charlottenburg: Buch- und Kunstdruckerei Sonne, 1928; repr. Baghdad, 1975 (?).

[1929] Paul Peeters, review of *The Early Spread of Christianity in Central Asia and the Far East: A New Document*, by Alphonse Mingana, *Byzantion: Revue Internationale des Etudes Byzantines* 4 (1929 [1927–1928]), 569–574.

[1930] The Editor [= Henry Guppy], "The Genuineness of aṭ-Ṭabari's Arabic 'Apology,' and of the Syriac Document on the Spread of Christianity in Central Asia in the John Rylands Library," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library Manchester* 14 (1930), 121–123.

[1930] Alphonse Mingana, "Remarks on the Early Spread of Christianity in Central Asia," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library Manchester* 14 (1930), 123–124.

[1930] D. S. Margoliouth, "On 'The Book of Religion and Empire' by ʿAlī b. Rabban al-Tabari," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 16 (1930), 165–182.

[1930] Erdmann Fritsch, *Islam und Christentum im Mittelalter: Beiträge zur Geschichte der muslimischen Polemik gegen das Christentum in arabischer Sprache*, Breslau: Müller und Seiffert, 1930, 6–12.

[1931] Max Meyerhof, "ʿAlī ibn Rabban aṭ-Tabarī, ein persischer Arzt des 9. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 85 [n.s., 10] (1931), 38–68.

[1931] Max Meyerhof, "'ʿAlī aṭ-Ṭabarī's 'Paradise of Wisdom,' One of the Oldest Arabic Compendiums of Medicine," *ISIS* 16 (July 1931), 6–54.

[1932] Dr Schachter, "Un médicin perse du IXe siècle, d'origine chrétienne, Ali ibn Rabban at Tabari," *Bulletin de la Société française d'histoire de la médicine* 26 (1932), 165–170.

[1934] Alphonse Mingana, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, Manchester: John Rylands Library, 1934, cols. 70–74, no. 69 [631].

[1934] Franz Taeschner, "Die alttestamentlichen Bibelzitate, vor allem aus dem Pentateuch, in aṭ-Ṭabarī's Kitāb ad-Dīn wad-Daula und ihre Bedeutung für die Frage nach der Echtheit dieser Schrift," *Oriens Christianus* 31 [3rd ser., 9] (1934), 23–39.

[1934] Maurice Bouyges, "ʿAliy ibn Rabban aṭ-Ṭabariy," *Der Islam* 22 (1934), 120–121.

[1937] Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur: Supplementbände*, 3 vols, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1937–42, 1/414–415.

[1940] Moshe Perlmann, "A Study of Muslim Polemics Directed against the Jews," PhD thesis, University of London, 1940, 97.

[1941] Moshe Perlmann, "Note on the Authenticity of ʿAlī Ṭabarī's 'Book of Religion and Empire,'" *Moslem World* 31 (July 1941), 308; repr. *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library Manchester* 26 (May–June 1942), 246.

[1944] Georg Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, vol. 1, Vatican: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1944, 44, n. 3.

[1949–50] Maurice Bouyges, "Nos informations sur ʿAliy ... aṭ-Ṭabariy," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 28 (1949–50), 69–114.

[1959] Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī, *al-Radd ʿalā l-Naṣārā*, ed. Ignace A. Khalifé and W. Kutsch, *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph* 36 (1959), 113–148.

[1969] Georges C. Anawati, "Polémique, apologie et dialogue islamo–chrétiens," *Euntes docete* 22 (1969), 375–451, esp. 392–395.

[1973] Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī, *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, ed. ʿĀdil Nuwayhiḍ, Beirut: Dār al-āfāq al-ǧadīda, 1393/1973.

[1983] Samir Khalil Samir, "La réponse d'al-Ṣafī Ibn al-ʿAssāl à la réfutation des chrétiens de ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī," *Parole de l'Orient* 11 (1983), 281–328.

[1985] Floris Sepmeijer, "Een Weerlegging van het Christendom uit de 10e eeuw: De brief van al-Ḥasan b. Ayyūb aan zijn broer ʿAlī," PhD dissertation, Vrije Universiteit te Amsterdam, 1985.

[1986] ʿAbd al-Maǧīd al-Šarfī, *al-Fikr al-islāmī fī l-radd ʿalā al-Naṣārā ilā nihāyat al-qarn al-rābiʿ/al-ʿāšir*, Tunis: al-Dār al-tūnisiyya, 1986, 128–135.

[1986] David Thomas, "Ṭabarī's *Book of Religion and Empire*," *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library* 69 (1986), 1–7.

[1990] Samir Khalil Samir, "Alphonse Mingana (1878–1937) and His Contributions to Early Christian-Muslim Studies," lecture delivered on May 25, 1990, to the First Woodbrooke Mingana Symposium on "Christian Arabic apologetic texts during the Abbasid period, 750–1258 CE," Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham.

[1995] Jean-Marie Gaudeul, *Riposte aux Chrétiens par ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī*, Rome: Pontificio Istituto di Studi Arabi e d'Islamistica, 1995.

[1996] Camilla Adang, *Muslim Writers on Judaism and the Hebrew Bible: From Ibn Rabban to Ibn Ḥazm*, Leiden: Brill, 1996, 23–30 and passim.

[1998] David Thomas, "Al-Ṭabarī, ʿAlī b. Rabban," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., fasc. 163–168 [1998]; Leiden: Brill, 2000, 10/17–18.

[1998] *Amrāḍ al-ʿayn wa-muʿālağātuhā: Min kitābay al-Muʿālağāt al-Buqrāṭiyya, allafahu Abū l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī, wa-Firdaws al-ḥikma, allafahu ʿAlī b. Sahl Rabban al-Ṭabarī*, ed. Muḥammad Rawwās Qalʿahǧī and Muḥammad Ẓāfir al-Wafāʾī, London: Muʾassasat al-Furqān li-l-turāṯ al-islāmī, 1998.

[2002] Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Sahl Rabban al-Ṭabarī, *Firdaws al-ḥikma fī l-ṭibb*, ed. ʿAbd al-Karīm Sāmī al-Ǧundī, Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-ʿilmiyya, 2002.

[2007] Camilla Adang, "A Rare Case of Biblical 'Testimonies' to the Prophet Muḥammad in Muʿtazilī Literature: Quotations from Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī's *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-Dawla* in Abu l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *Ghurar al-Adilla*, as Preserved in a Work by al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī," in *A Common Rationality: Muʿtazilism in Islam and Judaism*, ed. Camilla Adang, Sabine Schmidtke, and David Sklare, Würzburg: Ergon, 2007, 297–330 [chapter 12 in the present volume].

[2007] David Thomas, "ʿAlī ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī: A Convert's Assessment of His Former Faith," in *Christians and Muslims in Dialogue in the Islamic Orient of the Middle Ages = Christlich-muslimische Gespräche im Mittelalter*, ed. Martin Tamcke, Würzburg: Ergon, 2007, 137–155.

[2013] Sabine Schmidtke, "Biblical Predictions of the Prophet Muḥammad among the Zaydīs of Yemen (6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries)," *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 293 (2013), 221–240 [chapter 15 in the present volume].

[2015] Sabine Schmidtke, "The Muslim Reception of the Bible: al-Māwardī and His *Kitāb Aʿlām al-nubuwwa*," in *Le Sacre Scritture e le loro interpretazioni*, ed. Carmela Baffioni, Rosa Bianca Finazzi, Anna Passoni Dell'Acqua, Emidio Vergani, Milan: Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana; Rome: Bulzoni, 2015, 71–97 [chapter 9 in the present volume].

[2016] Ebied, Rifaat, and David Thomas, eds. and trans., *The Polemical Works of ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī*, Leiden: Brill, 2016 (containing a new edition and translation of Ibn Rabban's *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* and *al-Radd ʿalā l-Naṣārā*, respectively).

Appendix 2

Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr* [= *Mafātīḥ al-ġayb*] (Tehran: s.n., n.d., *ǧuzʾ* 3, 36:2–39:10 = Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa al-ḫayriyya, 1307–8[/1889–90], 1/485:11–488:23)

The text of the *Mafātīḥ* is rendered in bold in all sections 1–7, following the Tehran edition, variations in the Cairo edition being mentioned in {curly brackets}.[43] In sections 1

43. On the various prints of the *Mafātīḥ al-ġayb* and the relations between them, see Lagarde, *Index du grand commentaire*, 1ff. There is so far no critical edition of Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Mafātīḥ al-ġayb*. An

to 4, the text has been collated with the corresponding sections of al-Ḥimmaṣī's *Munqiḏ*; any variants and especially additional material in the latter text have been indicated in [square brackets], with the exception of obvious scribal errors, misprints, and variations in eulogies for God or the Prophet Muḥammad. The scriptural quotation in section 5 has been collated with the corresponding passage in Ibn Rabban's *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, and variants in the latter work are indicated in square brackets. The text of section 6 is given as it appears in the consulted prints of the *Mafātīḥ*. Section 7 has again been collated with the corresponding passage in Ibn Rabban's *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*; variants are once more indicated in square brackets. Wherever possible in all seven sections, the text of the *Mafātīḥ* has been improved, with emendations being mentioned in the footnotes.

. . . ولنذكر الآن بعض ما جاء في كتب الأنبياء المتقدمين من البشارة بمقدم محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم [ولنذكر . . . وسلم: ومن الآيات المؤكدة لنبوته ما في كتب الأنبياء عليهم السلام من البشارة به وبانتشار دعوته وظهور دينه وغلبة رهطه وعمارة بلده وباديته. **وقد أورده الشيخ أبو الحسن في غرره، قال**]:

[1] **فالأول: جاء** [فالأول: جاء: ففي الأول ما جاء] **في الفصل التاسع من السفر الأول من التوراة: «إن هاجر لما غضبت عليها سارة تراءى لها ملك الله فقال لها** [لها: -]**: يا هاجر أين تريدين** {تريد} **ومن أين أقبلت؟ قالت: أهرب من سيّدتي سارة. فقال لها: ارجعي إلى سيدتك واخفضي [واخفضي: واخضعي] لها، فإن الله سيكثر زرعك وذريتك، وستحبلين وتلدين ابناً وتسمّيه إسماعيل من أجل أن الله سمع تبتّلك وخشوعك، وهو يكون عير**[44] **الناس، وتكون يده فوق** [+ يد] **الجميع ويد الجميع مبسوطة إليه بالخضوع وهو يسكن**[45] **على تخوم**[46] [+ أرض] **جميع إخوته»** [Gen. 16:6–12].[47] [+ **وهكذا نقل ابن رباء الطبريّ، وفي بعض النسخ ابن ربّن الطبيب**]

واعلم أن [واعلم أن: **قال الشيخ أبو الحسن: فسمعت بعض اليهود** ينقل كذلك: «وتكون يده في الكل ويد الكل فيه»، قال: لأن الموجود في العبراني باذ بكول وباذكول.[48] وزعم أن هذا الباب يحتمل أن يده متصرفة في الكل، ويحتمل أن يده في الكل بمعنى أنه يكون مخالطاً للكل. ووجه] **الاستدلال بهذا** [بهذا: أن هذا] **الكلام أن هذا الكلام** [أن هذا الكلام: أنه] **خرج مخرج البشارة، وليس يجوز أن يبشّر الملك من قبل الله بالظلم والجور وبأمر لا يتمّ إلاّ بالكذب على الله تعالى. ومعلوم أن إسماعيل وولده لم يكونوا متصرّفين في الكل، أعني في معظم الدنيا ومعظم الأمم، ولا كانوا** [ولا كانوا: ولم يكونوا] **مخالطين للكل على سبيل الاستيلاء** [على سبيل الاستلاء: وممازجين لهم وأيديهم معهم وأيدي الكل معهم] **إلاّ بالإسلام، لأنهم كانوا قبل الإسلام محصورين في البادية، لا يتجاسرون على الدخول في أوائل العراق** [العراق: العرب] **وأوائل الشام إلاّ على أتم خوف** [أتم خوف: خوف تام]**. فلما جاء الإسلام استولوا على الشرق والغرب بالإسلام ومازجوا الأمم ووطئوا** [ووطئوا: ووطنوا] **بلادهم، ومازجتهم الأمم** [+ وخالطوهم وقصدوهم] **وحجّوا بيتهم** [بيتهم: قبلتهم] **ودخلوا** [+ إلى] **باديتهم بسبب مجاورة** [بسبب مجاورة: لمجاورة] **الكعبة** [+ ولأخذ معالم الدين من المدينة أو مكة]. **فلو لم يكن النبيّ صلى الله عليه وسلم صادقاً** [+ على ما يدّعون لكان هذا القصد من الأمم]، **لكانت هذه** [لكانت هذه: وهذه] **المخالطة منهم للأمم ومن الأمم لهم معصيةً لله تعالى وخروجاً عن طاعته** [+

overview of the manuscripts held in the Süleymaniye Library and the Topkapı Palace is given by Jacques Jomier in "Les Mafatih al-ghayb."

44. عير: عين في مفاتيح الغيب والمنقذ من التقليد، والتصحيح عن كتاب الدين والدولة لابن ربن.

45. يسكن: يشكر، والتصحيح عن كتاب الدين والدولة لابن ربن.

46. تخوم: رغم، والتصحيح عن كتاب الدين والدولة لابن ربن.

47. قارن ابن ربن الطبري: كتاب الدين والدولة، ص 11:67–18: وقد كان موسى عليه السلام تنبأ بمثل هذه النبوة في السفر الأول والفصل التاسع وقال أنه لما هربت هاجر من سارة ترآءى لها ملك الله وقال: يا هاجر أمة سارة من أين أقبلتِ وأين تريدين؟ قالت هاجر مجيبةً له: أهرب من سيدتي سارة. قال لها ملك الرب: ارجعي إلى سيدتك واخضعي لها فإني سأكثر ذريتك وزرعك حتى لا يحصون كثرةً. وها أنت تحبلين وتلدين ابناً وتسميه إسماعيل، لأن الله قد سمع تبتّلك وخشوعك وهو يكون عير الناس وتكون يده فوق الجميع ويد الجميع مبسوطةً إليه ويكون مسكنه على تخوم جميع إخوته.

48. Cf. Gen. 16:12: ידו בכל ויד כל בו.

ودينه] **إلى طاعة** [طاعة: معصيته وطاعة] **الشيطان، والله يتعالى عن أن يبشّر بما هذه سبيله.**

[2] **والثاني جاء** [والثاني جاء: وقال] **في الفصل الحادي عشر من السفر الخامس** [+ عن موسى عليه السلام]: «**إن الرب الهكم يقيم لكم نبياً** [لكم نبياً : نبيا لكم] **مثلي من بينكم ومن إخوانكم** [إخوانكم: إخوتكم فاسمعوا]» [Deut.18:15]. **وفي هذا الفصل: «إن الرب تعالى قال لموسى: إني مقيم لهم نبياً مثلك من بين إخوانهم** [بين إخوانهم: بني إخوتهم] **وأيما رجل لم يسمع كلماتي التي يؤديها عني ذلك الرجل باسمي أنا أنتقم منه»** [Deut. 18:18–19].[49]

[+ **قال الشيخ**: ورأيت في التوراة بعد قوله «من إخوتهم»: «وأجعل كلمتي في فيه، وأيما رجل لم يسمع القول الذي يتكلم باسمي فإني أنتقم منه»] **وهذا الكلام يدل على أن النبي الذي يقيمه الله تعالى** [ألله تعالى: -] **ليس من بني إسرائيل،** [+ لأن من خاطب قوماً فقال لهم: «إني أقيم من إخوتكم رجلاً»، استفيد من ذلك أنه لا يكون من أنفسهم] **كما أن من قال لبني هاشم: إنه سيكون من إخوانكم** [إخوانكم: إخوتكم] **إمام، عُـقِل** {منه} **أنه لا يكون من بني هاشم. ثم إن يعقوب عليه السلام هو إسرائيل ولم يكن له أخ إلا العيص ولم يكن للعيص ولد من الأنبياء سوى أيوب وإنه كان قبل موسى عليه السلام فلا يجوز أن يكون موسى عليه السلام مبشراً له، وأما إسماعيل فإنه كان أخا لإسحاق والد يعقوب ثم إن كل** [ثم إن يعقوب . . . ثم إن كل: وكل] **نبي بعث** [+ من] **بعد موسى كان من بني إسرائيل فالنبي عليه السلام ما كان منهم** [كان من . . . منهم: لم يكن من إخوتهم]، **لكنه** [لكنه: لأنه] **كان** [+ من ولد إسرائيل، والنبي عليه السلام] **من إخوانهم** [إخوانهم: إخوتهما]، **لأنه من ولد إسماعيل الذي هو** [الذي هو: وإسماعيل] **أخو إسحاق عليهم السلام.** [+ ولو كانت هذه البشارة بنبيّ من بني إسرائيل، لم يكن لها معنىً، لأن الله تعالى قد بعث من الأنبياء من بني إسرائيل بعد موسى خلقاً كثيراً. **قال: وذكر لي بعض اليهود** أنهم يعتقدون أنه لا يجيء نبيّ من بني إسرائيل من بعد موسى، وهذا يؤكّد ما ذكرناه من أن البشارة كانت بنبيّ من غيرهم].

فإن قيل [قيل: قالوا]: **قوله «من بينكم» يمنع أن يكون المراد** [+ به] **محمّداً صلى الله عليه وسلم، لأنه لم يقم من بين بني إسرائيل. قلنا** [قلنا: قيل]: **بل قد** [قد: -] **قام من بينهم، لأنه عليه السلام ظهر** [ظهر: قام] **بالحجاز فبعث** [فبعث: وبعث] **بمكة وهاجر إلى المدينة وبها تكامل أمره، وقد كان حول المدينة بلاد اليهود، كخيبر وبني قينقاع والنضير وغيرهم** [وغيرهم: وغير ذلك]. **وأيضاً، فإن الحجاز يقارب الشام وجمهور اليهود كانوا إذ ذاك بالشام، فإذا** [فإذا: فمن] **قام محمد** [محمد: -] **بالحجاز فقد قام من بينهم. وأيضاً، فإنه إذا كان من إخوانهم فقد قام من بينهم** [وأيضاً . . . بينهم: -] **فإنه** [فإنه: لأنه] **ليس هو ببعيد منهم.**

[3a] **والثالث قال** [والثالث قال: وقال] **في الفصل العشرين من هذا السفر: «إن الرب تعالى جاء من**[50] **طور سيناء وطلع لنا من ساعير وظهر من جبال** [جبال: جبل] **فاران** ومعه[51] **عن يمينه ربوات**[52] **القديسين** [القديسين: المقدسين] **فمنحهم** {فنحهم} **العز وحبّبهم إلى الشعوب ودعا لجميع قدّيسيه بالبركة»** [Deut. 33:2f.]. **وجه الاستدلال أن جبل** [وجه . . . جبل: وجبل] **فاران هو بالحجاز، لأن في التوراة: «إن إسماعيل تعلّم الرمي في برية فاران»** [Gen. 21:20f.]، **ومعلوم أنه إنما سكن** [سكن: -] **بمكة.**[53]

[+ **قال الشيخ**: فرأيت بخط إبن الكوفي في كتاب منازل مكة،[54] قال: أخبرني جماعة من أعراب معدن بني سليم، لا واحد ولا اثنان، فقالوا: المنـزل الخرب الذي كان قبل المعدن بميلين ونصف يقال له ريان، وهو كان المنـزل قبل هذا المنـزل، ونسميه الساعة المعدن العتيق. والجبل الذي كان فيه المعدن، يقال له فاران، وجدته مضبوطاً منقوطاً. **قال**: وهو يسرة عن الطريق قليلاً رقيق يبرقا. **قال**: وبعده جبلان يقال لأحدهما

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49. قارن ابن ربن الطبري: كتاب الدين والدولة، ص 73:13–74:1: فالنبوة الخامسة الدالة عليه المشيرة إلى نبوته وحقه قول موسى عليه السلام في الفصل الحادي عشر من التوراة من السفر الخامس وهو الأخير لبني إسرائيل: إن الرب الهكم يقيم نبياً مثلي من بينكم ومن إخوتكم فاسمعوا له. وقالت التوراة في هذا الفصل بعينه مؤكداً لهذا القول وموضحاً له أنه قال الرب لموسى عليه السلام: إني مقيم لهم نبياً مثلك من بين إخوتهم وأيما رجل لم يسمع كلماتي التي يؤديها ذلك الرجل باسمي أنا انتقم منه.

50. من: في، والتصحيح عن كتاب الدين والدولة لابن ربن.

51. ومعه: وصف، والتصحيح عن كتاب الدين والدولة لابن ربن.

52. ربوات: عنوان، والتصحيح عن كتاب الدين ولدولة لابن ربن.

53. قارن ابن ربن الطبري: كتاب الدين والدولة، ص 74: 16–75: 1: وقال موسى في هذا السفر في الفصل العشرين: إن الرب جاء من طور سينين وطلع لنا من ساعير وظهر من جبل فاران ومعه عن يمينه ربوات القدّيسين فمنحهم العز وحبّبهم إلى الشعوب ودعا بجميع قدّيسيه بالبركة. ففاران هي البلدة التي سكنها إسماعيل عليه السلام ولذلك قدّم الله ذكرها في التوراة في قوله: فكان يتعلم الرمي في برية فاران. وقد علم الناس كلهم أن إسماعيل سكن مكة.

54. لابن الكوفي أبي الحسن علي بن محمد بن الزبير القرشي الكوفي المتوفي سنة 843، قارن الذريعة إلى تصانيف الشيعة لآقا بزرك الطهراني، ج 22، رقم 6909.

يرمرم والآخر العلم، فيرمرم عن يمين المصعد إلى مكة والعلم عن يساره، وبينهما وبين فاران قلوة ومجيء الله هو مجيء وحيه ورسله. فإن قالوا: إن المراد بذلك حصول إسماعيل ببريّة فاران وهو ولي من أولياء الله، قيل لهم: فقد **قال**]

إذا ثبت هذا فنقول أن قوله [إذا . . . قوله: -] «**فمنحهم** {فنحهم} **العزّ» لا يجوز أن يكون المراد إسماعيل عليه السلام** [لا . . . السلام: -] **لأنه لم** [لأنه لم: ولم] **يحصل عقيب سكنى إسماعيل عليه السلام هناك عز ولا اجتمع هناك ربوات القديسين فوجب حمله على محمد عليه السلام** [فوجب . . . السلام: -]. **قالت اليهود** [قالت اليهود: **وقد قال بعضهم**]: **المراد** [+ بذلك] **أن النار لما ظهرت من طور سيناء، ظهرت من ساعير نار أيضاً ومن جبل فاران أيضاً، فانتشرت في هذه المواضع. قلنا** [قلنا: قيل]: **هذا لا يصحّ، لأن الله تعالى لو خلق ناراً** [+ أو غيرها] **في موضع، فإنه لا يقال: جاء الله من ذلك** {الموضع إلا} **إذا تابع** {تبع} [تابع {تبع}: اتبع] **ذلك** {تلك} **الواقعة** [ذلك {تلك} الواقعة: ذلك] **وحي** [+ أو] **نزل في ذلك الموضع أو** [أو: -] **عقوبة وما أشبه ذلك. وعندكم أنه لم يتّبع ظهور النار وحي ولا كلام إلاّ من** [في] **طور سيناء، فما كان** [فما كان: فكان] **ينبغي إلا أن يقال** [إلا أن يقال: أن يقول] {**جاء الله من طور سيناء، فأما أن يقال**} [فأما أن يقال: ولا يقول] **ظهر من ساعير ومن جبل فاران فلا يجوز وروده** [فلا يجوز وروده: -]، **كما لا يقال: جاء الله من الغمام إذا ظهر في** [في: من] **الغمام احتراق ونيران كما يتفق ذلك** [يتفق ذلك: يظهر] **في أيام الربيع.**

[3b] وأيضاً [وأيضا: **قال** وأيضاً]، **ففي كتاب حبقوق بيان ما قلنا** [قلنا: قلناه] **وهو: «جاء الله من طور سيناء والقدوس**[55] **من جبل فاران، وانكسفت** {لو انكسفت} [وانكسفت {لو انكسفت}: لقد انكسفت][56] **السماء من بهاء محمد وامتلأت الأرض من حمده. يكون شعاع منظره مثل النور، يحوط**[57] **بلده بعزّه، تسير** [تسير: لتسير] **المنايا أمامه ويصحب** [ويصحب: وتصحب] **سباع الطير أجناده، قام فمسح الأرض وتأمل الأمم وبحث عنها. فتضعضعت الجبال القديمة واتضعت الروابي** [واتضعت الروابي: والروابي] **الدهرية، وتزعزعت ستور أهل** [أهل: أرض] **مدين،** [+ ولقد حاز المساعي القديمة وغضب الرب على الأنهار، فرجزك في الأنهار واحتدام صولتك في البحار]. **ركبت الخيول وعلوت مراكب الإنقاذ**[58] **والغوث، وسترع في قسيك إغراقاً ونزعاً وترتوي السهام بأمرك يا محمّد ارتواءً، وتحرث**[59] **الأرض بالأنهار. فلقد رأتك الجبال فارتاعت وانحرف عنك شؤبوب السيل ونفرت المهاوى**[60] **نفيراً ورعباً، ورفعت أيديها وجلًا وفرقاً** [وفرقاً: وخوفاً]، **وتوقفت الشمس والقمر عن مجراهما، وسارت العساكر في بريق**[61] **سهامك ولمعان نيازكك**[62]. **تدوخ الأرض غضباً وتدوس الأمم رجزاً**[63]**، لأنك ظهرت بخلاص** [بخلاص: لخلاص] **أمتك وإنقاذ تراث**[64] **آبائك»** [cf. Hab. 3:3–13].[65] **هكذا نقل ابن رزين [رزين: ربن] الطبري.**

[3c] **أما** [أما: **قال** فأما] **النصارى فقال أبو الحسين رحمه الله في كتاب الغرر: قد رأيت** [فقال . . . رأيت: فرأيت] **في نقولهم** {نقولها}**: «وظهر من جبال** [جبال: جبل] **فاران، لقد تقطعت السماء من بهاء محمد** [محمد: -] **المحمود وترتوي السهام** [السهام: السماء] **بأمرك المحمود، لأنك ظهرت بخلاص** [بخلاص: لخلاص] **أمتك وإنقاذ مسيحك».**[+ **قال**: ونقل من السرياني بدلاً من قوله «وتأمل الأمم وبحث عنها»

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55. والقدوس: والقدس، والتصحيح عن كتاب الدين والدولة لابن ربن.
56. انكسفت: انكشفت في مفاتيح الغيب والمنقذ من التقليد، والتصحيح عن الدين والدولة لابن ربن.
57. يحوط: يحفظ، والتصحيح عن كتاب الدين والدولة لابن ربن.
58. الأنقاذ: الانقياد، والتصحيح عن كتاب الدين والدولة لابن ربن.
59. وتحرث: وتخور، والتصحيح عن كتاب الدين والدولة لابن ربن.
60. المهاوى: المهارى، والتصحيح عن كتاب الدين والدولة لابن ربن.
61. بريق: برق، والتصحيح عن كتاب الدين والدولة لابن ربن.
62. نيازكك: بيانك، والتصحيح عن كتاب الدين والدولة لابن ربن.
63. رجزاً: زجراً، والتصحيح عن كتاب الدين والدولة لابن ربن.
64. تراث: تراب، والتصحيح عن كتاب الدين والدولة لابن ربن.
65. قارن ابن ربن الطبري: كتاب الدين والدولة، ص 1:104–5:103: قال حبقوق النبي عليه السلام: إن الله جاء من التيمن والقدوس من جبل فاران. لقد انكسفت السماء من بهاء محمد وامتلأت الأرض من حمده. يكون شعاع منظره مثل النور ويحوط بلده بعزه. تسير المنايا أمامه وتصحب سباع الطير أجناده. قام فمسح الأرض ثم تأمل الأمم وبحث عنها. فتضعضعت الجبال القديمة واتضعت الروابي الدهرية. وتزعزعت ستور أهل مدين ولقد حاز المساعي القديمة وغضب الرب على الأنهار. فرجزك في الأنهار واحتدام صولتك في البحار. ركبت الخيول وعلوت مراكب الإنقاذ والغوث. وسترع في قسيك إغراقاً وترعاً. وترتوي السهام بأمرك يا محمد ارتواءً. وتحرث الأرض بالأنهار. ولقد رأتك الجبال فارتاعت وانحرف عنك شؤبوب السيل ونعرت المهاوي نعيراً ورعباً. ورفعت أيديها وجلاً وخوفاً وتوقفت الشمس والقمر عن مجراهما وسارت العساكر في بريق سهامك ولمعان نيازكك، تدوخ الأرض غضباً وتدوس الأمم رجزاً، لأنك ظهرت لخلاص أمتك وإنقاذ تراث آبائك.

«كرب الأمم»، وبدلاً من قوله «ونعرت المهاوي»: «رفعت الهاوية صوتها وأخذت بسط باعها»، أي: ارتفع مَن كان منخفض القدر في العسكر. وقوله «فتضعضعت الجبال القديمة»، أي انخفض الملوك ومن كان رفيع القدر. وتوقفت الشمس والقمر عن مجراهما ليستنير في بريق سهامك ولمعان نيازكك، أي: إنه قد بلغ من كثرة عساكرك وكثرة سلاحهم ما قد صار شعاعه يزيد على شعاع الشمس والقمر، فقد غشاهما واحتاجا إليه، وذلك على سبيل المبالغة وهذه الصفة موجودة في النبي عليه السلام وأمته. «والقدوس من جبل فاران لقد انكسفت السماء من بهاء محمد» يفيد أن مجيئه أنتج عقيبه هذا الذي ذكرناه، ولم يكن ذلك إلا بمجيء محمد عليه السلام، دون <ما> ادّعوه من النار التي ظهرت من جبل فاران عند كلام الله لموسى عليه السلام. ألا ترى أن الإنسان إذا قال: دخل علينا زيد لقد أضاءت الدار وامتلأت سروراً، أفاد أن ذلك كان بسبب مجيئه وعقيبه؟ فأما نقلهم من بهاء المحمود فهو بمعنى محمد، لأن محمداً ومحموداً هما اللذان وقع عليهما الحمد. وهو بالسريانية: مشيحا ومشيوحا، أي محمداً ومحموداً، ولهذا إذا أراد السرياني أن يحمد الله، قال: مشيوحا لاها، فقوله مشيوحا هو الحمد، ولاها هو الله، وليس يضرنا هذا النقل منهم، لأنه لم يأت من جبل فاران مَن كان] **فظهر بما ذكرنا أن قوله تعالى في التوراة «ظهر الرب من جبال فاران» ليس معناه ظهور النار منه بل معناه ظهور شخص موصوف بهذه الصفات** [فظهر . . . الصفات: هذا صفته] **وما ذاك** [وما ذاك: -] **إلا رسولنا** [رسولنا: -] **محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم. فإن قالوا: المراد مجيء** [مجيء: به] **الله تعالى** [+ إذا جاء المسيح]**، ولهذا قال في آخر الكلام: «وإنقاذ مسيحك»، قلنا** [قلنا: قيل]: **لا يجوز وصف الله تعالى بأنه يركب الخيول وبأن** [وبأن: بأن] **شعاع منظره مثل النور وبأنه جاز المشاعر** [المشاعر: المساعي] **القديمة** [+ وليس لنا ترك ظواهر هذه الألفاظ لغير ضرورة. وأيضاً، فأنه ذكر هذه الألفاظ عقيب قوله «والقدوس من جبال فاران»، والمسيح عندهم لا يجيء من مكة والحجاز، فعلمنا بهذا أن المراد بالكلام شخص يجيء من الحجاز يتعقبه ما ذكره من عبور البحار والأنهار كما عبر المسلمون دجلة إلى المدائن]. **أما** [وأما: أما] **قوله «وإنقاذ** [وإنقاذ: إنقاذ] **مسيحك»، فإن محمداً عليه السلام أنقذ المسيح من كذب اليهود والنصارى** [اليهود والنصارى: النصارى عليه وافتراء اليهود عليه. وفي نقل اليهود: «جاء الرب من طور سيناء والقدوس من جبال فاران سرمداً»، وهذا يمنع من أن يكون هو ظهور النار من جبل فاران ويوجب أن يكون المراد به الوحي والشرع الدائم].

[4] **والرابع ما جاء في** [والرابع ما جاء في: وفي] **كتاب إشعيا في الفصل الثاني والعشرين** [+ **أو السابع والعشرين**: قال الله لها] **منه: «قومي** {قوى} **فأزهري** [فأزهري: وأزهري] **مصباحك، يريد** [يريد: يعني] **مكة، فقد دنا وقتك، وكرامة الله تعالى طالعة عليك، فقد تجلّى الأرض الظلام، وغطى على الأمم الضباب، والرب** [والرب: فالرب] **يشرق عليك إشراقاً ويُظهِر كرامته عليك، تسير الأمم إلى نورك، والملوك إلى ضوء طلوعك، وارفعي** [وارفعي: ارفعي] **بصرك إلى ما حولك وتأملي، فإنهم مستجمعون** [مستجمعون: سيجتمعون] **عندك ويحجونك، ويأتيك ولدك من بلد بعيد، لأنك أم القرى فأولاد سائر البلاد كأنهم أولاد مكة** [لأنك . . . مكة: -] **وتتزين** ثيابك [وتتزين ثيابك: وتتربى بناتك] **على الأرائك والسرر، وحين ترين ذلك تسرّين وتبتهجين من أجل أنه يميل إليك ذخائر البحر، ويحجّ إليك عساكر الأمم** [+ حتى تعمرك <الإبل> المؤبّلة وتضيق أرضك عن القطرات التي يجتمع إليك]، **ويساق** [ويساق: وتساق] **إليك كباش مدين** [+ وكباش ظفار] **ويأتيك أهل سبأ ويتحدثون بنعم** [بنعم: بنعمة] **الله ويمجدونه وتسير إليك أغنام فاران** [فاران: قيذار كلها تخدمك رخالات نباوت] **ويرفع** [ويرفع: وترفع] **إلى مذبحي ما يرضيني، وأحدث حينئذ لبيت محمدتي حمداً»** [Isa. 60:1–7].[66] **فوجه الاستدلال أن هذه** [فوجه . . . هذه: وهذه] **الصفات كلها موجودة لمكة** [لمكة: بمكة؛ + فقد ضاقت الأرض عن القطرات، وهي جمع قطار الإبل] **فإنه قد حجّ** [فإنه قد حج: وحج] **إليها عساكر الأمم، ومال إليها ذخائر البحر** [+ وفي بعض النقول: «غناء البحر حتى حمل إليها من ذلك أكثر مما حمل إلى غيرها»]. **وقوله** [وقوله: **قال الشيخ** وقد وقع لي في قوله]: **«وأحدث** [+ حينئذ] **لبيت محمدتي حمداً» معناه** [معناه: شيء طريف، وكذلك قوله «ويأتيك أهل سبأ ويتحدّثون بنعم الله ويمجدونه»، وذلك] **أن العرب كانت تلبي قبل الإسلام، فتقول** [فتقول: فيقولون]: **«لبّيك لا شريك لك إلا شريك هو لك، تملكه وما ملك»، ثم صار في** [صار في: جدد] **الإسلام: «لبّيك اللهم، لبّيك** [+ إن الحمد والنعمة لك والملك]، **لا شريك لك لبيك** [لبيك: -]»، **فهذا هو الحمد الذي جدّده** [جدده: جدد] **الله لبيت محمدته** [+ وهو النعمة التي تحدث بها أهل سبأ إذا حجّوا، ويعني بقوله «أحدث لبيت محمدتي حمداً» أي: حمداً يختصّ البيت، أي يقال عند المسير إليه، وأغنام قيدار تسير إلى مكة، وهي أغنام العرب، لأن قيدار هو ابن

66. قارن ابن ربن الطبري: كتاب الدين والدولة، ص 14:94–7:95: وتنبأ في هذا الفصل بما لا يرده إلا الخاسرون ولا يجهله إلا الأجهلون الأعمون فإنه ذكر أيضاً هاجر مخاطباً لها ولبلاد ولدها مكة وقال: قومي وازهري مصباحك فقد دنا وقتك وكرامة الله طالعة عليك فقد تخللت الأرض الظلام وغطى على الأمم الضباب. فالرب يشرق عليك إشراقاً وتظهر كرامته عليك. وتسير الأمم إلى نورك والملوك إلى ضوء طلوعك. ارفعي بصرك إلى ما حولك وتأملي. فإنهم سيجتمعون كلهم إليك ويحجونك ويأتيك ولدك من بلد بعيد وتتربى بناتك على الأرائك والسرر. ويستروح قلبك من أجل أنه يميل إليك البحر وتحج إليك عساكر الأمم حتى تعمرك الأبل المربلة وتضيق أرضك عن القطرات التي تجتمع إليك. ويساق إليك كباش مدين وكباش أعفا وتأتيك أهل سبا ويحدثون بنعم الله ويمجدونه وتسير إليك أغنام قيذار كلها وتخدمك رخلات نباوت ويرفع إلى مذبحي ما يرضيني وأحدث حينئذ لبيت محمدتي حمداً.

إسماعيل].

فإن قيل: المراد بذلك بيت المقدس، وسيكون ذلك فيما بعد، قلنا [قلنا: قيل]: **لا يجوز أن يقول الحكيم: قد دنا وقتك، مع أنه ما دنا** [مع أنه ما دنا: لأمر من أمور الدين ولم يدن]، **بل الذي دنا** [دنا: يدنو هو] **أمر لا يوافق رضاه ومع ذلك لا يحذر منه** [+ . . . (المنقذ من التقليد، ج ١، ص 512–515].

وأيضاً فإن كتاب أشعياء مملوء من ذكر البادية وصفتها وذلك يبطل قولهم [وأيضاً . . . قولهم: فدل جملو ما ذكرناه على أن كتاب اشعيا مملو بذكر البادية وبلاد العرب والبشارة بما حدث فيها بالإسلام . . .].[67]

[5] **والخامس: روى السمان في تفسيره**[68] [روى . . . تفسيره: فأما ما أوحى الله تعالى إلى إبراهيم عليه السلام في إسماعيل وحده فهو قوله على لسان موسى عليه السلم] **في السفر الأول من التوراة** [+ في الفصل العاشر منه] **أن الله تعالى أوحى إلى إبراهيم** [تعالى . . . إبراهيم: قال لإبراهيم] **عليه السلام قال** [قال: -]: «**قد أجبت دعاءك في إسماعيل وباركت عليه وكثرته**[69] **وعظمته جداً جداً وسيلد اثنى عشر عظيمًا وأجعله لأمة عظيمة**». [Gen. 17:20] [+ فهذا في ترجمة مارقس الترجمان. فأما في التوراة التي فسرها الاثنان وسبعون حبراً من أحبار اليهود فإنه يقول أنه سيلد اثنتي عشرة أمةً من الأمم . . .][70]

والاستدلال به أنه لم يكن في ولد إسماعيل مَن كان لأمة عظيمة غير نبينا محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم، فأما دعاء إبراهيم عليه السلام وإسماعيل فكان لرسولنا عليه الصلاة والسلام لما فرغا من بناء الكعبة وهو قوله {رَبَّنَا وَابْعَثْ فِيهِمْ رَسُولاً مِنْهُمْ يَتْلُو عَلَيْهِم آيَاتِكَ وَيُعَلِّمُهُم الْكِتَابَ وَالْحِكْمَةَ وَيُزَكِّيهِم إِنَّكَ أَنتَ الْعَزِيزُ الْحَكِيمُ} [Q 2:129]. **ولهذا كان يقول عليه الصلاة والسلام «أنا دعوة أبي إبراهيم وبشارة عيسى»، وهو قوله {وَمُبَشِّراً بِرَسُولٍ يَأْتِي مِن بَعْدِي اسْمُهُ أَحْمَد}** [Q 61:6] **فإنه مشتق من الحمد، والاسم المشتق من الحمد ليس إلا لنبينا فإن اسمه محمد وأحمد ومحمود. قيل**[71]**: إن صفته في التوراة أن مولده بمكة ومسكنه بطيبة وملكه بالشام وأمته الحمادون.**

[6] **والسادس: قال المسيح للحواريين: «أنا أذهب وسيأتيكم الفارقليط روح الحقّ الذي لا يتكلم من قبل نفسه إنما يقول كما يقال له»** [cf. John 15:26, 16:7; also 14:16, 14:26]. **وتصديق ذلك {إِنْ أَتَّبِعُ إِلاَّ مَا يُوحَى إِلَيَّ}** [Q 6:50] **وقوله {قُلْ مَا يَكُونُ لِي أَنْ أُبَدِّلَهُ مِن تِلْقَائِ نَفْسِي إِنْ أَتَّبِعُ إِلاَّ مَا يُوحَى إِلَيَّ}** [Q 10:15]. **أما الفارقليط ففي تفسيره وجهان، أحدهما أنه الشافع المشفع، وهذا أيضاً صفته عليه الصلاة والسلام. والثاني، قال بعض النصارى: الفارقليط هو الذي يفرق بين الحقّ والباطل وكان في الأصل «فاروق» كما يقال راووق للذي يروق به. وأما «ليط» فهو التحقيق في الأمر كما يقال: شيب أشيب ذو شيب، وهذا أيضاً صفة شرعنا لأنه هو الذي يفرق بين الحق والباطل.**

[7] **والسابع:** [والسابع: ما نجد **في نبوة دانيال النبي عليه السلام في الفصل الأول من كتابه** فإنه] «**قال دانيال** [دانيال: -] **لبخت نصر حين سأله عن الرؤيا التي** [عن الرؤيا التي: عن تعبير رؤيا] **كان رآها من غير أن يقصها**[72] **عليه**: [+ فقال دانيال بروح القدس نعم] **رأيتَ أيها الملك منظراً هائلاً** [منظراً هائلاً: صنماً عظيماً بارع الجمال جداً وهو قائم بين يديك] **رأسه من الذهب الإبريز وساعده من الفضة وبطنه وفخذه**[73] **من نحاس** [نحاس: النحاس] **وساقاه من** [من: -] **حديد** {وبعض رجليه من [من: -] حديد} **وبعضها من** [من: -] **خزف. ورأيتَ حجراً يقطع** [يقطع: انقطع] **من غير قاطع وصك رجل** [رجل: رجلي] **ذلك الصنم ودقها** [ودقها: ودقهما] **دقاً شديداً فتفتت الصنم كله حديده ونحاسه وفضته وذهبه وصارت رفاتاً** [+ مثل دقاق الجل في البيادر]. **وعصفت بها الرياح فلم يوجد لها** [يوجد لها: ير له] **أثر. وصار ذلك الحجر الذي صك ذلك الرجل من ذلك** [الرجل من ذلك: -] **الصنم جبلاً عالياً امتلأت به** [به: منه] **الأرض** [+ كلها]. **فهذا** [فهذا: فهذه] **رؤياك أيها الملك. وأما تفسيرها فأنت** [وأما تفسيرها فأنت: وأنت] **الرأس الذي رأيتَه من الذهب. ويقوم** [ويقوم: وتقوم] **بعدك مملكة**

67. Al-Ḥimmaṣī then continues the discussion, adducing additional scriptural evidence from Zephaniah, again followed by a detailed discussion (*al-Munqiḏ*, 1/515:11–518:12). None of this material has been included in the *Mafātīḥ al-ġayb*.

68. Referring to the *tafsīr* by Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sammān (fl. early fifth/eleventh century). See chapter 14 (section V) in the present volume for additional details on the author and the work.

69. وكثرته: فكبرته، والتصحيح عن كتاب الدين والدولة لابن ربن.

70. قارن ابن ربن الطبري: كتاب الدين والدولة ص 17:66–5:67.

71. قيل: قبل.

72. يقصها: قصها، والتصحيح عن كتاب الدين والدولة لابن ربن.

73. وفخذه: وخلذاه {وفخذاه}، والتصحيح عن كتاب الدين والدولة لابن ربن.

أخرى دونك، والمملكة الثالثة التي تشبه النحاس تنبسط [تنبسط: تتسلط] **على الأرض كلها، والمملكة الرابعة تكون قوتها** [قوتها: قوية] **مثل الحديد** [+ وكما أن الحديد يدقّ كل شيء كذلك هي تسحق الكل]. **وأما** [وأما: فأما] **الرجل التي كان بعضها من {حديد وبعضها من} خزف فإن بعض المملكة يكون عزيزاً وبعضها يكون** [يكون: -] **ذليلاً وتكون كلمة الملك متفرقة** [الملك متفرقة: المملكة متشتتة]. **ويقيم إله السماء في تلك الأيام مملكة أبدية** [مملكة أبدية: ملكاً دائماً أبدياً] **لا تتغير** [تتغير: يتغير] **ولا تزول** [تزول: يزول] **وانها تزيل جميع الممالك وسلطانها يبطل جميع السلاطين وتقوم هي إلى الدهر الداهر** [وانها تزول . . . الداهر: ولا يذر لغيره من الأمم ملكاً ولا سلطاناً بل يدقّ ويبيد المملكات كلها ويقوم هو إلى دهر الداهرين]. **فهذا تفسير** [تفسير: تعبير] **الحجر الذي رأيتَ أنه يقطع** [يقطع: انقطع] **من جبل بلا قاطع حتى دقّ الحديد والنحاس والخزف. والله أعلم بما يكون في آخر الزمان** [والله . . . الزمان: فإن الله الكبير أعلمك ما يكون في آخر الزمان]»[74] [Dan. 2:31–45].

فهذه هي البشارات الواردة في الكتب المتقدمة بمبعث رسولنا محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم.

74. قارن ابن ربن الطبري: كتاب الدين والدولة، ص 113:5–114:6.

Chapter Eight
Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī on the Torah and Its Abrogation

Sabine Schmidtke

Abū l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ṭayyib al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1045) was a student of *qāḍī al-quḍāt* ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamaḏānī (d. 415/1025), the head of the Bahšamiyya, while at the same time being trained in medicine and philosophy. He criticized the principles of the Bahšamiyya in an attempt to correct some of their concepts and arguments in order to defend Muʿtazilī notions more effectively against the objections of their opponents. While Abū l-Ḥusayn was ostracized by his fellow students and later Bahšamite Muʿtazilites because of his criticism of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār, his thought left a major impact on the later development of *kalām*. Although next to nothing has been preserved of Abū l-Ḥusayn's theological works, much of his thought can be reconstructed on the basis of the writings of later followers and, at times, his opponents.[1]

It was still during his lifetime that his doctrines came to the attention of Karaite Jews, among whom they soon found many followers. That the Karaites became familiar with Abū l-Ḥusayn's teachings at a very early stage is indicated by two refutations by the leading Karaite theologian of his time, Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf al-Baṣīr (d. ca. 431/1040), of Abū l-Ḥusayn's innovative proof for the existence of the Creator.[2] During the latter third of the fifth/eleventh century the authoritative Karaite theologian in Egypt, Sahl b. al-Faḍl (Yāšār b. Ḥesed) al-Tustarī, fully endorsed Abū l-Ḥusayn's criticism of the principles of the school of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār and encouraged the study of his theology in the Karaite community of Egypt. Three large fragments of Abū l-Ḥusayn's most extensive work on rational theology, *Taṣaffuḥ al-adilla*, are preserved in the Abraham Firkovitch collection

1. On Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, see EI3, s.v. "Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī," 2007–1/16–19 (W. Madelung).

2. Madelung and Schmidtke, *Rational Theology*, 13–59 ("Yūsuf al-Baṣīr's Refutation of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's Proof for the Existence of God"); Madelung and Schmidtke, "Yūsuf al-Baṣīr's First Refutation;" Ansari, Madelung, and Schmidtke, "Yūsuf al-Baṣīr's Rebuttal." See also Madelung, "Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's Proof."

in the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg, presumably coming from the geniza of the Karaite synagogue in Cairo. One of them bears a note in Hebrew stating that the work constitutes an endowment to Yāšār b. Ḥesed al-Tustarī and his descendants.[3] Although Yūsuf al-Baṣīr refers in one of his refutations to Abū l-Ḥusayn's other major book on theology, *Kitāb Ġurar al-adilla*, no fragment of this work has so far surfaced in any of the Karaite repositories.

Within Sunnī Islam, it was apparently the grammarian, physician, and man of letters Abū Muḍar Maḥmūd b. Ǧarīr al-Ḍabbī al-Iṣfahānī (d. 508/1115) who brought the doctrine of Abū l-Ḥusayn to Ḫwārazm, where it was accepted and spread by Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Malāḥimī al-Ḫwārazmī (d. 536/1141), the leading Muʿtazilī scholar of his time.[4] When Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209) visited Ḫwārazm during the second half of the sixth/twelfth century, he stated that the Bahšamiyya and the school of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī were the only two remaining Muʿtazilī schools in that region.[5] Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Taṣaffuḥ al-adilla* was summarized by Ibn al-Malāḥimī in his voluminous *Kitāb al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-dī*n. In the introduction Ibn al-Malāḥimī states that he intends to complete his own work in the spirit of Abū l-Ḥusayn (who had died while writing the section on the denial of the vision of God by the faithful in paradise), although the work is only partly preserved.[6] Following the request of his students and friends, Ibn al-Malāḥimī composed an abridgment of the *Muʿtamad*, entitled *Kitāb al-Fāʾiq fī uṣūl al-dīn*, which is completely preserved and covers the field of *kalām* in its entirety. It is likely that in this work Ibn al-Malāḥimī made extensive use of Abū l-Ḥusayn's other systematic *kalām* work, *Kitāb Ġurar al-adilla*, which is otherwise completely lost. While throughout the *Fāʾiq* he refrains from mentioning the work explicitly, Ibn al-Malāḥimī was evidently familiar with *Kitāb al-Ġurar* as is indicated by occasional references to it in the *Muʿtamad*.

3. The fragments have been edited by Wilferd Madelung and Sabine Schmidtke. On Sahl al-Tustarī, see Schwarb, "Sahl b. al-Faḍl al-Tustarī's *Kitāb al-Īmāʾ*." On the Tustarī family, see also Rustow, *Heresy and the Politics of Community*.

4. Cf. Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *The Irshād al-Arīb*, 7/147, where Abū Muḍar is simply credited with introducing Muʿtazilism to Ḫwārazm. Madelung and McDermott suggest, in their introduction to Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *al-Muʿtamad*, that this general statement must be read with caution and that it may have been specifically the thought of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī that was introduced by Abū Muḍar to Ḫwārazm. See also Lane, *Traditional Muʿtazilite Qurʾān Commentary*, 247f. More information about the spread of Muʿtazilism in Ḫwārazm may be gleaned from an incompletely preserved and still unedited biographical dictionary by the Ḫwārazmī author Abū l-Karam ʿAbd al-Salām al-Andarasbānī; see Prozorov, "Unique Manuscript." The single extant manuscript of the text is part of the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (call number: C2387).

5. Al-Rāzī, *Iʿtiqādāt*, 42: *wa-lam yabqā fī zamāninā min sāʾir firaq al-Muʿtazila illā hātān al-firqatān aṣḥāb Abī Hāšim wa-aṣḥāb Abī l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī.*

6. See Ibn al-Malāḥimī, *al-Muʿtamad*, ed. McDermott and Madelung, 5, 13–19. Since the first edition, some additional portions of Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *al-Muʿtamad* came to light in various private libraries in Yemen, and Madelung subsequently published a revised and enlarged edition of the work.

Ibn al-Malāḥimī further composed a detailed refutation of philosophical doctrines, *Kitāb Tuḥfat al-mutakallimīn fī l-radd ʿalā l-falāsifa*, which also contains numerous references to Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and his *Taṣaffuḥ*.

While there is little evidence that the Zaydīs had access to any of the theological writings of Abū l-Ḥusayn himself, they were evidently familiar with the works of Ibn al-Malāḥimī. Zaydīs of Yemen also had access to another significant text by a later follower of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, viz. the *Kitāb al-Kāmil fī l-istiqṣāʾ fīmā balaġanā min kalām al-qudamāʾ* by a certain Abū l-Maʿālī Ṣāʿid b. Aḥmad al-ʿUǧālī al-Uṣūlī—a systematic comparison between the doctrines of the Bahšamites and those of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī written between 536/1141 and 675/1276–77.[7] While the doctrines of the Bahšamiyya remained prevalent among later Zaydīs, the theological writings of Ibn al-Malāḥimī became part of the Zaydī curriculum from the sixth/twelfth century onward.[8]

Abū l-Ḥusayn's writings were also closely studied by the Aš^{c}arite theologian Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, who subsequently adopted many elements of Abū l-Ḥusayn's thought, which he interpreted in light of the doctrine of his own school. However, although al-Rāzī evidently had access both to Abū l-Ḥusayn's and Ibn al-Malāḥimī's writings on *kalām* and was intimately familiar with their doctrines, his presentation of Abū l-Ḥusayn's thought must be read with caution, as his aim is to show the inconclusiveness of his doctrine. Al-Rāzī's writings nevertheless constitute a valuable source for the reconstruction of Abū l-Ḥusayn's views, as they contain extensive quotations from the latter's works—both the *Ġurar* and the *Taṣaffuḥ*—as well as quotations from works by Ibn al-Malāḥimī which are lost (such as his *Kitāb fī l-ḥudūd*).[9]

Twelver Šīʿites, who, like the Zaydīs, had been under Muʿtazilite influence since the third/ninth century, were initially reluctant to adopt the doctrinal views of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī. Their animosity presumably resulted from the latter's refutations of al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā's *Kitāb al-Šāfī* on the imamate and of his *Kitāb al-Muqniʿ* on the concealment (*ġayba*) of the twelfth imam. Abū l-Ḥusayn's refutations were known to and criticized by a number of Imāmī scholars, viz. Abū ʿAlī Ḥamza Salār b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Daylamī

7. Al-Baḥrānī, *al-Kāmil fī l-istiqṣāʾ*. See also Madelung, review of Elshahed, *Das Problem der tranzsendenten sinnlichen Wahrnehmung*. Cf. also Schmidtke, "The Muʿtazilite Movement (III): The Scholastic Phase," 173f.

8. Manuscripts of Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *Muʿtamad* and his *Fāʾiq* seem to have been preserved exclusively in Yemeni libraries; see the introductions to the respective editions. His *Tuḥfa* is preserved in a single manuscript that was discovered in Lucknow, India. It is a late seventeenth-century copy from an earlier copy dated Rağab 693/June 1244. To judge by the formulas of blessing used, the scribe of this antigraph was a Zaydī.

9. See, e.g., Schmidtke, "Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and His Transmission" [chapter 7 in the present volume].

(d. 463/1070–71)[10] and Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Karāǧakī (d. 449/1057–58).[11] Moreover, ʿAbd al-Ǧalīl b. Abī l-Fatḥ al-Rāzī is known to have composed a *Naqḍ al-Taṣaffuḥ li-Abī l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī*, apparently a refutation of the latter's views as laid down in the *Taṣaffuḥ al-adilla*.[12] None of the refutations mentioned is extant.

Toward the end of the sixth/twelfth century Abū l-Ḥusayn's doctrinal views began to influence Twelver Šīʿite *kalām*. Soon they replaced the earlier-held doctrines of the Bahšamiyya.[13] Both Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Ġurar* and his *Taṣaffuḥ* were used extensively by Sadīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī (d. after 600/1204), one of the first Imāmī Šīʿites to adopt the teachings of Abū l-Ḥusayn. Al-Ḥimmaṣī's acquaintance with the writings of Abū l-Ḥusayn is indicated by the numerous references to and quotations from both works throughout his comprehensive *kalām* treatise, *al-Munqiḏ min al-taqlīd*, completed on 9 Rabīʿ I 581/June 9, 1185 (in many cases al-Ḥimmaṣī simply refers to or quotes from Abū l-Ḥusayn without naming any specific work title).[14] Al-Ḥimmaṣī also made frequent use of the *Kitāb al-Fāʾiq* of Ibn al-Malāḥimī, whom he usually calls *ṣāḥib al-Fāʾiq*, though there are no indications that he also had the latter's *Kitāb al-Muʿtamad* at his disposal. Al-Ḥimmaṣī may have introduced the writings of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and Ibn al-Malāḥimī to Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī who had, according to Twelver Šīʿite sources, studied with him for some time.[15] It is therefore possible that Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī was familiar with al-Ḥimmaṣī's writings, particularly his major work in the field of *kalām*, *al-Munqiḏ min al-taqlīd*.

Al-Ḥimmaṣī's numerous references to and quotations from Abū l-Ḥusayn provide valuable insights into the latter's otherwise completely lost *Kitāb al-Ġurar* and its characteristics. These are confirmed both by Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *Fāʾiq*, which in some sections at least shows striking similarities and at times even verbatim correspondences with

10. Cf. Āġā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *al-Ḏarīʿa*, 10/179–80, no. 378; *Muʿǧam al-turāṯ al-kalāmī*, 3/366, no. 6477.

11. *Risālat al-Tanbīh ʿalā aġlāṭ Abī l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī*; see al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, "Maktabat al-ʿAllāma al-Karāǧakī," 393; *Muʿǧam al-turāṯ al-kalāmī*, 2/333–34, no. 4022.

12. See Muntaǧab al-Dīn, *Fihrist*, 100, no. 226; Āġā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *al-Ḏarīʿa*, 24/286, no. 1466; *Muʿǧam al-turāṯ al-kalāmī*, 5/410, no. 12248.

13. On this process, see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Medieval Imāmī Theology in Transition* (chapter 2).

14. For a list of extant manuscripts of al-Ḥimmaṣī's *Munqiḏ*, see *Muʿǧam al-turāṯ al-kalāmī*, 5/305. In *Muʿǧam al-turāṯ al-kalāmī* a second, earlier edition of the work is mentioned, prepared by ʿAbd Allāh al-Nūrānī, Qum 1407. This information could not be verified by the present writer. For the *Munqiḏ* and its author, see also al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Amal al-āmil*, 2/316, no. 963; al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-Šīʿa*, 10/105–107; al-Amīn, *Mustadrakāt Aʿyān al-Šīʿa*, 1/218f.; Āġā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *al-Ḏarīʿa*, 1/249, no. 1312; 3/60, no. 166; 3/333, no. 1209; 4/222, nos. 1114 and 1116; 21/65, no. 3970; 21/95, no. 4101; 23/151f.; 24/290f., no. 1507; Āġā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa*, 2(2)/295; Ibn al-Malāḥimī, *Muʿtamad*, ed. McDermott and Madelung, introduction, viii; al-Qummī, *al-Kunā wa-l-alqāb*, 2/175f.; Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 75, 354f., no. 590; al-Baḥrānī, *Luʾluʾat al-Baḥrayn*, 348f., no. 117; al-Niʿma, *Falāsifat al-Šīʿa*, 542–544; al-Ḫwānsārī, *Rawḍat al-ǧannāt*, 158–164, no. 618; al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ*, 5/202f.

15. See the editor's introduction to *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/5–12.

al-Ḥimmaṣī's *Munqiḏ*, and occasionally by Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī in some of his writings. One of the noteworthy characteristics of the *Kitāb al-Ġurar* is its author's unusual familiarity with the Bible and Christian and particularly Jewish exegesis. This can clearly be seen in the section of al-Ḥimmaṣī's *Munqiḏ* devoted to biblical predictions of the advent of the prophet Muḥammad[16] and in a lengthy passage in Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's Qurʾān commentary *Mafātīḥ al-ġayb*,[17] both of which are apparently entirely based on Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Ġurar*. That the work was exceptional in this respect is also suggested by Masʿūd b. ʿUmar al-Taftazānī (d. 793/1390) in his *Šarḥ al-Maqāṣid*.[18] In his discussion of the biblical predictions of the advent of the prophet Muḥammad in his *Ġurar al-adilla*, Abū l-Ḥusayn relies extensively on an apologetic tract in support of Islam entitled *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* by the Christian convert to Islam Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Sahl Rabban al-Ṭabarī (d. ca. 251/865),[19] and he mentions that he had contacts with Jewish interlocutors who informed him about questions relating to the Bible and introduced him in some cases to the original Hebrew text, as is indicated by one biblical quotation that is also given in the original language (though in the edition it is transcribed into Arabic characters).[20]

Close familiarity with the Bible and Jewish tradition is also evident in al-Ḥimmaṣī's discussion of abrogation (*nasḫ*), in which he polemicizes against the Jews who refuse to accept that the Qurʾān abrogates the Mosaic revelation and the legal rulings it contains.[21] Although the references to Abū l-Ḥusayn are less frequent in this section compared with

16. Al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/504ff.

17. Al-Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, Tehran ed., *ǧuzʾ* 3, 36:2–39:10.

18. Al-Taftazānī, *Šarḥ al-maqāṣid*, 1/43:13f.: *wa-la-qad ǧamaʿa Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī fī kitāb Ġurar al-adilla mā yūqifu min nuṣūṣ al-Tawrāt ʿalā ṣiḥḥat nubuwwat Muḥammad (ṣalʿam)*. An earlier reference to Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's *Talḫīṣ al-muḥaṣṣal* (at 43:11) suggests that al-Taftazānī is quoting this remark from the latter work, which is, however, not the case.

19. See Adang, "Rare Case" [chapter 12 in the present volume]. Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's use of Ibn Rabban's *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* had already been noted by Moshe Perlmann in his PhD thesis, "A Study of Muslim Polemics Directed against the Jews," and in his "Note on the Authenticity of ʿAlī Ṭabarī's 'Book of Religion and Empire'"; see also Schmidtke, "Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and His Transmission" [chapter 7 in the present volume]. The evidence given by al-Ḥimmaṣī and Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī that Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī was using Ibn Rabban's *al-Dīn wa-al-Dawla* is further corroborated by Zaydī sources. See chapter 15 in the present volume.

20. In his *Muʿtamad*, Ibn al-Malāḥimī quotes from the responsa of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī to a certain Dāwūd b. Sulaymān (also Dāwūd b. Abī Sahl) al-Miṣrī. The name may suggest that the questioner was a Jew or perhaps a Jewish convert to Islam. Coming from Egypt, he presumably became a disciple of Abū l-Ḥusayn, posing questions to him. See Madelung and Schmidtke, *Rational Theology*, 9. Dāwūd may have been the Jewish interlocutor referred to by Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī. He may be identical with Abū Sulaymān David b. Bapšād, the son of a Persian Karaite and a wealthy patron of Karaite learning in Fusṭāṭ. See on him Rustow, *Heresy and the Politics of Community*, 148f.

21. Al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/430–440: *al-Qawl fī nasḫ al-šarīʿa*. The text, with some corrections, is also offered in the Appendix to the present chapter. In the following, reference will always be given both to the Qum edition and to the respective paragraphs of the text in the Appendix.

the section on biblical predictions of the advent of Muḥammad, and no explicit mention is made of the *Kitāb al-Ġurar*, there is good reason to assume that the entire chapter is again a close adaptation of the relevant chapter from Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Ġurar al-adilla*. The wording of the only reference to Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī[22] suggests that large portions of this chapter are taken from one of his works. Moreover, the corresponding, albeit briefer, chapter in Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *Kitāb al-Fāʾiq*,[23] with striking parallels in structure and often verbatim correspondences to al-Ḥimmaṣī's *Munqiḏ*, suggests that both Ibn al-Malāḥimī and al-Ḥimmaṣī were drawing on the same source, viz. Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Kitāb al-Ġurar*, the only theological work of his in which this issue had been covered. The theoretical possibility that al-Ḥimmaṣī had the *Fāʾiq* as his source can safely be excluded since the entire chapter in the *Fāʾiq* is much more concise than the corresponding chapter of the *Munqiḏ*. Moreover, Ibn al-Malāḥimī also explicitly relies on Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī when adducing examples from the Bible and Jewish exegesis. The explicit reference occurs in a lengthy section within the chapter, which runs largely parallel in the *Munqiḏ* and in the *Fāʾiq*.[24] Abū l-Ḥusayn's unusual familiarity with the Bible and Jewish tradition, together with his detailed polemical refutation of the Jewish position, may also explain why his *Ġurar al-adilla* was apparently less popular than his *Taṣaffuḥ al-adilla* among Jews.

Both al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī and Ibn al-Malāḥimī open the chapter with a list of Jewish groups, as was typical for the *kalām* tradition (both Muʿtazilite and Ašʿarite); the distinction between the Jewish *firaq* was made only with regard to their position on abrogation (*nasḫ*).[25] According to al-Ḥimmaṣī, the following three views were maintained by the different Jewish groups:[26] (1) the abrogation of the law revealed to Moses is not permissible from a rational point of view (*nasḫ al-šarīʿa ġayr ǧāʾiz ʿaqlan*); (2) abrogation is conceivable from the point of view of reason, yet impossible on scriptural grounds; and (3) both reason and scripture allow the possibility of the abrogation of the Mosaic law in principle. However, the upholders of the third view did not acknowledge Muḥammad's prophethood and denied that his scripture abrogated the Bible since his claim to prophethood had not been confirmed by a miracle (*muʿǧiz*) or any other proof (*dalāla*). Ibn al-Malāḥimī presents a shorter list that does not include the last mentioned view.[27]

22. Al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/434:14 (= § 6): *wa-ḏakara al-Šaykh Abū l-Ḥusayn annahu qāla lahu baʿḍ al-Yahūd*.

23. Ibn al-Malāḥimī, *al-Fāʾiq*, 355–360: *Bāb fī ḏikr šubah al-munkirīn li-nubuwwatihi ʿalayhi l-salām wa-l-ǧawāb ʿanhā*.

24. Ibn al-Malāḥimī, *al-Fāʾiq*, 357: *wa-ḥakā šayḫunā Abū l-Ḥusayn ʿan al-Tawrāt aḥkāman qarana bihā al-taʾbīd* ...

25. Cf. Wasserstrom, "Species of Misbelief," 16 and passim.

26. Al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/430:3–11.

27. Ibn al-Malāḥimī, *al-Fāʾiq*, 355:10–14.

Both authors open their reply with a definition of *nasḫ*,[28] followed by a justification—very detailed in the *Munqiḏ*,[29] much briefer in the *Fāʾiq*[30]—as to why *nasḫ* is reasonable, and a distinction between abrogation (*nasḫ*) and a change of intent on the part of God (*badāʾ*). Their elaborations agree with the answers offered by earlier Muʿtazilite authors to Jewish opponents who do not allow the possibility of abrogation from the point of view of reason—the first group of Jews according to al-Ḥimmaṣī's and Ibn al-Malāḥimī's list of Jewish *firaq*.

Whereas Ibn al-Malāḥimī concludes the refutation of the first Jewish position at this point, turning to those who allow abrogation on rational grounds while considering it inconceivable on scriptural ones,[31] al-Ḥimmaṣī adds biblical proofs for the permissibility of abrogation on rational grounds. He starts out by mentioning four cases of abrogation that can be observed in the Hebrew Bible:[32] (1) Jacob was allowed to be married to two sisters simultaneously (Leah and Rachel, referring to Gen. 29:1–30, esp. 21ff.), although this custom had been prohibited at the time of Moses (cf. Lev. 18:18); (2) God granted Noah that "every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you; even as the green herb have I given you all things,"[33] the only exception being that "flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall ye not eat" (Gen. 9:3–4, which is rendered in an abbreviated version as follows: *innī qad ǧaʿaltu kull dābba ḥayya maʾkalan laka wa-li-ḏurriyyatika wa-aṭlaqtu ka-ḏālika lakum kull nabāt al-ʿušb mā ḫalā al-dam fa-lā taʾkulūhu*), whereas at the time of Moses many living beings had been forbidden for consumption; (3) the sons of Adam had been allowed to marry Adam's daughters (Gen. 5:1–30), but the custom was forbidden at the time of Moses (cf. Lev. 18:6–9); and (4) whereas at the time of Joshua God ordered the Children of Israel to set up the tabernacle of the congregation first in Mount Ebal (according to an earlier command to Moses; Deut. 27:4ff., Josh. 8:30–33) and then at Shiloh (Josh. 18:1), this was later on replaced by Solomon's temple, with the direction of prayer being changed accordingly. Al-Ḥimmaṣī's detailed description of this case contains biblical material taken from Exod. 16:35, 2 Sam. 6:1–17, 2 Sam. 7, 1 Kings 6, 2 Kings 23, and 1 Chron. 22 and 28.[34]

A reference at the end of these four cases to Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, pointing to an explanation he was given by Jewish informants on the last mentioned case,[35] suggests that all four cases adduced in this section originated with Abū l-Ḥusayn.

28. Al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/430:11–431:10; Ibn al-Malāḥimī, *al-Fāʾiq*, 355:15–357:4.
29. Al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/431:11–433:13.
30. Ibn al-Malāḥimī, *al-Fāʾiq*, 355:15–357:4.
31. Ibn al-Malāḥimī, *al-Fāʾiq*, 357:5ff.
32. Al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/433:14–434:11 (= §§ 1–4).
33. Unless otherwise stated, the King James Version has been used for biblical quotations.
34. Al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/433:14–434:13 (= § 3).
35. Al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/434:14 (= § 6): *ḏakara al-Šayḫ Abū l-Ḥusayn annahu qāla lahu baʿḍ al-Yahūd inna …*

Moreover, while it was common for Muslim writers to list cases of alleged abrogation in the Bible as proof that abrogation is conceivable on rational grounds, and while some of the four cases adduced by al-Ḥimmaṣī and most likely already by Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī were known to earlier authors,[36] the exact quotation of the relevant biblical passage in example (2) and the very detailed exposition of example (4) are apparently without precedent in earlier Muslim literature.

The same applies to the two examples adduced next by al-Ḥimmaṣī (most likely again drawing on Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Ġurar*, although no reference is given) in order to prove that before the time of Moses there had already been legal provisions that were subsequently abrogated by the Mosaic law.[37] While earlier authors were familiar with and had employed this argument, al-Ḥimmaṣī's—and most likely Abū l-Ḥusayn's—intimate familiarity with the relevant biblical passages seems again to be without precedent. The first example refers to Noah and what God had imposed on him as retaliation for murder. It includes a quotation of Gen. 9:6, "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for in the image of God made he man," followed by the Hebrew original in transliteration. The passage is identified as being taken from *al-ǧuzʾ al-ṯānī min al-sifr al-awwal min al-Tawrāt*, which is correct as the verse belongs to *Parashat Noah*, the second portion of the Book of Genesis. The second example is a (paraphrastic) quotation from Gen. 17:12 (*al-ǧuzʾ al-ṯāliṯ min al-sifr al-awwal*, correctly indicating *Parashat Lech Lecha*, the third portion of the Book of Genesis), stating that Abraham was ordered to circumcise the newly born when he is eight days old (*iḏ šaraʿa ʿalā Ibrāhīm ʿalayhi al-salām ḫitānat al-mawlūd fī l-yawm al-ṯāmin min mīlādihi*).

The section is concluded by the following *ilzām* questions addressed to the Jewish opponents.[38] Once it has been established that there existed a (revealed) law prior to the Mosaic revelation, it must be asked whether the law revealed to Moses contained any additions to what had been revealed before. If it did not, the Mosaic revelation would have been futile (*ʿabaṯ*) and therefore could not have been of divine origin—a conclusion which, of course, constitutes unbelief for the Jews. If it did contain something additional to the formerly revealed legal rulings, this must imply that it contains prohibitions of what had formerly been permitted. Even if the Jews deny this, the example (and here a third example is referred to) of the Sabbath confirms it: the Torah prohibits working on the Sabbath whereas this had been permitted before. This section echoes debates among

36. See, e.g., Mānkdīm, [*Taʿlīq*] *Šarḥ al-uṣūl al-ḫamsa*, 579, where three cases are mentioned, among them cases 1 and 3 referred to by al-Ḥimmaṣī. Among Jewish authors, an extensive list of ten cases adduced by defenders of abrogation is given by Saʿadya Gaon in *al-Amānāt wa-l-iʿtiqādāt*, 139–143 (= *Beliefs and Opinions*, 167–173). Al-Ḥimmaṣī's cases 3 and 4 are listed by Saʿadya as numbers 1 and 10. The ten cases listed by Saʿadya may have originated with the Jewish sceptic of the second half of the ninth century, Ḥīwī al-Balḫī; cf. Rosenthal, "Ḥiwi Balkhi," 329–331; Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 201f.

37. Al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/434:19–435:1 (= § 6).

38. Al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/435:2–11 (= § 8).

earlier Jewish authors on the issue of whether God may add precepts to His revealed law. Both the Rabbanite Saʿadya Gaon (d. 942 CE) and the Karaite Abū Yūsuf al-Qirqisānī (fl. first half of the tenth century CE) allowed this possibility, arguing that God's adding precepts to the earlier laws (but not His removing them) at the time of Moses (Saʿadya) or, in theory at least, even after the time of Moses (al-Qirqisānī) does not constitute abrogation.[39] Whether al-Ḥimmaṣī—or Abū l-Ḥusayn—was familiar with the writings of earlier Jewish thinkers or whether he got to know these arguments through contacts with Jewish interlocutors cannot be decided.

Both Ibn al-Malāḥimī and al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī deal next with the second Jewish group, viz. those who consider abrogation to be conceivable on rational grounds while holding that scripture prevents it.[40] The principal Jewish argument for this position consisted of biblical passages supporting the eternal validity of the Mosaic law,[41] and among earlier Muslim (Muʿtazilite) authors, the biblical injunction to keep the Sabbath *forever* was the best—often the only—known passage among these. The relevant biblical passage is Exod. 31:13–17, which is rendered by al-Ḥimmaṣī and Ibn al-Malāḥimī in conformity with most earlier Muslim authors in an abbreviated version as *tamassakū bi-l-sabt abadan*. Both authors add the exact wording of the biblical text for the term *abadan*, "eternally": *tamassakū bi-l-sabt ʿahdan lakum wa-ḏurriyyatikum al-dahr, aw* [*qāla*]*: mā dāmat al-samawāt wa-l-arḍ*. This is rarely found in earlier Muslim sources.[42] The first of the two alternatively given renderings is an exact translation of the relevant Hebrew text of Exod. 31:16 "[Wherefore the Children of Israel shall keep the Sabbath, to observe the Sabbath] throughout their generations, for a perpetual covenant."[43] The alternative rendering, *mā dāmat al-samawāt wa-l-arḍ*, is not used in the biblical context for the Sabbath but is frequently employed in the Bible to designate the eternal validity of the Mosaic law (e.g., Exod. 20:11 or Exod. 31:17).

Al-Ḥimmaṣī and Ibn al-Malāḥimī counter the Jewish claim of the eternal validity of the Mosaic law in two ways. They first adduce the characteristic Muslim response according to which in the course of history the transmission of the biblical text has been interrupted, so that the Torah that the Jews possess nowadays is not identical with the one that had been revealed to Moses.[44]

The second strategy to counter the Jewish claim is more unusual for Muslim writers at the time of Ibn al-Malāḥimī and al-Ḥimmaṣī—and, certainly, in that of Abū l-Ḥusayn, their likely source—both in its argumentation and in the accuracy of the scriptural ev-

39. Cf. Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 198–210.
40. Al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/435:12ff. (= §§ 9ff.); Ibn al-Malāḥimī, *al-Fāʾiq*, 357:5ff.
41. See, e.g., Saʿadya Gaon, *Beliefs and Opinions*, 157ff.
42. Al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/435:12–15 (= § 9); Ibn al-Malāḥimī, *al-Fāʾiq*, 357:5–7.
43. ושמרו בני־ישראל את־השבת לעשות את־השבת לדרתם ברית עולם.
44. Al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/435:16:18 (= § 10); Ibn al-Malāḥimī, *al-Fāʾiq*, 357:8f.

idence that is adduced to support the argumentation. The argument is that although there are numerous and frequent expressions in the biblical text with the literal meaning of eternity, they should not be understood as such but are used only for the purpose of intensifying the meaning of long duration for a limited period of time.[45] Ibn al-Malāḥimī explicitly ascribes this argument to Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, and the close similarity between the *Fāʾiq* and the *Munqiḏ* leaves no doubt that al-Ḥimmaṣī must have relied on the same source as did Ibn al-Malāḥimī.[46]

Al-Ḥimmaṣī then adduces three scriptural passages that include expressions of "eternity," contrasting them with other passages relevant to the same context in which the meaning of "eternity" becomes more relative. With the exception of the third scriptural passage, these are also adduced by Ibn al-Malāḥimī, though in a less complex manner. The first is an abbreviated paraphrastic rendering of Exod. 21:2–6 ("If thou buy an Hebrew servant, six years he shall serve: and in the seventh he shall go out free for nothing. If he came in by himself, he shall go out by himself: if he were married, then his wife shall go out with him. If his master has given him a wife and she has born him sons or daughters; the wife and her children shall be her master's, and he shall go out by himself. And if the servant shall plainly say, I love my master, my wife, and my children; I will not go out free: Then his master shall bring him unto the judges; he shall also bring him to the door, or unto the door post; and his master shall bore his ear through with an awl; and he shall serve him for ever [*le-ʿolam*]"), which runs as follows: [*innahu*] *yustaḫdamu sitt sinīn ṯumma yuʿtaqu fī l-sābiʿa fa-in abā* [*al-ʿitq*] *fa-l-yuṯqab uḏnuhu wa-yustaḫdam abadan*.[47] So as to further qualify the meaning of "forever" (*le-ʿolam*, here translated as *abadan*), both authors then refer to another biblical passage that is rendered as "he shall serve for fifty years" (*yustaḫdam ḫamsīn sana*),[48] a reference to the fiftieth year, the year of jubilee as laid down in Lev. 25:8ff. Neither al-Ḥimmaṣī nor Ibn al-Malāḥimī offers any explanation for the passage, but replacing the term "forever" by the period of fifty years so as to allow for the possibility of abrogation was well attested in Jewish literature, as for example in Saʿadya Gaon's *Kitāb al-Amānāt wa-l-iʿtiqādāt* (*The Book of Beliefs and Opinions*), written about a century before Abū l-Ḥusayn's lifetime.[49]

45. Al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/435:19–436:12 (= §§ 11f.); Ibn al-Malāḥimī, *al-Fāʾiq*, 357:10ff.

46. Al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/435:19f. (= § 11): *fa-fī l-Tawrāt alfāẓ al-taʾbīd kaṯīra wa-l-murād bihā al-mubālaġa fī ṭūl al-mudda dūn al-dawām*; Ibn al-Malāḥimī, *al-Fāʾiq*, 357:13f.*: wa-ḥakā šayḫunā Abū l-Ḥusayn ʿan al-Tawrāt aḥkāman qarana bihā al-taʾbīd wa-urīda bihā awqāt munqaṭiʿa*.

47. Al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/435:20f. (= § 11); Ibn al-Malāḥimī, *al-Fāʾiq*, 357:14f.

48. Al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/435:21f. (= § 11); Ibn al-Malāḥimī, *al-Fāʾiq*, 357:15f.

49. Saʿadya Gaon, *Beliefs and Opinions*, 171: "Now some of the proponents of the theory of abrogation base their view on an analysis of the term 'forever' (*ʿolam*) concerning which they assert that they note that it has in the Hebrew language a variety of meanings. One of these is 'fifty years.' The other is 'the lifetime of the thing referred to.' The third, again, is 'as long as the world will exist.'"

The next scriptural examples are the instructions for the Passover sacrifice as laid down in Exod. 12:1–12 (and Num. 9:11ff.), again for eternity (*abadan*), which were later on qualified in the absence of the Temple.[50]

The last scriptural passage adduced by al-Ḥimmaṣī but not by Ibn al-Malāḥimī is a paraphrase of Exod. 29:38f., 42 ("Now this is that which thou shalt offer upon the altar; two lambs of the first year day by day continually.[51] The one lamb thou shalt offer in the morning; and the other lamb thou shalt offer at even: ... This shall be a continual burnt offering throughout your generations[52] at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation before the Lord... .")—a passage that is correctly identified as belonging to *al-sifr al-ṯānī* (= Exodus) of the Pentateuch.[53] The term expressing eternity is rendered in the *Munqiḏ* as *qurbān dāʾim li-aḥqābikum*, a fairly close translation of the Hebrew עלת תמיד לדרתיכם. In contrast to the earlier scriptural passages including expressions denoting "eternity," here al-Ḥimmasī does not mention whether or to what extent this ruling of eternal validity was later on qualified.

Both al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī and Ibn al-Malāḥimī now have an extensive section of disputations with Jewish opponents (in the style of *fa-in qālū—qulnā lahum*) in the course of which they argue that if none of these expressions denotes eternity in a literal sense, the argument of the Jews for the eternal validity of the Mosaic law based on the eternal obligation to keep the Sabbath has no foundation.[54] In the course of this presumably fictitious disputation, al-Ḥimmaṣī also adduces two Jewish traditions that go back, according to the wording used,[55] to Jewish informants. Although he does not mention Abū l-Ḥusayn in this context, it is likely that these Jews were *his* rather than al-Ḥimmaṣī's immediate interlocutors. According to one Jewish tradition, the Book of Ezekiel (Ḥizqīl) contains additions (*ziyādāt*) to the prescribed acts of devotion (*ʿibādāt*) laid down by Moses, which constitute abrogation in meaning (*nasḫ fī l-maʿnā*) and are an indication that the regulations of the Torah can in fact be abrogated.[56] This argument agrees with a view encountered in Rabbinic literature to the effect that Ezekiel's vision of the future temple and its priestly laws seemingly contradicts the rules of the Pentateuch, which nearly led to the exclusion of the Book of Ezekiel from the Bible. The second Jewish tradition relates to the Passover sacrifice: the reason this obligation was suspended later on is that it applied to the Banū Hārūn (the priestly family) only. Since it was impossible later on to establish

50. Al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/435:22–436:3 (= § 11); Ibn al-Malāḥimī, *al-Fāʾiq*, 357:16–358:3.
51. שנים ליום תמיד
52. עלת תמיד לדרתיכם
53. Al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/436:3f. (= § 11).
54. Al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/436, 13ff. (= §§ 13ff.); Ibn al-Malāḥimī, *al-Fāʾiq*, 358:4ff.
55. Al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/437:5 (= § 14): *qad ḏakara baʿḍuhum*; 437:22 (= § 16): *wa-qad qāla baʿḍ al-Yahūd*.
56. Al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/432:4–12 (= § 14).

whether a person belongs to the Banū Hārūn, this obligation was suspended by a prophet who emerged after the time of Moses.[57]

Both al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī and Ibn al-Malāḥimī conclude this hypothetical disputation by pointing out that while there is no doubt concerning the claim that the Prophet Muḥammad is the seal of the prophets, there is no such consensus with regard to Moses, especially since the Christians do not agree on this. Since the veracity of Muḥammad's prophethood has been asserted on the basis of his miracles and since it has been attested by way of *tawātur* that the Qurʾān is a miracle, the Jewish refusal to accept the abrogation of the Mosaic legislation following the advent of the Prophet Muḥammad and the revelation of the Qurʾān has lost its foundation.[58]

The third group—those who allow the possibility of abrogation on the grounds of reason and revelation but do not accept the prophethood of Muḥammad—is dealt with briefly by al-Ḥimmaṣī at the end of the chapter, referring the readers to a later section in which the proofs of Muḥammad's prophecy will be dealt with in depth. Ibn al-Malāḥimī does not address their position.[59]

Al-Ḥimmaṣī's *kalām* writings remained authoritative among Twelver Šīʿites for more than a century, after which they were apparently largely replaced by the works by Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī ("al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī"; d. 726/1325), which then became more popular.[60] His discussion on the abrogation of the Pentateuch is reflected in an anonymous Imāmī *kalām* work, *Ḫulāṣat al-naẓar*, which was composed in the late sixth/twelfth or early seventh/thirteenth century. Although the refutation of the Jews with respect to the abrogation of the Pentateuch is briefer in this work than it is in the *Munqiḏ*, it clearly follows the pattern of the latter work and includes most of the scriptural evidence that had been adduced by al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī.[61]

57. Al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/437:22–438:2 (= § 16).

58. Al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/438:12ff. (= §§ 16–18); Ibn al-Malāḥimī, *al-Fāʾiq*, 359.

59. Al-Ḥimmaṣī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 1/440:2–7 (= § 19).

60. This conclusion, which is based mainly on the observation that there are no further references either to the work or to its author in the later Twelver Šīʿite literature and on the popularity of the *kalām* writings of al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī, which were repeatedly copied and commented upon, is somewhat contradicted by the manuscript evidence. As far as is known today, four copies of al-Ḥimmaṣī's *Munqiḏ* are extant, all produced relatively late. These include MS Qum, Marʿašī 8896, copied in the tenth/sixteenth century; MS Qum, Marʿašī 8737, copied in the thirteenth/nineteenth century; and MS Tehran, Dānišgāh 6744, copy completed on 10 Ṣafar 1278/August 17, 1861; see above, n. 15. An additional manuscript, completed on 23 Ǧumādā II 1192/July 19, 1778, is preserved in the Sayyid Ǧalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddiṯ Urmawī collection in Qum. I am grateful to Morteza Kariminiya for drawing my attention to this manuscript.

61. See Schmidtke and Ansari, *Khulāṣat al-Naẓar*, 151ff.

Appendix

In the following, the relevant portions of the chapter discussed are quoted in full [= *Munqiḏ*, 1/433:14–440:7]. Although al-Ḥimmaṣī's work has been preserved in several manuscripts,[62] none of these was accessible to the present writer. The edition at her disposal is, moreover, at times flawed. Corrections and emendations are indicated in the footnotes. The numbers in square brackets that appear in the following text refer to the pages in the edition of the *Munqiḏ*.

1 ثم يقال لهم: أليس الجمع بين الأختين في النكاح كان مباحًا ليعقوب [cf. Gen. 29:21ff] وقد حرّمه الله تعالى في زمن موسى عليه السلام [cf. Lev. 18:18] ولم يحرّمه قبل بعثة موسى؟ ولم يدل ذلك على أنه قد ظهر له ما كان خافيًا عليه أو خفى عنه ما لم يكن خافيًا؟

2 وأيضًا ففي التوراة أن الله تعالى قال لنوح عليه السلام عند خروجه من السفينة: «إني قد جعلت كل دابّة حيّة مأكولاً لك ولذريتك وأطلقت ذلك لكم كل نبات العشب[63] ما خلا الدم فلا تأكلوه» [Gen. 9:3–4]، وقد حرّم الله تعالى على موسى وبني إسرائيل كثيرًا من الحيوان.

3 وكان آدم عليه السلام يزوّج الأخ من ولده أخته [cf. Gen. 5:1–30] وحرّم الله ذلك على موسى [cf. Lev. 18:6–9].

4 وأمر موسى وبني إسرائيل إذا عبروا أرض الأردن أن يبنوا لله مذبحًا في جبل [434] عيبال[64] [cf. Deut. 27:4]. فلما جاوز بنو إسرائيل الأردن بنى يوشع بن النون المذبح الذي أمر الله به موسى في جبل عيبال[65] ووضع بنو إسرائيل عليه القرابين [cf. Joshua 8:30–33]. وبنى يوشع بن النون بيتًا لله في ذلك المكان وسماه شيلو [cf. Joshua 18:1]. ومكث بنو إسرائيل أربعمأة سنة وأربعين سنة يحجّون ذلك المذبح والبيت [cf. Ex. 16:35 and I Kings 6:1]، وهو قبلتهم التي يقصدون إليها، ولو أن رجلاً حجّ في تلك السنين إلى موضع بيت المقدس لكان ضالاً عندهم. ولما مضت تلك المدة عادوا يصلّون إلى مغرب وإلى ألواح وهم مقيمون في البلاد [cf. II Sam. 6:1-17]. ثم أوحى الله إلى نبي[66] من بني إسرائيل في منامه أن يبني له بيتًا في موضع الصخرة من بيت المقدس [cf. II Sam. 7] فلما انتبه أوحى الله تعالى إليه: لست أنت الذي تبني هذا البيت لأنك سفكتَ الدماء ولكن يبنيه سليمان [cf. I Chron. 22:8–10; 28:1–6] وبنى سليمان ذلك البيت [cf. I Kings 6]. وحجت إليه بنو إسرائيل وتركوا البيت والمذبح الذي أمر الله به موسى وبناه يوشع بن نون [cf. II Kings 23].

5 ولم تدلّ هذه الاشياء كلّها على أنه ظهر لله تعالى ما كان خافياً عليه أو خفي عنه ما كان ظاهراً له.

6 ذكر الشيخ أبو الحسين أنه قال له بعض اليهود: إن الذي بنى البيت قال: إن هذا مكتوب، فقلت له: أقال أن هذا مكتوب عند موسى؟ قال: لا، ولكن نعلم أن موسى بيّن ذلك كلّه، ولم ينقل إلينا بيانه. فقلت له: فجوّز أن يكون موسى أوجب التمسك بالسبت أبدًا، إلا أن يجئ نبي بنسخه، ولم ينقل هذا الاستثناء.

7 ثم يقال لهم: هل كان قبل نزول التوراة شرع أم لا؟ إن قالوا: لم يكن شرع قبل نزولها وجحدوا، قلنا لهم: أليس في الجزء الثاني من السفر الأول من التوراة حين شرع الله تعالى على نوح عليه السلام القصاص في القتل؟ ذلك قوله: «شوفيخ ذام ها اذام با اذام داموا يشافيخ» [שפך דם האדם באדם דמו יישפך]. تفسيره: من سفك دم إنسان فليحكم الحاكم بسفك دمه [Gen. 9:6]. وفي الجزء الثالث من السفر الأول: إذ [435] شرع على إبراهيم عليه السلام ختانة المولود في اليوم الثامن من ميلاده [cf. Gen. 17:12].

8 فإذا أقرّوا بأنه قد كان شرع قبل نزول التوراة[67]، قلنا لهم: ما تقولون في التوراة؟ هل أتت بزيادة على تلك الشرائع أم لا؟ فإن لم تأت بزيادة فقد صارت عبثاً عندهم، إذ لا زيادة فيها على ما تقدم ولم يعن شيئاً، فلا يجوز أن تكون صادرة عن الله تعالى، فيلزمهم أن التوراة لا

62. See above, n. 60.

63. العشب: الغشب.
64. عيبال: عينال.
65. عيبال: عينال.
66. نبي: بني.
67. التوراة: التوارة.

تكون من عند الله، وذلك كفر على مذهبهم. وإن كانت التوراة أتت بزيادة، فهل في تلك الزيادة تحريم ما كان مباحاً أم لا؟ إن قالوا: ما أتت بتحريم ما كان مباحاً من قبل، بطل قولهم بأن التوراة حرمت الأعمال الصناعية في يوم السبت بعد أن كان مباحاً، وهذا هو النسخ في المعنى. ومن تتبع أحكامهم التي يتدينون بها وجد أمثال ما ذكرناه كثيراً مما فيه النسخ.

9 فأما من ادعى أن الشرع منع من النسخ وإن لم يمنع العقل منه فإنه يحتجّ بما حكيناه عنهم من نقلهم عن موسى عليه السلام أنه قال: «تمسكوا بالسبت أبدًا»، فقال: «تمسكوا بالسبت عهدًا لكم ولذريتكم الدهر» [cf. Exod. 31:16]، أو «ما دامت السماوات والأرض» [cf. Ex 20:11 or Ex 31:17]، قال: فلا يجوز أن يصدق من جاء بنسخ ذلك.

10 والجواب عنه أن ما نقلوه عن موسى عليه السلام غير معلوم ولا مسلم، لأن نقل التوراة التي في أيديهم ونقل أخبارهم غير متّصل بل منقطع بما فعل بهم بختنصر.

11 ثم وإن لم ننازعهم في صحة نقلهم، ففي التوراة ألفاظ التأبيد كثيرة والمراد بها المبالغة في طول المدة دون الدوام، فمن ذلك قوله في العبد: «إنه يستخدم ست سنين ثم يعتق في السابعة، فإن أبى فليثقب أذنه ويستخدم أبدًا» [cf. Ex. 21:2, 5–6; also Deut. 15:12]. وقال في موضع آخر: «يستخدم خمسين سنة» [cf. Lev. 25:10ff]. وقيل في البقرة التي أمروا بذبحها: «يكون ذلك لكم سنةً أبدًا» وانقطع التعبد بها[68] عندهم. وكذا أمروا في قصة دم [436] الفصح[69] الذي تعبدوا به أن يجعلوه في أبوابهم ويذبحوا الجمل ويأكلوا لحمه ملحوجًا ولا يكسروا عظمًا ويكون ذلك الجمل سنةً أبدًا [cf. Ex. 12:1ff, 12:14]، وقد زال التعبد بذلك. وفي السفر الثاني قال الله تعالى:« قربوا إليّ كل يوم خروفين سنةً خروفٌ عدوةً وخروفٌ عشيةً بين المغارب، قربان دائم لأحقابكم» [cf. Ex. 29:38–39, 42].

12 فهذه ألفاظ تقتضي الدوام كالألفاظ التي ذكروها في السبت وما أريد بها الدوام. فما أنكروا في مثل ذلك من ألفاظ السبت، سيما وقد ورد من البشارات بالنبيّ عليه السلام على ما نشير إليه ونبيّنه إن شاء الله ما يحرز معه أن يكون النبيّ عليه السلام ناسخاً للسبت ورافعاً لتأبيده كما ارتفع تأبيد ما عددناه، لأنا إذا رأينا ألفاظ التأبيد وما أريد بها التـأبيد لم نأمن أن يكون كذلك ألفاظ التأبيد في السبت وأن يكون النبيّ الذي بشر به، أو الذي دلّت عليه دلالةٌ سوى البشارة بيّن أن ألفاظ التأبيد ليست على الدوام وأنها كسائر الألفاظ التي لم يرد بها الدوام.

13 فإن قالوا: إن الألفاظ التي ذكرتموها قد بيّن موسى أنه لم يرد بها الدوام فلو كان السبت كذلك لبيّنه، قلنا لهم: أبيّن موسى انقطاع تلك العبادات وأنها غير دائمة حين تعبد بها أو بعد ذلك؟ فإن قالوا: بيّن ذلك بعد زمان متراخ، وهكذا يقتضي ظاهر التوراة، لأنه قال في موضع: «يثقب أذن العبد ويستخدم أبداً»، وقال في موضع آخر: «يستخدم خمسين سنة» [cf. § 11]، ولم يقولوا ولم ينقلوا أنه بيّن في ذلك الموضع. قلنا لهم: فإذا جاز أن يأمر موسى بالشيء أبداً وعلى الأحقاب، ثم يبيّن بعد ذلك أنه ما أراد التأبيد، جاز أن يبيّن ذلك نبيّ آخر إذا كان البيان تأخر في كلا الحالين.

14 فإن قالوا: إن موسى بيّن مراده بهذه الألفاظ في الحال. [437] قلنا: لو بيّن ذلك لنقل منه كما نقل بيانه المتراخي. فإن قالوا: يجوز أن لا ينقل ولكن نحن نعلم أن البيان صدر منه في الحال لعلمنا بأن البيان لا يتأخر. قلنا لهم: فجوّزوا أن يكون بيان نسخ السبت صدر منه في الحال ولم ينقل منه، كما لم ينقل ما ذكرتم. **وقد ذكر بعضهم** أن حزقيل ذكر زيادات في عبادات يعتقدون أن تلك[70] الزيادات تلزمهم عند مجيء منتظرهم. ثم هم مختلفون فيها، فمنهم من قال أن موسى عليه السلام ما ذكر تلك الزيادات، ومنهم من يقول: ذكرها ولكنها لم تنقل عنه. فتقول لمن قال أنه لم يذكرها أصلاً: أليس تلك الزيادات ترفع إباحة تركها؟ وهذا نسخ في المعنى، فقد وقع ما هو في معنى النسخ بعد موسى على يد نبيّ آخر، فجوّزوا مثله في السبت. ونقول لمن قال أنه ذكرها ولم ينقل عنه: جوّز أنه قد بيّن انقطاع التعبّد بالسبت ولم ينقل عنه خاصةً، والهوى وحبّ المذهب يدعوكم إلى ترك نقل ذلك.

15 فإن قالوا: إنما يلزمنا أن نقول: قد بيّن موسى عليه السلام انقطاع التعبّد بالسبت لو نسخه مَن صحت نبوته. قلنا: أنتم دفعتم نبوة نبيّنا عليه السلام لأنه نسخ ما لم يبيّن موسى عليه السلام انقطاعه فإذا لم تعلموا أن موسى لم يبيّن ذلك بطل دليلكم، فيوجب أن لا تقطعوا بذلك على أنه ليس بنبيّ. وبعد، فإن كلامهم هذا يقتضي أن يقطعوا على أن موسى عليه السلام قد أشعرهم بنسخه مهما صحّت نبوة محمد عليه السلام: فليقتصروا على مطالبتنا بالمعجزات الدالّة على نبوته حتى نذكرها لهم ونبين صحتها، وليتركوا الاحتجاج بما لا يعلمونه من أنه نسخ ما لم يبيّن موسى انقطاعه.

16 وقد قال بعض اليهود: إن قصة البقرة إنما انقطع التعبّد بها لأن المتعبدين بها هم بنو هارون، ثم بيّن نبيّ آخر بعد موسى أن المتولي

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68. التعبد بها: الشهيد به، والتصحيح عن كتاب الفائق لابن الملاحمي.
69. الفصح: الفصيح.
70. تلك: تك.

لذلك هو من نقطع [438] على أنه من بني هارون، لا مَن نظنّه كذلك. وإذا لم نعلم بني هارون قطعاً زال التعبّد بذبح البقرة لزوال شرطه. فيقال لهم: إن موسى عليه السلام هل بيّن هذا الشرط أم لا؟ إن قالوا: لا، وإنما بيّنه نبيّ بعده، قلنا لهم: فجوّزوا أن يكون من شرط التمسّك بالسبت أن لا يبعث نبيّ من العرب، ولم يبيّن ذلك موسى وإنما بيّنه محمد عليه السلام. وإن قالوا: إن موسى عليه السلام بيّن انقطاع التعبّد بذبح البقرة، قلنا: فكان يجب أن ينقل ذلك عنه وأنتم لا تنقلون هذا عنه. فإن قالوا: نحن نعلم أن موسى عليه السلام كان يتديّن بدوام شرعه وأن لا ينقطع ولا ينسخ بمثل ما تعلمون أنتم أن نبيّكم كان يعتقد ويتديّن بأن شريعته لا تنسخ ولا تحتج في ذلك بألفاظ التأبيد حتى تردّوا علينا بما رددتموه، قلنا: نحن نعلم علماً لا يخالطه شكّ وريب أن نبينا عليه السلام كان يتديّن بأن شرعه لا ينسخ وأنه خاتم النبيين، مثل علمنا بالبلدان والوقائع ومثل علمنا بوجوده تعالى وادعائه النبوة لا يمكنكم أن تدعوا مثل ذلك، لأنه لو كان كذلك لوجب في كل من خالطكم أن يعلم ذلك، وخلافه معلوم لأنا نعلم ذلك والنصارى على كثرتهم وقرائتهم لكتبكم لا يعلمون ذلك، وجماعة منكم لا يعلمون ذلك بل يقولون: الأمر فيه متشبه، ويقتصرون على مطالبتنا بالمعجزة. ألا ترى أن العلم بتدين نبيّنا عليه السلام بدوام شرعه وكونه خاتم النبيين، لما كان على الحد الذي وصفناه، شاركنا فيه المسلم وغير المسلم والصديق والعدوّ، فكل من علم وجوده وادعاءه النبوة علم أنه كان يتدين بما ذكرناه، ومثل ذلك لا يمكنكم ادعاؤه.

17 [439] وبعد، فإذا ثبت نبوة نبيّنا عليه السلام بما ظهر عليه من المعجزات، على ما نبيّنه إن شاء الله تعالى، بطل قول من ادعى تأبيد شرع موسى أو غيره من الأنبياء عليهم السلام، لأنه لو صح تأبيد شرع واحد منهم لما دلّت المعجزات التي قامت وظهرت عليه على نبوته عليه السلام وصحة شرعه مع ما فيه من مخالفة الشرائع المتقدمة في أكثر الأحكام. فإن قيل: لم صرتم بأن تنظروا في معجزات نبيّكم فتعلموا بها صحة نبوته وبطلان ما تمسكنا به من الخبر المقتضي بظاهره لدوام شرع موسى وتأبيده أو صحة تأويله على ما تأولونه عليه أولى من أن تنظروا أولاً في خبرنا فتعلموا صحته. وإذا علمتم صحته قطعتم على بطلان نبوة مَن تدعون نبوته. قلنا: صحة معجز نبيّنا الذي هو أظهر آياته ومعجزاته، وهو القرآن الموجود في أيدينا، مبنية على أمور عقلية لا يدخلها الاحتمال والاشتباه لأنها مبنية على ظهور القرآن عليه وتحديه العرب به وأنهم لم يعارضوه. وذلك كلّه معلوم ضرورةً وعلماً لا يدخله شكّ وريب مثل العلم بالبلدان والوقائع والعلم بأن ما هذا صفته معجز دالّ على صدق من ظهر عليه طريقه أيضاً اعتبار العقل الذي لا يدخله الاحتمال. وليست هذه المباني والقواعد ولا واحد منها من جنس الكلام الذي يدخله الاحتمال والحقيقة والمجاز والعمل بظاهره أو تركه. والاستدلال بالخبر الذي تدعونه مبنيٌّ على صحته لا يعلم إلا بعد أن يعلم أن صفة التواتر ثابتة في جميع أسلاف اليهود في كل زمان، ثم إذا صح وثبت نقله فهو كلام يدخله الحقيقة والمجاز والخصوص والعموم والاحتمال للتأويل المخالف لما يقتضيه ظاهره.

18 إذا تقرر هذا فمعلوم أن التمسك بما لا يحتمل والنظر فيه وبناء المحتمل عليه أولى من عكسه وهو التمسك بالمحتمل والنظر فيه وبناء ما لا يحتمل عليه، [440] فظهرت الأولية التي طلبها السائل في جانب ما ينظر فيه بحمد الله ومنّه.

19 وأما من أجاز النسخ عقلاً ولم يدع منع الشرع منه، وأنكر نبوة نبيّنا عليه السلام، لزعمه وادعائه أنه ما دلت على نبوته دلالةٌ ولا قامت عليه معجزة، فالردّ عليه هو بأن نبيّن صحة نبوته عليه السلام بما ظهر عليه من المعجزات الواضحة والآيات اللائحة التي لا تخفى دلالتها على صدقه في ادعائه النبوة عند التأمل الصحيح وبذل الإنصاف وما نحن فاعلون لذلك بعون الله وحسن توفيقه.

Chapter Nine
The Muslim Reception of the Bible: Al-Māwardī and His *Kitāb Aʿlām al-Nubuwwa*

Sabine Schmidtke

The study of the translation(s) of the Bible into Arabic and its subsequent transmission is in its infancy. Although the field as such is far from new,[1] the number of manuscripts of single books of the Bible or of groups of books—be they completely preserved or in fragmentary form, of Christian, Jewish, or Samaritan provenance—is overwhelming, and only a fraction of them have thus far been classified and analyzed. The extant material provides a highly variegated picture in terms of stylistic approaches, vocabulary, scripts, and doctrinal and didactic considerations. The Melkite Christian communities apparently led the way in rendering their scriptures from Greek and Syriac into Arabic, to be followed by the East Syriac Church in the area of Iraq. The West Syriac and Coptic communities continued for some time to keep their scriptures in the sanctified languages of Greek, Syriac, and Coptic and eventually tended to integrate various earlier Arabic translation traditions into their Arabic Bibles, produced in the ninth and tenth centuries CE. The Spanish Mozarabs, who were Roman Catholics for the most part, also rendered their scriptures into Arabic during this period. In their case Latin versions of the Bible were often consulted, but at the same time they also absorbed partial translations of eastern provenance.[2] The Jews (Rabbanites as well as Karaites) began producing written Arabic translations of their Bible in about the mid-ninth century, and, like the Christians, they appear to have moved from oral translation settings to sporadic word-lists and eventually to full-fledged translations,[3] of which Saʿadya Gaon's version of the Pentateuch appears to have reached semicanonical status in the second half of the tenth

1. See Griffith, *Bible in Arabic*. For an overview of the current state of research see Gibson et al., "Biblia Arabica;" Vollandt, "The *Status Quaestionis* of Research on the Arabic Bible."

2. For a diachronic survey of the various Christian translations of the Bible into Arabic, see Griffith, *Bible in Arabic*, chapter 4; Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, chapter 3.

3. See Polliack, *Karaite Tradition*.

century.[4] The Samaritans produced independent Arabic versions of the Pentateuch at a rather late stage, during the eleventh century, in some cases adapting Saʿadya's as well as some Karaite versions of the Pentateuch.[5] The different versions were fairly mobile, coalescing within and beyond ecclesiastical, denominational, and geographical borders. Studies on clearly defined corpora of Bible translations, such as Hikmat Kashouh's study of the Gospels[6] and Ronny Vollandt's investigation of the Pentateuch, have shown that "any manuscript copy of a collection of biblical books in Arabic is likely to be an amalgam, of which each section has a long separate textual history."[7]

Once Arabic translations were available, Muslim authors began to take a greater interest in the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament, in which they believed (in accordance with Q 61:6) the Prophet Muḥammad had been annunciated. Apart from a few quotations adduced by Muḥammad b. Isḥāq (d. 150/767) from the Pentateuch[8] and from the Gospel of John,[9] the earliest extant Muslim works containing comprehensive lists of biblical "predictions" of Muḥammad are an epistle written by Abū l-Rabīʿ Muḥammad b. al-Layṯ to the Byzantine emperor Constantine VI (r. 780–97 CE) on behalf of Hārūn al-Rašīd (r. 170/786–193/809), inviting the emperor to embrace Islam;[10] the comprehensive *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* by the Christian convert to Islam, ʿAlī Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī (b. ca. 194/810, d. 251/865);[11] and the *Aʿlām al-nubuwwa* by Ibn Rabban's younger contemporary Ibn Qutayba (b. 213/828, d. 276/889).[12] Although their respective sources still need to

4. See Vollandt, "Transmission of the Judaeo-Arabic Pentateuch"; Vollandt, "Some Observations on Genizah Fragments"; Steiner, *Biblical Translation in the Making*.

5. See Shehadeh, "Groups of Samaritan Manuscripts"; Shehadeh, *ha-Targum ha-ʿAravi*; Jamgotchian, "Fragments inconnus"; Schwarb, "Vestiges of Qaraite Translations;" Zewi, *The Samaritan Version*.

6. Kashouh, *Arabic Versions of the Gospels.*

7. Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, ix.

8. The relevant quotations, cited by al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), have been analyzed by Witztum, "Ibn Isḥāq and the Pentateuch."

9. See Griffith, "Arguing from Scripture," 36–45 (with further references).

10. The text of the epistle is preserved through transmission by Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr (d. 280/893) in his *Kitāb al-Manṯūr wa-l-manẓūm* and has been published repeatedly. See van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, 3/24ff.; Adang, *Muslim Writers*, index; Roggema, "Ibn al-Layth." Ibn al-Layṯ adduces the following passages from the Bible: Deut. 18:18f., Deut. 33:2f., Ps. 9:20, Ps. 45:2–5, Ps. 149:4–9, Isa. 21:6–10, Isa. 42:1–4, Isa. 42:10–12, Hab. 3:3–6.

11. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*; translated as Ibn Rabban, *Religion and Empire*. A new edition and translation has been prepared by Ebied and Thomas, *Polemical Works of ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī*. The authenticity of the work, which for a long time was questioned, has meanwhile been established. See Adang, "Rare Case" [chapter 12 in the present volume]; Schmidtke, "Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and His Transmission" [chapter 7 in the present volume].

12. See Schmidtke, "Muslim Reception of Biblical Materials" [chapter 4 in the present volume]. Ibn Qutayba also quotes extensively from the Book of Genesis in his other works, and these quotations have repeatedly been the subject of scholarly consideration; see Vajda, "Observations"; Lecomte, "Les citations"; Isteero, "Ibn Qutayba's Biblical Quotations"; Pietruschka, "Präsentation und Umformung bib-

be identified in detail, all three authors were clearly drawing on translations of Syriac Christian provenance.

At present, modern scholarship is still far from identifying which of the various translation traditions were accessible to Muslim scholars of the time. Clearly, a variety of versions is attested in the Muslim literary tradition. In most cases Muslim authors have gleaned their material (directly or, perhaps more plausibly, indirectly) from different, and at times parallel, translation traditions, depending on which book or collection of books from the Bible they were quoting.[13]

An interesting case that sheds additional light on the transmission of the various translation traditions among Muslim scholars up until the first half of the fifth/eleventh century is Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Māwardī (b. 364/975, d. 449/1058).[14] He adduces and discusses in chapter 15 of his *Kitāb Aʿlām al-nubuwwa* twenty-five biblical passages allegedly predicting the advent of the Prophet Muḥammad (*fī bašāʾir al-anbiyāʾ ʿalayhim al-salām fī nubuwwatihi ṣalʿam*). It should be noted that he also quotes some biblical passages in his exegetical work, *al-Nukat wa-l-ʿuyūn*, when commenting on Q 7:157.[15] The *Aʿlām* chapter was first edited and described by Martin Schreiner on the basis of MS Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Wetzstein I 106 in 1897.[16] Schreiner compared the passages adduced by al-Māwardī with Ibn Qutayba's list as quoted by Ibn al-Ǧawzī (d. 597/1200) in his *al-Wafāʾ bi-aḥwāl* [or *fī faḍāʾil*] *al-Muṣṭafā*, which was available to him through Carl Brockelmann's *editio princeps* of the relevant section of the work.[17] Schreiner also consulted Faḫr al-Dīn

lischen Materials." Vollandt has shown that while Ibn Qutayba relied in his *Aʿlām al-nubuwwa* on Arab^{Syr2} as a source for his quotations from the Pentateuch (see also below), in his other, most likely later works, he instead used Arab^{Syr1}. See Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 97–102. For an analysis of the characteristics of Arab^{Syr1}, see also Witztum, "Ibn Isḥāq and the Pentateuch," passim.

13. See, for example, Schmidtke, "Biblical Predictions among the Zaydīs of Iran" [chapter 14 in the present volume]; Schmidtke, "Biblical Predictions among the Zaydīs of Yemen" [chapter 15 in the present volume].

14. For the work and its author, see Palummieri, "Le prove della veridicità." Earlier studies on al-Māwardī include Laoust, "La pensée et l'action politiques"; Nafis, "Concept of the Imamate" (focusing on al-Māwardī's *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*); Mikhail, *Politics and Revelation*; Schneider, "Vernunft oder Tradition?" (containing an analysis of his *al-Ḥāwī al-kabīr*).

15. The Qurʾānic verse reads "Those who follow the Messenger, the Prophet of the common folk, whom they find written down with them in the Torah and the Gospel, bidding them to honor, and forbidding them to dishonor, making lawful for them the good things and making unlawful for them the corrupt things, and relieving them of their loads, and the fetters that were upon them. Those who believe in him and succor him and help him, and follow the light that has been sent down with him—they are the prosperers" (Arberry, *Koran Interpreted*). See al-Māwardī, *al-Nukat wa-l-ʿuyūn*, 2/268, where he adduces the following biblical passages: Deut. 18:18f.; Gen. 17:20; John 14:16; John 15:26f. See also below, nn. 28, 29. I am grateful to Hassan Ansari for alerting me to this passage in the *Nukat*.

16. Schreiner, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bibel."

17. Ibn al-Ǧawzī's excerpt from Ibn Qutayba's work was published by Carl Brockelmann in 1898 on the basis of MS Leiden OR 322/1, ff. 20b:23–23b:23; see Brockelmann, "Ibn Ǧauzī's Kitāb al-Wafā." See

al-Rāzī's (d. 606/1210) *Mafātīḥ al-ġayb* as an additional source of comparison. When commenting on Q 2:40, Faḫr al-Dīn quotes a number of biblical passages which he had gleaned from "Ibn Razīn" al-Ṭabarī, as he explicitly states (*hākaḏā nuqila ʿan Ibn Razīn al-Ṭabarī*).[18] In an earlier article, published in 1888, Schreiner had correctly identified "Ibn Razīn" as Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī.[19] However, he was writing ten years before the publication of the handlist of the Bibliotheca Lindesiana[20] containing the first published description of Ibn Rabban's *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* and was therefore unable to identify the exact source or to consult the work directly. On the basis of the scant information provided in the *Mafātīḥ al-ġayb*, Schreiner was also unable to discern that Faḫr al-Dīn had gleaned the biblical passages through Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's (d. 436/1044) *Kitāb Ġurar al-adilla* instead of consulting Ibn Rabban's *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* directly.[21] Be that as it may, Schreiner correctly concluded that while some passages adduced by al-Māwardī run parallel to those found in Ibn al-Ǧawzī (< Ibn Qutayba) as against others that rather resemble those found in Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (< Ibn Rabban), neither of the two seems to have served al-Māwardī as a source. Moreover, Schreiner rightly observed that al-Māwardī included in his chapter biblical passages that are not found in any other Muslim source.[22] This observation still holds true today—the biblical passages al-Māwardī gleaned from some of the Minor Prophets, viz. Joel, Obadiah, Micah, and Zechariah, are not, it would seem, encountered elsewhere in the Muslim literature.

As is typical for any list of biblical "annunciations" of the Prophet adduced by Muslim authors, al-Māwardī incorporates material from different biblical books and groups of books, each one of which had its own transmission history and needs to be analyzed separately. His list includes passages from the Pentateuch (Genesis and Deuteronomy)

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also Brockelmann, "Muhammedanische Weissagungen"; Brockelmann, "Zu den Muhammedanischen Weissagungen"; Bacher, "Muhammedanische Weissagungen." The excerpt from Ibn Qutayba was also quoted by Ibn al-Ǧawzī, and a translation of the quotations from the Hebrew Bible may be found in Adang, *Muslim Writers*, Appendix 3.

18. See Schmidtke, "Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and His Transmission."

19. Schreiner, "Zur Geschichte der Polemik," 645f., n. 4.

20. Lindsay, *Bibliotheca Lindesiana*.

21. Cf. Schmidtke, "Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and His Transmission."

22. Schreiner, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bibel," 497: "Die Uebersetzung ist identisch mit derjenigen, welche Ibn al-Ǧauzî und mit der einen der Uebersetzungen, welche von Fachr al-dîn Râzî angeführt werden. Der erstere giebt Ibn Ḳutejba, der letztere einen Ibn Rezîn als Quelle an. Welches die ursprüngliche Quelle der exegetischen Bemerkungen ist, in welcher die vorliegende Uebersetzung zuerst benutzt worden, vermag ich nicht zu entscheiden. Was mich aber veranlasst, diese Stellen des Werkes des Mâwerdî herauszugeben, ist der Umstand, dass es unter den biblischen Stellen, welche von ihm als Beweise für die Prophetie Muhammeds angeführt werden, auch welche giebt, die in den bisher bekannten Quellen nicht vorkommen. Bei der Feststellung des Textes habe ich die Citate bei Ibn al-Ǧauzî und Fachr al-dîn Râzî immer berücksichtigt, was aber nur bei dem geringen Theile möglich war."

(§§ 1–4);[23] some of the Major Prophets, viz. Isaiah (§§ 5–11), Ezekiel (§ 16), and Daniel (§§ 19–20); the Minor Prophets, viz. Joel (§ 12), Obadiah (§ 13), Micah (§ 14), Habakkuk (§ 15), Zephaniah (§ 17), and Zechariah (§ 18); and the Book of Psalms (§§ 22–25). Different transmission histories and, thus, *Vorlagen* can be assumed for the Pentateuch, for each of the Major Prophets, for the Minor Prophets, and for the Book of Psalms. This assumption is confirmed by the following analysis of al-Māwardī's chapter.

Pentateuch (§§ 1–4)

As has been shown by Vollandt, both Ibn Rabban and Ibn Qutayba used as their source the most popular translation of the Peshiṭta Pentateuch, attested in numerous manuscripts, to which Vollandt gave the title Arab^{Syr}2. MS Sinai Arab 4, copied in the thirteenth century CE from a now-lost antigraph dating to 353 AH/964 CE, is the earliest extant testimony of this version.[24] A comparison of §§ 1–4 of al-Māwardī's list with Ibn Qutayba and Ibn Rabban shows that al-Māwardī's quotations likewise go back to this translation tradition. Like Ibn Rabban, al-Māwardī identifies in §§ 1, 3, and 4 the exact location of each passage (book and chapter), using the chapter division that was introduced in East Syriac circles during the ninth century (*aṣḥāḥ*) and became the standard for the Syriac Pentateuch (*ṣḥāḥē*)[25] (indicated in the following by a wavy underline)—whereas Ibn Qutayba omits such specifications. Otherwise, the wording of al-Māwardī's translations in §§ 1, 3, and 4 differs slightly from that of both Ibn Rabban and Ibn Qutayba. Thus the possibility that al-Māwardī used either of the two as his (direct or indirect) source can be excluded from consideration. Similarities between Ibn Rabban and al-Māwardī are underlined (solid line) whereas parallels between Ibn Qutayba and al-Māwardī are indicated by a dashed line. Words or expressions that have no immediate correspondence in either Ibn Rabban or Ibn Qutayba are marked with a dotted line. Verbatim agreement in all three works is indicated in bold.

23. The paragraph numbers refer to the edition of al-Māwardī's chapter in the Appendix to this contribution.

24. For a description of this version, see Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 64–67 and 245–252. For MS Sinai Arab 4, see Monferrer Sala, "Plumbing the Depths," passim; Steiner, *Biblical Translation in the Making*, passim; Zewi, *Samaritan Version*, passim; Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 245–246. For the dating of MS Sinai Arab 4, see Treiger, "From Theodore Abū Qurra to Abed Azrié," n. 53 and passim.

25. See Brock, "Text History and Text Division"; Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 154–158, 276–279. See also chapter 16 in the present volume.

Genesis 16:8–12[26]

al-Māwardī (§ 1)

فمن ذلك بشائر موسى عليه السلام في التوراة أولها في الفصل التاسع من السفر الأول «**لما هربت هاجر من سارة ترآءى لها ملك وقال: يا هاجر، أمة سارة، ارجعي إلى سيدتك فاخضعي لها فإن الله سيكثر زرعك وذريتك حتى لا يحصوا كثرةً، وها أنت تحبلين وتلدين ابنًا وتسمّينه إسماعيل، لأن الله قد سمع خشوعك وهو يكون عير الناس وتكون يده فوق الجميع ويد الجميع مبسوطة إليه يالخضوع**»

Ibn Rabban

وقد كان موسى عليه السلام تنبأ بمثل هذه النبوة في السفر الأول والفصل التاسع وقال «أنه **لما هربت هاجر من سارة ترآءى لها ملك الله وقال: يا هاجر، أمة سارة**، من أين أقبلتِ وأين تريدين؟ قالت هاجر مجيبةً له: أهرب من سيدتي سارة. قال لها ملك الرب: **ارجعي إلى سيدتك واخضعي لها** فإني سأكثر ذريتك وزرعك **حتى لا يحصون كثرةً. وها أنت تخبلين وتلدين ابناً وتسميه إسماعيل، لأن الله قد سمع** تبتّلك و**خشوعك وهو يكون عير الناس وتكون يده فوق الجميع ويد الجميع مبسوطةً إليه** ويكون مسكنه على تخوم جميع إخوته»

Ibn Qutayba

ثم أخبر موسى بمثل ذلك في هذا السفر وزاد شيئًا قال «**لما هربت هاجر من سارة تراءى لها ملك الله وقال: يا هاجر، أمة سارة، ارجعي إلى سيدتك فاخضعي لها** فإني سأكثّر ذريتك وزرعك **حتى لا يحصوا كثرةً، وها أنت تحبلين وتلدين ابنًا وتسمّينه إسماعيل، لأن الله قد سمع خشوعك، وتكون يده فوق الجميع، ويد الجميع مبسوطة إليه يالخضوع**»

Genesis 17:20[27]

al-Māwardī (§ 2)[28]

ومنها قوله في هذا السفر لإبراهيم حين دعاه في إسماعيل «**وباركت عليه وكثرته وعظمته جدًّا جدًّا وسيلد اثنى عشر عظيمًا وأجعله لأمة عظيمة**»

Ibn Rabban

فأما ما أوحى الله تعالى إلى إبراهيم عليه السلام في إسماعيل وحده فهو قوله على لسان موسى في السفر الأول من التوراة في الفصل العاشر منه إن الله تعالى قال لإبراهيم عليه السلام: «قد أجبت دعاءك في إسماعيل **وباركت عليه وكثرته وعظمته جدًّا جدًّا وسيلد اثنى عشر عظيمًا وأجعله لأمة عظيمة**.» فهذا في ترجمة مارقس الترجمان، فأما في التوراة التي فسرها الإثنان وسبعون من أحبار اليهود فإنه يقول «أنه سيلد اثنى عشرة أمةً من الأمم.»

Ibn Qutayba

من ذلك قول الله عزّ وجلّ في السفر الأول لإبراهيم: «قد أجبتُ دعاءك في إسماعيل **وباركتُ عليه وكثّرتُه وعظّمتُه جدًّا جدًّا وسيلد اثنى عشر عظيمًا وأجعله لأمة عظيمة**»

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26. For a comparison of this passage in MS Vatican Arabic 525 and Ibn Rabban, see Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 91–97. Cf. also the parallel passage in MS Sinai Arab 4, f. 16a.

27. Cf. also the parallel passage in MS Sinai Arab 4, f. 17a.

28. It is noteworthy that al-Māwardī renders the verse differently in his exegetical work, *al-Nukat wa-l-ʿuyūn*, 2/268 (وأما ابن الأمة فقد باركتُ عليه جدًّا جدًّا وسأذخره لأمة عظيمة). The closest equivalent to this translation is given by Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī (d. 573/1177) in his *Kitāb al-Ḫarāʾiğ wa-l-ğarāʾiḥ*:

وأما ابن الأمة فقد باركت عليه جدًّا جدًّا ويلد اثني عشر عظيمًا وأصيره لأمة كثيرة.

Deuteronomy 18:18f.

al-Māwardī (§ 3)[29]

ومنها **في الفصل الحادي عشر من السفر الخامس** بشر موسى وإن الرب إلهكم قال: «**إني أقيم لهم نبياً ملكاً من بين اخوتهم أجعل كلامي على فمه وأيما رجل لم يسمع كلماتي التي يؤديها على ذلك الرجل باسمي فأنا انتقم منه**»

Ibn Rabban

فالنبوة الخامسة الدالة عليه المشيرة إلى نبوته وحقه قول موسى عليه السلام **في الفصل الحادي عشر من التوراة من السفر الخامس** وهو الأخير لبني إسرائيل: «إن الرب الهكم يقيم **نبياً** مثلي من بينكم ومن إخوتكم فاسمعوا له.» وقالت التوراة في هذا الفصل بعينه مؤكداً لهذا القول وموضحاً له أنه قال الرب لموسى عليه السلام: «إني مقيم لهم **نبياً** مثلك **من بين إخوتهم وأيما رجل لم يسمع كلماتي التي يؤديها ذلك الرجل باسمي أنا انتقم منه**.»

Ibn Qutayba

ومن أعلامه في ا لتوراة: قال الله سبحانه في التوراة لموسى في السفر الخامس: «**إني أقيم** لبني إسرائيل نبيًّا من إخوتهم مثلك، **وأجعل كلامي على فمه**»

Deuteronomy 33:2f.[30]

al-Māwardī (§ 4)

ومنها **في الفصل العشرين من هذا السفر** «**إن الرب جاء من طور سيناء وأشرق من ساعير واستعلن من جبال فاران** صف على **يمينه ربوات القديسين فمنحهم العز وحببهم إلى الشعوب ودعا لجميع قديسيه بالبركة**»

Ibn Rabban

وقال موسى **في هذا السفر في الفصل العشرين**: **إن الرب جاء من طور** سينين وطلع لنا **من ساعير** وظهر **من جبل فاران** ومعه عن **يمينه ربوات القدّيسين فمنحهم العز وحبّبهم إلى الشعوب ودعا بجميع قدّيسيه بالبركة**»

Ibn Qutayba

ومن أعلامه في التوراة، قال: «**جاء الله من سيناء وأشرق من ساعير واستعلن من جبال فاران**»

Isaiah (§§ 5–11)

In all instances, al-Māwardī uses the same translation tradition that was employed by Ibn Rabban in his *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, as against Ibn Qutayba, whose translations from Isaiah differ significantly from those of Ibn Rabban.[31] Moreover, Ibn Qutayba adduces only some of the passages included by al-Māwardī in his *Aʿlām*. However, minor differences between al-Māwardī and Ibn Rabban in §§ 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, and 11 suggest that al-Māwardī did not use Ibn Rabban's *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* as his immediate *Vorlage*. The same variations can in fact be found in the relevant section of the *Kitāb al-Munqiḏ min al-taqlīd* by the Imāmī scholar Sadīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī al-Ḥimmasī al-Rāzī (d. after 600/1204), who is known to have extracted the entire section of biblical "predictions" of the Prophet Muḥammad from Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *Kitāb Ġurar al-adilla*, which is otherwise lost.

29. In contrast to his *Aʿlām*, al-Māwardī's translation of this passage in his exegetical work, *al-Nukat wa-l-ʿuyūn*, 2/257, agrees verbatim with Ibn Qutayba's rendering.

30. Cf. also the parallel passage in MS Sinai Arab 4 f, f. 278b.

31. Cf. Schmidtke, "Muslim Reception of Biblical Materials," §§ 8–11.

Abū l-Ḥusayn in turn had used Ibn Rabban's *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* as his immediate source, as he states explicitly on several occasions.[32] That al-Ḥimmasī al-Rāzī quotes from Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Ġurar* without modifying the text is confirmed by parallels in the *Kitāb al-Maḥağğa al-bayḍāʾ* of the Yemeni Zaydī scholar ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd al-ʿAnsī (d. 667/1268), who likewise quotes extensively from the relevant chapter of Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Ġurar*.[33] The similarities between al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī and al-Māwardī (indicated by solid lines in the following)—as against Ibn Rabban—suggest that al-Māwardī has also culled the Isaiah passages from Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *Ġurar al-adilla*, a work that was definitely within reach in Baghdad. Being a younger contemporary of Abū l-Ḥusayn, al-Māwardī would thus be the earliest author to quote from the relevant chapter of Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Ġurar*.

Isaiah 60:1–7

al-Māwardī (§ 5)

فمنهم أشعياء بن اموص قال في الفصل الثاني والعشرين «**قومي فأزهري مصباحك**»، **يعني مكة**، «**فقد دنا وقتك، وكرامة الله تعالى طالعة عليك، فقد تجلّى الأرض الظلام، وغطى على الأمم الضباب، والرب يشرق عليك إشراقاً ويُظهِر كرامته عليك، تسير الأمم إلى نورك، والملوك إلى ضوء طلوعك، ارفعي بصرك إلى ما حولك وتأملي، فإنهم يستجمعون عندك ويحجونك، ويأتيك ولدك من بلد بعيد، تسرّين وتبتهجين من أجل أنه يميل إليك ذخائر البحر، ويحجّ إليك عساكر الأمم حتى تعمرك الإبل المؤبّلة وتضيق أرضك عن القطرات التي يجتمع إليك، وتساق إليك كباش مدين ويأتيك أهل سبأ ويتحدثون بنعم الله ويمجدونه وتسير إليك أغنام قيذار**»، يعني غنم العرب لأنهم ولد قاذار ابن إسماعيل، «وترفع إلى مذبحي ما يرضيني، **وأحدث حينئذ لبيت محمدتي حمداً**»

al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī[34]

وفي كتاب إشعيا في الفصل الثاني والعشرين أو السابع والعشرين: «قال الله لها: **قومي وأزهري مصباحك**،» **يعني مكة**، «**فقد دنا وقتك، وكرامة الله طالعة عليك، فقد تجلّى الأرض الظلام، وغطى على الأمم الضباب، فالرب يشرق عليك إشراقاً ويُظهِر كرامته عليك، وتسير الأمم إلى نورك، والملوك إلى ضوء طلوعك، ارفعي بصرك إلى ما حولك وتأملي، فإنهم سيجتمعون عندك ويحجونك، ويأتيك ولدك من بلد بعيد**، وتترنى بناتك على الأرائك والسرر، وحين ترين ذلك **تسرّين وتبتهجين** من أجل أنه يميل إليك **ذخائر** البحر، **ويحجّ إليك عساكر الأمم حتى تعمرك [الإبل] المؤبّلة وتضيق أرضك عن القطرات التي يجتمع إليك، وتساق إليك كباش مدين** وكباش ظفار **ويأتيك أهل سبأ ويتحدثون بنعم الله ويمجدونه وتسير إليك أغنام قيدار** كلها، تخدمك رخالات نباوت **وترفع إلى مذبحي ما يرضيني، وأحدث حينئذ لبيت محمدتي حمداً**»

32. See Adang, "Rare Case."
33. See Schmidtke, "Biblical Predictions among the Zaydīs of Yemen."
34. The passages are taken from Adang's edition of the relevant section in "Rare Case."

Ibn Rabban

وتنبأ في هذا الفصل بما لا يرده إلا الخاسرون ولا يجهله إلا الأجهلون الأعمون فإنه ذكر أيضاً هاجر مخاطباً لها ولبلاد ولدها مكة وقال: «**قومي وازهري مصباحك فقد دنا وقتك وكرامة الله طالعه عليك فقد تخللت الأرض الظلام وغطى على الأمم الضباب. فالرب يشرق عليك إشراقاً وتظهر كرامته عليك. وتسير الأمم إلى نورك والملوك إلى ضوء طلوعك. ارفعي بصرك إلى ما حولك وتأملي. فإنهم سيجتمعون** كلهم إليك **ويحجونك ويأتيك ولدك من بلد بعيد** وتتربى بناتك على الأرائك والسرر. **ويستروح قلبك من أجل أنه يميل إليك البحر وتحج إليك عساكر الأمم حتى تعمرك الأبل المربلة وتضيق أرضك عن القطرات التي تجتمع إليك. ويساق إليك كباش مدين** وكباش أعفا **وتأتيك أهل سبا ويحدثون بنعم الله ويمجدونه وتسير إليك أغنام قيذار** كلها وتخدمك رخلات نباوت **ويرفع إلى مذبحي ما يرضيني وأحدث حينئذ لبيت محمدتي حمداً**»

Isaiah 21:6–10

al-Māwardī (§ 6)

وفي فصل آخر من كلامه «**قال لي الرب: امض فأقم على المنظرة يخبرك بما يرى فرأى الراكبين أحدهما راكب حمار**، يعني عيسى، **والآخر راكب جمل**، يعني محمداً عليه السلام، **فبينا هو كذلك إذ أقبل أحد الراكبين وهو يقول: هوت هوت بابل وتكسّرت آلهتها المنجورة على الأرض. فهذا الذي سمعت [من] الرب إله بني إسرائيل قد أنبأتكم**»

al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī

ثم قال: «**قال لي الرب: امض فأقم الربيئة على المنظرة يخبرك بما يرى**. وكان الذي **رأى الراكبين أحدهما راكب حمار والآخر راكب جمل. فبينا هو كذلك إذ أقبل أحد الراكبين وهو يقول: هوت هوت بابل وتكسّرت آلهتها المنجورة على الأرض. فهذا الذي سمعت [من] الرب إله بني إسرائيل قد أنبأتكم**»

Ibn Rabban

وقال في الفصل العاشر كاشفاً لما اشتبه ومبيناً لما اغتاص من نبواته: هكذا يقول الرب: إنك ستأتي من جهة التيمن من بلد بعيد ومن أرض البادية مسرعاً مقّداً مثل الزوابع والزعازع من الرياح. ولقد رأينا منظراً رائعاً هائلاً ظالماً يظلم ومنتهباً ينهب، فاصعدي يا جبال عيلم وجبال الماهين فقد بطل جميع ما كنت تنافسين وتناقشين عليه، ومن أجل ذلك اعترت ظهري الرعدة ودير بي كما يدار بالمرأة النفساء ولقد ذعرت حتى ما أسمع وذهلت حتى ما أرى وهام قلبي وأذهلتني السمادير وصار ما كنت أحبّه مؤنساً أنيفاً وحشةً عندي وشيئاً هائلاً. فانصبوا يا هؤلاء الموائد وارفعوا عيونكم أيتها الربايا والجواسيس وكلوا واشربوا ولتقم السادة والقادة إلى أترستهم فليدهنوها دهناً لأن الرب **قال لي** هكذا **امض فأقم الربيئة على المنظرة** ليخبر **بما يرى**. فكان الذي **رأى راكبين أحدهما راكب حمار والآخر راكب جمل** وسمع مقالاً كثيراً جمّا وأسر صاحب المنظرة إليّ وقال لي في أذني: أنا الرب القيوم وأنا بالمرصاد والمنظر الأعلى ليلاً ونهاراً. **فبينما** أنا **كذلك إذ أقبل أحد الراكبين وهو يقول هوت هوت بابل وتكسّر جميع آلهتها المنجورة على الأرض. فهذا الذي سمعت من الرب إله إسرائيل** العزيز **قد أنبأتكم**.

Isaiah 35:1f.[35]

al-Māwardī (§ 7)

وفي الفصل السادس عشر «**لتفرح أرض البادية العطشى، ولتبتهج البراري والفلوات، ولتسرّ وتزهو مثل الوعل، فإنها بأحمد محاسن لبنان، ويكمل حُسن الدساكر والرياض وسترون جلال الله تعالى بها**»

35. Minor discrepancies between al-Māwardī's and al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī's rendering of this passage are indicated by dotted lines.

al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī

وفي الفصل السادس عشر من إشعيا: «**لتفرح أرض البادية العطشى، ولتبتهج البراري والفلوات،** ولتستنّ **وتعلو مثل الوعل فإنها** ستعطى **بأحمد محاسن لبنان، وكمثل حُسن الدساكر والرياض وسترون جلال الله وبهاء إلهنا**».

Ibn Rabban

وقال في الفصل السادس عشر مفسراً لما تقدم في النبوات ومبكتاً لأهل المحك والغوايات **لتفرح أهل** البادية **العطشى، ولتبتهج البراري والفلوات**، ولتخرج نوراً كنور الشسلبذ **ولتستر وتزه مثل الوعل لأنها** ستعطى **بأحمد محاسن لبنان وكمثل حسن الدساكر والرياض. وسيرون جلال الله** عز وجل **وبهاء إلهنا**

Isaiah 9:6[36]

al-Māwardī (§ 8)

قال اشعياء: «**سلطانه على كتفه**»

Ibn Rabban

ولد لنا مولود ووهب لنا ابن **سلطانه على كتفه**

Isaiah 40:3–5

al-Māwardī (§ 9)

وفي الفصل التاسع عشر «هتف هاتف في البدو وقال: خلوا الطريق للربّ، سهّلوا السبيل لإلهنا في القفر فتستملئ الأودية مياهاً وتفيض فيضاً، وتنخفض الجبال والروابي انخفاضاً وتصير الآكام دكاكاً والأرض الوعرة مذللة ليناً، وتظهر كرامة الرب ويراها كل أحد»

al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī

وفي الفصل التاسع عشر: «هتف هاتف في البدو وقال: خلوا الطريق للربّ، سهّلوا السبيل لإلهنا في القفر فتستملئ الأودية مياهاً وتفيض فيضاً، وتنخفض الجبال والروابي انخفاضاً وتصير الآكام دكاكاً والأرض الوعرة مذللة ليناً، وتظهر كرامة الرب ويراها كل أحد».

Ibn Rabban

وقال في الفصل التاسع عشر فزاد إبانةً وإيضاحاً «**هتف هاتف في البدو وقال: خلوا الطريق للرب وسهلوا** لإلهنا السبيل **في القفر فستمتلئ الأودية كلها مياهاً وتفيض فيضاً وتنخفض الجبال والروابي انخفاضاً وتصير الآكام دكداكاً والأرض الوعرة مذللةً ملساء وتظهر كرامة الرب ويراه كل أحد.**

Isaiah 42:11–13

al-Māwardī (§ 10)

وفي الفصل العشرين منه وهو مذكور في الثالث وخمسين ومائة من مزامير داوود « لترتاج البوادي وقراها ولتصير أرض قيدار مروجاً، وليسبّح سكّان الكهوف ويهتفوا من قلل الجبال بحمد الرب وليذيعوا تسابيحه، فإن الرب يأتي كالجبّار وكالرجل المتلظّي المتكبّر فهو يزجر ويتجبر ويقتل أعداءه»

al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī

وفي الفصل العشرين من إشعيا وهو مذكور في الثالث والخمسين ومائة من مزامير داود على ما رأيته، وذكر ابن ربن الطبري أنه في الثاني والخمسين: «**لترتاج البوادي وقراها ولتصير أرض قيدار مروجاً، وليسبّح سكّان الكهوف ويهتفوا من قلل الجبال بحمد الرب وليذيعوا تسابيحه، فإن الرب يأتي كالجبّار وكالرجل المتحرّك المتلظّي المتكبّر فهو يزجر ويتجبر ويقتل أعداءه»**

36. This verse is not included in al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī's *Munqiḏ*.

Ibn Rabban

وقال عليه السلام في المزمور المائة والثاني والخمسين: فسمّى البلد والأهل فلم يدع موضع مقال ولا اعتدال. وهو مزمور ينسب إلى اشعيا النبي عليه السلام **لترتاح البوادي وقراها ولتصر أرض قيذار مروجاً وليسبح سكّان الكهوف ويهتفوا من قلل الجبال بحمد الرب ويذيعوا تسابيحه** في الجزائر، لأن **الرب** يجئ **كالجبال وكالرجل** المحرب **المتلظي للتكبُّر فهو يزجر ويتجبر ويقتل أعداءه**

Isaiah 41:17–20

al-Māwardī (§ 11)

وفي الفصل العشرين «إن الضعفاء والمساكين يستسقون ماء ولا ماء لهم، وقد جفّت ألسنتهم من الظماء، وأنا الرب أجيب يومئذٍ دعوتهم ولن أهملهم، بل أفجّر لهم في الجبال الأنهار، وأجري بين القفار العيون وأحدث في البدو آجاماً وأجري في الأرض العطشى ماءاً معيناً وأنبت في القفار والبلاقع الصنوبر والآس والزيتون وأغرس في القاع الصفصف السرو البهية، ليروها جميعاً ثم يتدبروا ويعلموا أن يد الله صنعت ذلك وقدوس إسرائيل ابتدعه»

al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī

وموافق لقوله في الفصل العشرين: «إن الضعفاء والمساكين يستسقون ماء ولا ماء لهم، وقد جفّت ألسنتهم من الظماء، وأنا الرب أجيب يومئذٍ دعوتهم ولن أهملهم، بل أفجّر لهم في الجبال الأنهار، وأجري بين القفار العيون وأحدث في البدو آجاماً وأجري في الأرض العطشى ماءاً معيناً وأنبت في القفار والبلاقع الصنوبر والآس والزيتون وأغرس في القاع الصفصف السرو البهية، ليروها جميعاً ثم يتدبروا ويعلموا أن يد الله صنعت ذلك وقدوس إسرائيل ابتدعه».

Ibn Rabban

وقال في هذا الفصل: **إن** المساكن والضعفاء **يستسقون ماء ولا ماء لهم فقد جفت ألسنتهم من الظماء. وأنا الرب أجيب حينئذ دعوتهم ولن أهملهم بل أفجر لهم في الجبال الأنهار وأجري بين القفار العيون وأحدث في البدو آجاماً وأجري في الأرض العطشى ماءً معيناً وأنبت في القفار البلاقع الصنوبر والآس والزيتون وأغرس في القاع الصفصف السرو البهية ليروها جميعاً** ويعلموا ويتدبروا ثم يفهموا معاً **أن يد الله** فعلت **ذلك وقدوس إسرائيل ابتدعه.**

Ezekiel (§ 16)

Al-Māwardī's single quotation from Ezekiel is also adduced by Ibn Rabban and Ibn Qutayba. Both Ibn Qutayba and al-Māwardī provide an abbreviated version of the otherwise nearly identical translation given by Ibn Rabban (the agreements among the three versions are marked in bold). The differences between al-Māwardī and Ibn Qutayba/Ibn Rabban (indicated by a solid line) suggest, however, that al-Māwardī did not use Ibn Qutayba as his source.

Ezekiel 19:10–14

al-Māwardī (§ 16)

فصل من بشائر حزقيال من أنبياء إسرائيل في كتابه: إن الذي يظهر من البادية فيكون فيه حتف اليهود كالكرمة اخرجت ثمارها وأغصانها عن مياه كثيرة وتفرعت منها اغصان مشرفة على أغصان الأكابر والسادات وبسقت **فلم تثبت تلك الكرمة ان قلعت بالسحطة وضرب بها على الأرض فأحرقت السمائم ثمارها وأتت نار فأكلتها ولذلك غرس غرس في البدو وفي الأرض المهملة المعطلة العطشى وخرج من أغصانه الفاضلة نار فأكلت ثمار تلك حتى لم يبق منها عصا قوية ولا قضيب ينهض بأمر السلطان**

Ibn Rabban	قال في الفصل التاسع أن أمك مغروسة على الماء بدمك فهي كالكرمة التي أخرجت ثمارها وأغصانها من مياه كثيرة وتفرعت منها أغصان كالعصي قوية مشرفة على أغصان الأكابر والسادات وارتفعت وبسقت أفنانهن على غيرهن وحسنت أقدارهن بارتفاعهن والتفاف سعفهن. فلم تلبث تلك الكرمة أن قلعت بالسخطة **ورمي بها على الأرض وأحرقت السمائم ثمارها** وتفرق قواها ويبس عصي عزّها **وأتت** عليها **النار فأكلتها**. **فعند ذلك غرس غرس في البدو وفي الأرض المهملة المعطلة العطشى. وخرجت من أغصانه الفاضلة نار أكلت ثمار تلك حتى لم يوجد فيها عصا قوية** بعدها **ولا قضيب ينهض بأمر السلطان.**
Ibn Qutayba	وفي كتاب حزقيل أنه ذكر معاصي بني إسرائيل وشبّههم بكرمةٍ عداها، فقال: «**لم تلبث تلك الكرمة أن قلعت بالسخطة ورُمِي بها عن الأرض، فأحرقت السمائم ثمارها. فعند ذلك غُرِسَ غرسٌ في البدو وفي الأرض المهملة العطشى فخرجت من أغصانها الفاضلة نارٌ أكلت ثمار تلك حتى لم توجد فيها عصى قوية ولا قضيبٌ**»

Psalms (§§ 22–25)

In all four quotations from the Books of Psalms, al-Māwardī's versions are mostly identical with those adduced by Ibn Qutayba, as against the renderings of Ibn Rabban. In particular, the latter's translation of Ps. 149 differs significantly from Ibn Qutayba's,[37] whereas Ibn Qutayba's rendering of this Psalm agrees verbatim with Ibn al-Layṯ's wording in his *Risāla*. An identical translation is also included in Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī's (d. 573/1177) *Kitāb al-Ḫarāʾiğ wa-l-ğarāʾiḥ*. Whereas Ibn Rabban's and Ibn Qutayba's translations of Ps. 50:2f. agree verbatim, Ibn Qutayba's rendering of Ps. 72:8–12 is an abbreviated version of Ibn Rabban's translation of this passage. The same abbreviated version is cited by al-Māwardī. Moreover, both Ibn Qutayba and al-Māwardī add a spurious version of Ps. 9:20 (§ 25) that has no equivalent in Ibn Rabban's *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*. Divergences between al-Māwardī and Ibn Qutayba are indicated by a solid line in the following.

Psalm 50:2

al-Māwardī (§ 23)	وفيه «إن الله أظهر من صهيون إكليلاً محموداً»
Ibn Rabban	«إن الله أظهر من صهيون إكليلاً محموداً»
Ibn Qutayba	وفي مزمور آخر: «إن الله أظهر من صهيون إكليلًا محمودًا»

37. For a discussion and close comparison of Ibn Qutayba's and Ibn Rabban's translations of Psalm 149, see Peters, "Psalm 149 in Zitaten islamischer Autoren."

Psalm 72:8–12

al-Māwardī (§ 24)

وفي مزمزر آخر منه «**إنه يجوز من بحر إلى البحر ومن لدن الأنهار إلى منقطع الأرض وأن يخرّ أهل الجزائر بين يديه على ركبهم ويلحس أعداؤه التراب تأتيه الملوك بالقرابين وتسجد له وتديّن له الأمم بالطاعة والانقياد لأنه يخلص المضطهد البائس ممن هو أقوى منه وينقذ الضعيف الذي لا ناصر له ويرأف بالضعفاء والمساكين وأنه يعطى من ذهب بلاد سبأ ويصلى عليه في كل وقت ويبارك عليه في كل يوم ويدوم ذكره إلى الأبد**».

Ibn Rabban

أنه يجوز من البحر إلى البحر ومن لدن الأنهار إلى منقطع الأرض وأنه يخرّ أهل الجزائر بين يديه على ركبهم وتلحس أعداءه التراب تأتيه ملوك تارسيس والجزائر **بالقرابين** وتقرّب إليه ملوك سبا وملوك سابا القرابين **وتسجد له** الملوك كلهم **وتدين له الأمم** كلها **بالطاعة والانقياد لأنه يخلص المضطهد البائس ممن هو [أقوى] منه ويتفقد الضعيف الذي لا ناصر له ويرأف بالضعفاء والمساكين** وينجي أنفسهم من الضرّ والضيم وتعزّ عليه دماءهم **وأنه** يبقى **ويعطى من ذهب بلاد سبا ويصلى عليه في كل وقت ويبارك عليه كل يوم** مثل الزروع الكثيرة على وجه الأرض ويطلع ثماره على رؤوس الجبال كالتي تطلع من لبنان وينبت في مدينته مثل عشب الأرض **ويدوم ذكره إلى الأبد** وإن اسمه لموجود قبل الشمس فالأمم كلهم يتبركون به وكلهم يحمدونه

Ibn Qutayba

وفي مزمور آخر من صفته: «**إنه يجوز من البحر إلى البحر ومن لدن الأنهار إلى منقطع الأرض، وإنه تخرّ أهل الجزائر بين يديه على ركبهم ويلحس أعداؤه التراب، تأتيه الملوك بالقرابين وتسجد له وتدين له الملوك بالطاعة والانقياد، لأنه يخلّص المضطهد البائس ممن هو أقوى منه وينقذ الضعيف الذي لا ناصر له ويرأف بالضعفاء والمساكين وإنه يعطى من ذهب بلاد سبأ ويصلى عليه في كل وقت ويبارك في كل يوم ويدوم ذكره إلى الأبد**

Psalm 149

al-Māwardī (§ 22)

«**فسحان الذي هياكله الصالحون يفرح إسرائيل بخالقه وبنو صهيون من أجل أن الله اصطفى له أمة وأعطاه النصر وشدد الصالحين منه بالكرامة ليسجونه على مضاجعهم فيكبّرون الله بأصوات مرتفعة بأيديهم سيوف ذوات شفرتين لينتقموا من الأمم الذين لا يعبدونه يوثقون ملوكهم بالقيود وأشرافهم بالأغلال**»

Ibn Rabban

من أجل أن الرب ارتاح لشعبه وتطوّل على المساكين بالخلاص فليتعزز الأبرار بالكرامة ويسبِّحونه على مضاجعهم ويكرموا الله بحناجرهم لأن في أيديهم السيف ذا الشفرتين للانتقام من الشعوب وتوبيخ الأمم وإثقال ملوكهم بالقيود وعِلْيتهم ومكرمهم بالسلاسل ليحملهم على القدر المكتوب المبرم لجميع أبراره

Ibn Qutayba

وفي الزبور: «سبّحوا الربّ تسبيحًا حديثًا، **سبّحوا الذي هيكله الصالحون ليفرح إسرائيل بخالقه وبيوت صهيون من أجل أن الله اصطفى له أمته وأعطاه النصر وشدّد الصالحين منهم بالكرامة، يسبّحونه على مضاجعهم ويكبِّرون الله بأصواتٍ مرتفعةٍ، بأيديهم سيوف ذوات شفرتين لينتقموا لله من الأمم الذين لا يعبدونه، يوثقون ملوكهم بالقيود وأشرافهم بالأغلال**»

Ibn al-Layṯ

صدّقوا وسبحوا الرب تسبيحاً حديثاً، سبحوا الذي هيكله الصالحون ليفرح إسرائيل بخالقه وبيوت صهيون من أجل أن الله اصطفى له أمته وأعطاه النصر، وسدّد الصالحين منهم بالكرامة يسبحونه على مضاجعهم ويكبِّرون الله بأصوات عالية، بأيديهم سيوف ذات شفرتين لينتقم لله من الأمم الذين لا يعبدونه ثم يقيد ملوكهم بالقيود وأشرافهم بالأغلال

"Psalm 9:20"

al-Māwardī (§ 25)	وفي مزمور آخر منه قال داوود «**اللهم ابعث جاعل السنة حتى يعلم الناس أنه بشر**»
Ibn Qutayba	وفي موضع آخر من الزبور قال داود: «**اللهم ابعث جاعل السنة حتى يَعلم الناس أنه بشر**»

Daniel (§§ 19–20)

Dan. 7:13–18 (§ 19) was not adduced by either Ibn Rabban or Ibn Qutayba. Al-Māwardī's rendering of this passage reflects the Syriac translation tradition that may have originated with Pethion b. Ayyūb al-Saḥḥār (fl. mid-ninth century CE) and whose earliest witness dates from the twelfth century CE (MS Sinai Arab 539).[38] A similar though again not identical rendering of the passage is included in ʿAmmār al-Baṣrī's (active during the third/ninth century) *Kitāb al-Burhān*. The Syriac translation tradition, as Oscar Löfgren has shown, differs significantly from the Greek translation tradition that is included in the Paris and London Polyglots.[39] Similarities between al-Māwardī and MS Sinai Arab 539 are rendered in bold; divergences are underlined (dotted line). Dan. 2:31–45 (§ 20) is included in Ibn Rabban's *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*. Major disagreements between his and al-Māwardī's rendering of the verse can be observed and a common translation tradition can be excluded, although both renderings clearly reflect the Syriac translation tradition. Elements in al-Māwardī's translation that agree verbatim with Ibn Rabban's are given in bold.

Daniel 7:13–18

al-Māwardī (§ 19)	فصل من بشائر دانيال من أنبياء بني إسرائيل في كتابه «**رأيت على سحاب السماء كهيئة إنسان جاء فانتهى إلى عتيق الأيام وقدّموه بين يديه فخير له الملك والسلطان والكرامة أن يعبد له جميع** الشعوب والأمم **واللغات** سلطانه **دائم إلى الأبد له يتعبد كل سلطان يمضي ألفان وثلثمائة ينقضي عقاب الذنوب يقوم ملك شنيع الوجه في سلطانه عزيز القوة لا تكون عزته تلك بقوة نفسه وينجح فيما يريد ويجور في شعب الاطهار ويملك الاعزاء ويرمى بالحق الذي لم يزل قبل العالمين**»

38. For a description of the Greek, Coptic-Aramaic, and Syriac translation traditions of the Book of Daniel, see Löfgren, *Studien zu den arabischen Danielübersetzungen*, 26ff. An analysis of the testimonies of the Syriac group is the focus of Lindgren Hjälm, *Christian Arabic Versions of Daniel.* See also Lindgren and Vollandt, "Early Copy of the Pentateuch." On MS Sinai Arab 539, cf. also Bassal, "Early Copy of a Christian Arabic Pentateuch," 13–24, which seems to be heavily based on the findings of Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*.

39. I have consulted the *London Polyglot* for the present study. Gehman, "'Polyglot' Arabic Text of Daniel," has shown that the Arabic Polyglot version of Daniel is a representative of the Origenian Constantinopolitan text (the OrC group).

MS Sinai Ar. 539

ورايت على سحاب السماء مثل بن الانسان اتي وبلغ الى عتيق الايام وقدامه اقترب وله اعطا الملك والسلطان والكرامة ليعبدوه الشعوب والامم وكل الالسن لان سلطانه الى الابد وملكه لايتغير

ʿAmmār al-Baṣrī, 77

رأيت على سحاب السماء كالانسان أتى فبلغ الى عتيق الايام فقرّبه بين يديه واعطاه الملك والسلطان والقدرة لتعبده الشعوب والالسن وسلطانه سلطان غير بائد ولا منتقض

London Polyglot, 109

وارا مع سحب السماء مثل ابن انسان كان اتيا وبلغ الى العتيق الايام وقرب امامه واعطيت له الرياسة والكرامة والمملكة وجميع الشعوب والقبائل والالسن يعبدون له وسلطانه سلطان ابدي الذي لا يزول ومملكته لا تفسد

Daniel 2:31–45[40]

al-Māwardī (§ 20)

ومن بشائره في رؤية بختنصر وهو أن بختنصر رأى في السنة الثانية من ملكه رؤيا ارتاع ونسيها فأحضر من في ممالكه من الكهنة والمنجمين وكان قد ملك الأقاليم السبعة وسامر عن الرؤيا فقالوا له أذكرها لنا حتى نذكر تأويلها فأمر بقتلهم إن لم يذكروها وتأويلها وكان دانيال النبي قد سباه من اليهود واستمهل في أمرهم ورغب إلى الله تعالى في اطلاعه على الرؤيا وتأويلها فاطلعه الله تعالى على ذلك فأتى بختنصر فقال: أيها الملك إنك كلفت هؤلاء ما لا يعلمه إلا الله وقد رغبت إليه فاطلعني عليه ورئياك التي رأيتها ان قبلك جاش واختلج بما يحدث بعدك في آخر الزمان فعرّفك مبدئ السرائر ما يكون إنك، **ايها الملك، رأيت صنماً عظيماً** قائماً قبالتك ما منظر رائع **رأسه من الذهب الإبريز** وصدره وذراعاه **من فضة وفخذاه من نحاس وصاقاه من حديد وبعض رجليه من حديد وبعض رجليه من خزف. ورأيت حجراً انقطع من** جبل عظيم بغير يد إنسان فضرب ذلك الصنم فهشمه حتى صار كالرماد ألوث به ريح عاصف **امتلأت منه الأرض كلها. فهذه الرؤيا** وأنا معبرها أما الصنم فهم الملوك **فأنت الرأس الذهب ويقوم من بعدك** من هو **دونك** أدنى منك فأما **المملكة الثالثة التي** هي مثل النحاس **فتسلط على الأرض** وأما **المملكة الرابعة** التي هي مثل الحديد فتكون عزيزة **كما أن الحديد** يهشم الجميع وكذلك هذه تسحق وتغلب الكل **وأما الأرجل** والأصابع التي رأيت إن منها من خزف الفخار ومنها من حديد فإن المملكة تكون مختلفة متفرقة تكون منها أصل من جوهر الحديد وخلط من خزف الفخار فيكون بعض المملكة قوياً وبعضها كسيراً لا يأتلف بعضها ببعض كما لا يختلط الحديد بالخزف فأما الحجر الواقع من الجبل فإن إله السماء يرسل مملكة عبدة لأنه لم يقطع الحجر يد الإنسان في زمان هذه الممالك يهلكها ويبقى إلى آخر الدهر ولا يكون لأمة أخرى مملكة ولا سلطان إلا دقته كما يدق الحجر الحديد والنحاس والفضة والذهب وعرّفك الله العظيم ما يكون بعدك آخر الأيام وهذه رؤياك وتأويلها فخار بختنصر ساجداً على وجهه لدانيال وقال: إن إلهكم هذا اله الاله ورب الأملاك حقاً وهو مبدئ السرائر وجعل دانيال رأساً موفراً على أرض بابل ومعلوم أنه لم يرسل الله سلطاناً أزال به الممالك وملأ به الأرض ودام له الأمر إلا نبوة محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم

40. See the entirely different translation in the *London Polyglot*, 185–187.

Ibn Rabban

قال لبخت نصر حين سأله عن تعبير رؤيا كان رآها من غير أن يقصها عليه: فقال دانيال بروح القدس نعم رأيتَ أيها الملك صنماً عظيماً بارع الجمال جداً وهو قائم بين يديك رأسه من الذهب الإبريز وساعده من الفضة وبطنه وفخذه من النحاس وساقاه حديد وبعض رجليه حديد وبعضها خزف. ورأيتَ حجراً انقطع من غير قاطع وصك رجلي ذلك الصنم ودقهما دقاً شديداً فتفتت الصنم كله حديده ونحاسه وفضته وذهبه وصارت رفاتاً مثل دقاق الجل في البيادر. وعصفت بها الرياح فلم ير له أثر. وصار ذلك الحجر الذي صك ذلك الصنم جبلاً عالياً امتلأت منه الأرض كلها. فهذه رؤياك أيها الملك. وأنت الرأس الذي رأيتَه من الذهب. وتقوم بعدك مملكة أخرى دونك، والمملكة الثالثة التي تشبه النحاس تتسلط على الأرض كلها، والمملكة الرابعة تكون قوية مثل الحديد وكما أن الحديد يدقّ كل شيء كذلك هي تسحق الكل. فأما الرجل التي كان بعضها من حديد وبعضها من خزف فإن بعض المملكة يكون عزيزاً وبعضها ذليلاً وتكون كلمة المملكة متشتتة. ويقيم إله السماء في تلك الأيام ملكاً دائماً أبدياً لا يتغير ولا يزول ولا يذر لغيره من الأمم ملكاً ولا سلطاناً بل يدقّ ويبيد المملكات كلها ويقوم هو إلى دهر الداهرين. فهذا تعبير الحجر الذي رأيتَ أنه انقطع من جبل بلا قاطع حتى دقّ الحديد والنحاس والخزف. فإن الله الكبير أعلمك ما يكون في آخر الزمان.

Minor Prophets (§§ 12–15, 17f.)

Al-Māwardī's quotations from Joel (§ 12), Obadiah (§ 13), Micah (§ 14), and Zechariah (§ 18) have no equivalent in either Ibn Rabban or Ibn Qutayba (see below, Appendix). By contrast, Hab. 3:3–13 (§ 15) is adduced by both Ibn Rabban and Ibn Qutayba, with considerable differences between their versions. Al-Māwardī's translation of this passage is closer to Ibn Rabban's, despite some minor discrepancies (underlined in the following). Zeph. 3:8–10 (§ 17) is included in Ibn Rabban's *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* but not in Ibn Qutayba's *Aʿlām*. Al-Māwardī's translation of this passage appears to be an abbreviated version of Ibn Rabban's rendering. Again, differences between the two texts are underlined.

Habakkuk 3:3–13

al-Māwardī (§ 15)

فصل من بشائر حبقوق من انبياء بني إسرائيل في كتابه: «**جاء الله من طور سيناء واستعلن القدوس من جبال فاران لو انكشفت السماء من بهاء محمد وانخسفت من شعاع المحمود وامتلأت الأرض من محامده شعاع منظره مثل النور يهاء النور يحفظ بيده وبعزه تسير المنايا أمامه وتصحب سباع الطير أجناده قام فمسح الأرض وتأمل الأمم ويحثّ عنها فتضعضعت الجبال القديمة واتضعت الروابى الدهرية وتزعزع ستور أرض مدين ولقد حاز المساعى القديمة قطع الرأس من بيت الأشر ودمغ رؤس سلاطينه بغضبه**»

Ibn Rabban

إن **الله جاء من التيمن والقدوس من جبل فاران. لقد انكسفت السماء من بهاء محمد وامتلأت الأرض من حمده. يكون** شعاع منظره مثل النور ويحوط بلده بعزه. تسير المنايا أمامه وتصحب سباع الطير أجناده. قام فمسح الأرض **ثم تأمل الأمم وبحث عنها. فتضعضعت الجبال القديمة واتضعت الروابي الدهرية. وتزعزعت ستور أهل مدين ولقد حاز المساعي القديمة** وغضب الرب على الأنهار. فرجزك في الأنهار واحتدام صولتك في البحار. ركبت الخيول وعلوت مراكب الإنقاذ والغوث. وسترع في قسيك إغراقاً وترعاً. وترتوي السهام بأمرك يا محمد ارتواءً. وتحرث الأرض بالأنهار. ولقد رأتك الجبال فارتاعت وانحرف عنك شؤبوب السيل ونعرت المهاوي نعيراً ورعباً. ورفعت أيديها وجلاً وخوفاً وتوقفت الشمس والقمر عن مجراهما وسارت العساكر في بريق سهامك ولمعان نيازكك، تدوخ الأرض غضباً وتدوس الأمم رجزاً، لأنك ظهرت لخلاص أمتك وإنقاذ تراث آباءك

Ibn Qutayba

قال حبقوق: «جاء الله من التيمن والقديس من جبال فاران، وامتلأت الأرض من تحميد أحمد وتقديسه، وملك الأرض بيمينه ورقاب الأمم».

وقال أيضًا: «تضيء لنوره الأرض وتُحْمَل خيلُه في البحر»، وزادني بعض أهل الكتاب أنه قيل في كلام حبقوق: «وسترع في قسيك إغراقًا وترتوي السهام بأمرك يا محمد ارتواءً»، وهذا إفصاح باسمه وصفاته، فإن ادَّعوا أنه غير نبيّنا وليس ذلك ينكر من جحدهم وتحريفهم، فمَن أحمد الذي «امتلأت الأرض من تحميده» والذي «جاء من جبال فاران» «فملك الأرض ورقاب الأمم»؟

Zephaniah 3:8–10

al-Māwardī (§ 17)

فصل من بشائر صفنيا من أنبياء إسرائيل في كتابه «**أيها الناس، رجوا اليوم الذي أقوم فيه للشهادة فقد حان أن أظهر حكمي الأمم ورجع لأصب عليهم سخطي ونكيري، هناك أجدد للأمم اللغة المختارة ليرفعوا اسم الرب جميعاً وليعبدوه في رقبة واحدة معاً وليأتوا بالذبائح من معابر الأنهار كوش**»

Ibn Rabban

قال يقول الرب: **أيها الناس ترجوا اليوم الذي أقوم فيه للشهادة. فقد حان أن أظهر حكمي** بحشر **الأمم** كلها وجميع الملوك **لاصبّ عليهم** رجزي وأليم سخطي. فستحترق الأرض كلها احتراقاً **بسخطي ونكيري. هنالك أجدد للأمم اللغة المختارة ليذوقوا اسم الرب جميعاً ويعبدوه في ربقة واحدة معاً. ويأتوني بالذبائح** في تلك الأيام من **معابر أنهار كوش**.

***

Appendix

In the following, the complete text of chapter 15 of al-Māwardī's *Aʿlām al-nubuwwa* will be given. Rather than being a critical edition, it is based on the earlier publications of al-Māwardī's *Aʿlām*.[41] A number of emendations could be made on the basis of a comparison of the biblical passages with the respective parallel translation traditions.

41. I have consulted the 1901, 1911, 1971, 1973, 1987 (Maḥmūd), 1987 (al-Baġdādī), 1989, and 1994 editions of the *Aʿlām*, as well as Schreiner's "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bibel."

الباب الخامس عشر في بشائر الأنبياء عليهم السلام في نبوته صلى الله عليه وسلم

إن لله تعالى عوناً على أوامره وإغناء عن نواهيه فكان أنبياء الله تعالى معانين على تأسيس النبوة بما تقدمه من بشائرهم وتبديه من أعلامها وشعائرها ليكون السابق مبشراً ونذيراً واللاحق مصدقاً وظهيراً فتدوم بهم طاعة الخلق وينتظم بهم استمرار الحق. وقد تقدمت بشائر من ساف من الأنبياء بنبوة محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم مما هو حجة على أممهم ومعجزة تدل على صدقه عند غيرهم بما أطلعه الله تعالى على غيبه ليكون عوناً للرسول وحثاً على القبول.

1§ فمن ذلك بشائر موسى عليه السلام في التوراة، أولها في الفصل التاسع من السفر الأول «لما هربت هاجر من سارة ترآءى لها ملك وقال: يا هاجر أمة سارة ارجعي إلى سيدتك فاخضعي لها فان الله سيكثر زرعك وذريتك حتى لا يحصوا كثرةً، وها أنت تحبلين وتلدين ابنًا وتسميه إسماعيل، لأن الله قد سمع خشوعك وهو يكون عير الناس وتكون يده فوق الجميع ويد الجميع مبسوطة إليه بالخضوع». وهذا لم يكن في ولد إسماعيل إلا برسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله لأنهم كانوا قبله مقهورين فصاروا به قاهرين.

2§ ومنها قوله في هذا السفر لإبراهيم حين دعاه في إسماعيل «وباركت عليه وكثرته وعظمته جدًّا جدًّا وسيلد اثنى عشر عظيمًا وأجعله لأمة عظيمة». وليس في ولد إسماعيل من جعله لأمة عظيمة غير محمد صلى الله عليه وآله.

3§ ومنها في الفصل الحادي عشر من السفر الخامس بشر موسى وإن الرب إلهكم قال: «إني أقيم لهم نبياً ملكاً من بين اخوتهم أجعل كلامي على فمه وأيما رجل لم يسمع كلماتي التي يؤديها على ذلك الرجل باسمي فأنا انتقم منه».

معلوم أن أخا بني إسرائيل هو بنو إسماعيل وليس منهم من ظهر كلام الله على فمه غير محمد صلى الله عليه وآله.

4§ ومنها في الفصل العشرين من هذا السفر «إن الرب جاء من طور سيناء وأشرق من ساعير واستعلن من جبال فاران صف على يمينه ربوات القديسين فمنحهم العز وحببهم إلى الشعوب ودعا لجميع قديسيه بالبركة». فجئ الله من طور سيناء هو إنزاله التوراة على موسى وإشراقه من ساعير إنزاله الإنجيل على عيسى لأنه كان يسكن في ساعير أرض الخليل في قرية ناصرة واستعلاؤه من جبال فاران إنزاله القرآن على محمد صلى الله عليه وفاران هي جبال المكة في قول الجميع فإن ناكروا كان دفعاً لما في التوراة لأنه لم يسقل الدين استعلائه فيها فاندفع الإنكار بالعيان.

فصل من البشائر كان بين موسى وعيسى من الأنبياء الذين أوتوا الكتب باتفاق أهل الكتابين عليهم ستة عشر نبياً ظهرت كتبهم في بني إسرائيل فبشر كثير منهم بنبوة محمد صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم

5§ فمنهم أشعياء بن اموص قال في الفصل الثاني والعشرين « قومي فأزهري مصباحك»، يعني مكة، «فقد دنا وقتك، وكرامة الله تعالى طالعة عليك، فقد تجلّل الأرض الظلام، وغطى على الأمم الضباب، والرب يشرق عليك إشراقاً ويُظهِر كرامته عليك، تسير الأمم إلى نورك، والملوك إلى ضوء طلوعك، ارفعي بصرك إلى ما حولك وتأملي، فإنهم يستجمعون عندك ويحجونك، ويأتيك ولدك من بلد بعيد، تسرّين وتبتهجين من أجل أنه يميل إليك ذخائر البحر، ويحجّ إليك عساكر الأمم حتى تعمرك الإبل المؤبّلة وتضيق أرضك عن القطرات التي يجتمع إليك، وتساق إليك كباش مدين ويأتيك أهل سبأ ويتحدثون بنعم الله ويمجدونه وتسير إليك أغنام قيذار»، يعني غنم العرب لأنهم ولد قاذار ابن إسماعيل، «وترفع إلى مذبحي ما يرضيني، وأحدث حينئذ لبيت محمدتي حمداً». هذه الصفات كلها موجودة بمكة فكان ما ادعى إليها هو الحق ومن قام بها هو الحق.

6§ وفي فصل آخر من كلامه «قال لي الرب: امض فأقم على المنظرة يخبرك بما يرى فرأى الراكبين أحدهما راكب حمار، يعني عيسى، والآخر راكب جمل، يعني محمداً عليه السلام، فبينا هو كذلك إذ أقبل أحد الراكبين وهو يقول: هوت هوت بابل وتكسّرت آلهتها المنجورة على الأرض. فهذا الذي سمعت [من] الرب إله بني إسرائيل قد أنبأتكم».

7§ وفي الفصل السادس عشر «تفرح أرض البادية العطشى ولتبتهج البرارى والفلوات ولتخرج نور كنور الشسلبذ ولتزه لأنها تستطع بأحمد محاسن لبنان ما أحسن الدساكر والرياض وسترون جلال الله وبهاء إلهنا».

8§ قال اشعياء «سلطانه على كتفه» يريد علامة نبوته على كتفه. وهذه صفة محمد صلى الله عليه وآله وبادية الحجاز.

9§ وفي الفصل السابع عشر «هتف هاتف في البدو وقال: خلوا الطريق للربّ، سهّلوا السبيل لإلهنا في القفر فتستملئ الأودية مياهاً وتفيض فيضاً، وتنخفض الجبال والروابي انخفاضاً وتصير الآكام دكاكاً والأرض الوعرة مذللة ليناً، وتظهر كرامة الرب ويراها كل أحد».

10§ وفي الفصل العشرين منه وهو مذكور في الثالث وخمسين ومائة من مزامير داوود « لترتاح البوادي وقراها ولتصير أرض قيدار مروجاً، وليسبّح سكّان الكهوف ويهتفوا من قلل الجبال بحمد الرب وليذيعوا تسابيحه، فإن الرب يأتي كالجبّار وكالرجل المتحرّك المتلظّي المتكبّر فهو يزجر ويتجبر ويقتل أعداءه» وأرض قيذار هي أرض العرب لأنهم ولد قيذار والمروج ما صار حول مكة من النخل والشجر والعيون.

§**11** وفي الفصل العشرين «إن الضعفاء والمساكين يستسقون ماء ولا ماء لهم، وقد جفّت ألسنتهم من الظماء، وأنا الرب أجيب يومئذٍ دعوتهم ولن أهملهم، بل أفجّر لهم في الجبال الأنهار، وأجري بين القفار العيون وأحدث في البدو آجاماً وأجري في الأرض العطشى ماءاً معيناً وأنبت في القفار والبلاقع الصنوبر والآس والزيتون وأغرس في القاع الصفصف السرو البهية، ليروها جميعاً ثم يتدبروا ويعلموا أن يد الله صنعت ذلك وقدوس إسرائيل ابتدعه». فهذه صفات بلاد العرب فيها احدث الله تعالى فيها بإسلامهم والله أعلم.

فصل في كتاب يؤال بن بوثال

§**12** ومن بشائر يؤال بن بوثال من أنبياء بني إسرائيل «مثل الصبح المتسلط على الجبال شعب عظيم عزيز لم يكن مثله إلى أبد الأبد أمامه نار ناجح وخلفه لهيب تلتهب الأرض بين يديه فردوس عدن فإذا جاز فيها غيرها تركها خاوية برؤية كرؤية الأخيال برحالته سراع مثل الفرسان أصواتهم كصوت لهب النار الذي يحرق الهشيم رجفت الأرض امامهم وتزعزعت السماء وأظلمت الشمس وغاب نور النجوم والرب أسمع صوتاً بين يدي أجناده لأن عسكره كثير جداً وعمل قوله عزيز لأن ذور الرب عظيم مرهوب جداً».

وهذا نعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله.

فصل من بشائر عوديا من أنبياء بني إسرائيل

§**13** وفي كتابه: قد سمعنا خبراً من قبل الرب وأرسل رسولاً إلى الشعوب قم فنقوم إليه بالحرب ايها الساكن في صحر الكهف ومحله في الموضع الأعلى لأن يوم الرب من جميع الشعوب كما صنعت كذلك يصنع بك، وهذا مرموز في نبوته.

فصل من بشائر ميخا من أنبياء بني إسرائل

§**14** في كتابه فأما الآن فيسلمهم إلى الوقت الذي تلد فيه الوالدة ويقوم فرعاهم بعين الرب وبكرامة اسم الله تعالى ربه ويقبلون بهم إلى من سيعظم سلطانه إلى أقطار الأرض ويكون على عهدة الإسلام.

فصل من بشائر حبقوق من انبياء بني إسرائيل

§**15** في كتابه: «جاء الله من طور سيناء واستعلن القدوس من جبال فاران لو انكشفت السماء من بهاء محمد وانخسفت من شعاع المحمود وامتلأت الأرض من محامده شعاع منظره مثل النور بهاء النور يحفظ بيده وبعزه تسير المنايا أمامه وتصحب سباع الطير أجناده قام فمسح الأرض وتأمل الأمم ويحثّ عنها فتضعضعت الجبال القديمة واتضعت الروابي الدهرية وتزعزع ستور أرض مدين ولقد حاز المساعى القديمة قطع الرأس من بيت الأشر ودمغ رؤس سلاطينه بغضبه». ومعلوم أن محمداً ومحموداً صريح وهما يتوجهان إلى من انطلق عليه الحمد وهو بالسريانية مشيخا أي محمد ومحمود ولهذا إذا أراد السرياني أن يحمد الله تعالى قال شوبحا لالاها».

فصل من بشائر حزقيال من أنبياء إسرائيل

§**16** في كتابه: إن الذي يظهر من البادية فيكون فيه حتف اليهود كالكرمة اخرجت ثمارها وأغصانها عن مياه كثيرة وتفرعت منها اغصان مشرفة على أغصان الأكابر والسادات وبسقت فلم تثبت تلك الكرمة ان قلعت بالسحطة وضرب بها على الأرض فأحرقت السمائم ثمارها وأتت نار فأكلتها ولذلك غرس غرس في البدو وفي الأرض المهملة المعطلة العطشى وخرج من أغصانه الفاضلة نار فأكلت ثمار تلك حتى لم يبق منها عصا قوية ولا قضيب ينهض بأمر السلطان.

فصل من بشائر صفنيا من أنبياء إسرائيل

§**17** في كتابه «أيها الناس، رجوا اليوم الذي أقوم فيه للشهادة فقد حان أن أظهر حكمي الأمم ورجع لأصب عليهم سخطي ونكيري، هناك أجدد للأمم اللغة المختارة ليرفعوا اسم الرب جميعاً وليعبدوه في رقبة واحدة معاً وليأتوا بالذبائح من معابر الأنهار كوش». معلوم أن اللغة العربية هي المختارة لأنها قد طبقت الأرض وانتقلت أكثر اللغات إليها حتى صار ما عداها ناكراً.

فصل من بشائر زكرياء بن يوحنا من أنبياء بني إسرائيل

18§ في كتابه: «رجع الملك الذي ينطق على لساني وأيقظني كالرجل يستيقظ من نومه وقال لي ما الذي رأيت فقلت: رأيت منارةً من ذهب وكفة على رأسها ورأيت على الكفة سبعة سرج سراج منها سبعة أفواة وفوق الكفة شجرتا زيتون إحداهما عن يمين الكفة والأخرى عن يسارها. فقلت للملك الذي على لساني ما هذا يا سيدي فردّ عليّ وقال لي: تعلم ما هذه؟ فقلت ما أعلم. فقال لي: هذا قول رب في زربابال»، يعني محمداً، «وهو يدعو باسمي وأنا استجيب له للنصح والتطهير وأصرف عن الأرض أنبياء الكذبة والأرواح النجسة لا بقوة ولا بعز ولكن بروحي يقول الرب القوي»، ويعني بشجري الزيتون الدين والملك وزربابال هو محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم.

فصل من بشائر دانيال من أنبياء بني إسرائيل

19§ في كتابه «رأيت على سحاب السماء كهيئة إنسان جاء فانتهى إلى عتيق الأيام وقدّموه بين يديه فخير له الملك والسلطان والكرامة أن يعبد له جميع الشعوب والأمم واللغات سلطانه دائم إلى الأبد له يتعبد كل سلطان يمضى ألفان وثلثمائة ينقضى عقاب الذنوب يقوم ملك شنيع الوجه في سلطانه عزيز القوة لا تكون عزته تلك بقوة نفسه وينجح فيما يريد ويجور في شعب الاطهار ويملك الاعزاء ويرمى بالحق الذي لم يزل قبل العالمين». وفي هذا دليل على أمرين أحدهما صدق الخبر لوجوده على حقه والثاني صحة نبوته لظهور الخبر في صفته.

فصل

20§ ومن بشائره في رؤية بختنصر وهو أن بختنصر رأى في السنة الثانية من ملكه رؤيا ارتاع ونسيها فأحضر من في ممالكه من الكهنة والمنجمين وكان قد ملك الأقاليم السبعة وسامر عن الرؤيا فقالوا له أذكرها لنا حتى نذكر تأويلها فأمر بقتلهم إن لم يذكروها وتأويلها وكان دانيال النبي قد سباه من اليهود واستمهل في أمرهم ورغب إلى الله تعالى في اطلاعه على الرؤيا وتأويلها فاطلعه الله تعالى على ذلك فأتى بختنصر فقال: أيها الملك إنك كلفت هؤلاء ما لا يعلمه إلا الله وقد رغبت إليه فاطلعني عليه ورئياك التي رأيتها ان قبلك جاش واختلج بما يحدث بعدك في آخر الزمان فعرّفك مبدئ السرائر ما يكون إنك، ايها الملك، رأيت صنماً عظيماً قائماً قبالتك ما منظر رائع رأسه من الذهب الإبريز وصدره وذراعاه من فضة وفخذاه من نحاس وصاقاه من حديد وبعض رجليه من حديد وبعض رجليه من خرف. ورأيت حجراً انقطع من جبل عظيم بغير يد إنسان فضرب ذلك الصنم فهشمه حتى صار كالرماد ألوث به ريح عاصف امتلأت منه الأرض كلها. فهذه الرؤيا وأنا معبرها أما الصنم فهم الملوك فأنت الرأس الذهب ويقوم من بعدك من هو دونك أدنى منك فأما المملكة الثالثة التي هي مثل النحاس فتسلط على الأرض وأما المملكة الرابعة التي هي مثل الحديد فتكون عزيزة كما أن الحديد يهشم الجميع وكذلك هذه تسحق وتغلب الكل وأما الأرجل والأصابع التي رأيت إن منها من خزف الفخار ومنها من حديد فإن المملكة تكون مختلفة متفرقة تكون منها أصل من جوهر الحديد وخلط من خزف الفخار فيكون بعض المملكة قوياً وبعضها كسيراً لا يأتلف بعضها ببعض كما لا يختلط الحديد بالخزف فأما الحجر الواقع من الجبل فإن إله السماء يرسل مملكة عبدة لأنه لم يقطع الحجر يد الإنسان في زمان هذه الممالك يهلكها ويبقى إلى آخر الدهر ولا يكون لأمة أخرى مملكة ولا سلطان إلا دقته كما يدق الحجر الحديد والنحاس والفضة والذهب وعرّفك الله العظيم ما يكون بعدك آخر الأيام وهذه رؤياك وتأويلها فخار بختنصر ساجداً على وجهه لدانيال وقال: إن إلهكم هذا اله الاله ورب الأملاك حقاً وهو مبدئ السرائر وجعل دانيال رأساً موفراً على أرض بابل ومعلوم أنه لم يرسل الله سلطاناً أزال به الممالك وملأ به الأرض ودام له الأمر إلا نبوة محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم.

فصل من بشائر ارميا بن برخيا من أنبياء بني إسرائيل

21§ في أيام بختنصر: لما قتل أهل الرس نبيهم قال ابن عباس: أمر الله تعالى أن يأمر بختنصر أن يغزو العرب الذين لا أغلاق لبيوتهم فيقتلهم بما صنعوا بنبيهم، فأمره بذلك فدخل بختنصر بلاد العرب فقتل وسبى حتى انتهى إلى تهامة فأتى بمعد بن عدنان فأمر بقتله فقال له النبي: لا تفعل فإن في صلب هذا نبياً يبعث في آخر الزمان يختم الله به الأنبياء، فخلى سبيله وحمله معه حتى أتى حصوناً باليمن فهدمها وقتل أهلها وزوج معداً بأجمل امرأة منهم في زمانها وخلفها بتهامة حتى نسل بها قال ابن عباس: وفي ذلك نزل قوله تعالى ﴿وَكَمْ قَصَمْنا من قَرْيَةٍ كانَتْ ظالِمَةً وأنشأنا بَعدَها قوماً آخرين﴾ [Q 21:11].

فصل من بشائر داوود في الزبور

22§ «فسجان الذي هياكله الصالحون يفرح إسرائيل بخالقه وبنو صهيون من أجل أن الله اصطفى له أمة وأعطاه النصر وشدد الصالحين منه بالكرامة ليسجونه على مضاجعهم فيكبّرون الله بأصوات مرتفعة بأيديهم سيوف ذوات شفرتين لينتقموا من الأمم الذين لا يعبدونه يوثقون ملوكهم بالقيود وأشرافهم بالأغلال». ومعلوم أن سيوف العرب هي ذوات الشفرتين ومحمد عليه السلام هو المنتقم بها من الأمم.

23§ وفيه »إن الله أظهر من صهيون إكليلاً محموداً». وصهيون العرب الإكليل النبوة ومحمود هو محمد.

24§ وفي مزمزر آخر منه «إنه يجوز من بحر إلى البحر ومن لدن الأنهار إلى منقطع الأرض وأن يخرّ أهل الجزائر بين يديه على ركبهم ويلحس أعداؤه التراب تأتيه الملوك بالقرابين وتسجد له وتديّن له الأمم بالطاعة والانقياد لأنه يخلص المضطهد البائس ممن هو أقوى منه وينقذ الضعيف الذي لا ناصر له ويرأف بالضعفاء والمساكين وأنه يعطى من ذهب بلاد سبأ ويصلى عليه في كل وقت ويبارك عليه في كل يوم ويدوم ذكره إلى الأبد». ومعلوم أنه لم يكن هذا إلا لمحمد صلى الله عليه وسلم وآله.

25§ وفي مزمور آخر منه «قال داوود اللهم ابعث جاعل السنة حتى يعلم الناس أنه بشر» اني انبعث نبياً يعلم الناس أن المسيح بشر لعلم داوود أن قوماً سيدعون المسيح ما ادعوه، وهذا هو محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم وآله.[42]

42. Bacher, "Muhammedanische Weissagungen," 310, suggests this to be a modified translation of Ps. 9:20. For similar spurious quotations, see Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 272, n. 6.

Chapter Ten
A Fourth/Tenth-Century Tunisian *Muftī* on the Sanctity of the Torah of Moses

Camilla Adang

Introduction

> The messenger believeth in that which hath been revealed unto him from his Lord and [so do] the believers. Each one believeth in God and His angels and His scriptures and His messengers—We make no distinction between any of His messengers—and they say: We hear, and we obey. [Grant us] Thy forgiveness, our Lord. Unto Thee is the journeying.[1]

This passage from the Qurʾān, *sūra* 2:285, sums up in a nutshell what the Muslim is required to believe in: apart from God himself, he must have faith in His message as contained in revealed books, and in the agents who serve God and communicate His will—viz., the angels and the messengers.[2] While the Qurʾān does not specify the number of angels or their names, it does give a (partial) list of the prophets and messengers who preceded Muḥammad[3] and names the scriptures that God revealed earlier: the scrolls of Abraham and Moses (*suḥuf Ibrāhīm wa-Mūsā*), the Torah (*Tawrāt*) revealed to Moses, the Psalter (*Zabūr*) revealed to David, and the Gospel (*Inǧīl*) given to Jesus.[4] Together with the Qurʾān, the latter three scriptures are sometimes referred to as the Four Books. From the Qurʾān itself it is clear what will be the fate *in the afterlife* of anyone who mocks the abovementioned articles of faith: a painful doom—described in graphic detail—will be

1. The translation is from Pickthall, *Meaning of the Glorious Koran*.
2. See also Q 2:177 and 4:136, which add belief in the Day of Judgment as an article of faith.
3. According to Q 40:78, God did not give Muḥammad the names of all his precursors.
4. On the status of the earlier scriptures in the eyes of the Muslims, see EI2, s.v. "Tawrāt," 10/393–395 (H. Lazarus-Yafeh); EI1, s.v. "Tawrāt," 6/706f. (J. Horovitz); EI1, s.v. "Zabūr," 6/1184f. (J. Horovitz); EI2, s.v. "Indjīl," 3/1205–1208 (B. Carra de Vaux [G. C. Anawati]), as well as the first two chapters in the present volume.

his lot. The legal scholars moreover developed a set of rules on how to deal with such people *in this world*: he who reviles God or his angels, the Prophet Muḥammad or his book, or the remaining messengers or their books is guilty of blasphemy (*sabb*, *šatm*), an offense that may be punishable by death, regardless of whether the offender is a Muslim or a non-Muslim.[5] Later, the *fuqahāʾ* expanded the list of sacrosanct individuals to include the wives of the Prophet Muḥammad,[6] his Companions (the *saḥāba*),[7] and his descendants (the *šurafāʾ*),[8] although in these cases the tendency was to have the offender flogged rather than executed.

The present paper examines the case of a Muslim slave who cursed one of the books described in the Qurʾān as a divine revelation—namely, the Torah—and was denounced to the *qāḍī* for this. The case is documented in two *fatwā*s (legal opinions, responsa) issued by a jurisconsult from Qayrawan: Abū l-Ḥasan al-Qābisī, who, like most of his colleagues in North Africa and al-Andalus, belonged to the Mālikite school of law. The two texts are contained in *al-Miʿyār al-muʿrib*, a twelve-volume collection of legal opinions by Andalusian and North African jurisconsults from the ninth to fifteenth centuries CE, compiled by Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Wanšarīsī of Fez (d. 914/1508).[9] After some introductory remarks on al-Qābisī, I shall present the texts in translation and then discuss them.

The *Muftī*: Abū l-Ḥasan al-Qābisī

Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Ḫalaf al-Maʿāfirī al-Qābisī[10] was born on 7 Rağab 324/May 31, 936. His *nisba* suggests that he was connected with the city of Gabès in present-day Tunisia, but in an anecdote preserved in various biographical dictionaries he explains that he was called al-Qābisī after an uncle who used to wind his turban very tightly in the manner of the people of Gabès, and that he was actually a native of Qayrawan. The

5. See al-Sāmarrāʾī, *Aḥkām al-murtadd*, 92–110.

6. Al-Sāmarrāʾī, *Aḥkām al-murtadd*, 111–113.

7. Al-Sāmarrāʾī, *Aḥkām al-murtadd*, 112; Wiederhold, "Blasphemy against the Prophet Muḥammad."

8. See Powers, "Preserving the Prophet's Honor."

9. Al-Wanšarīsī, *al-Miʿyār*. On the compiler and his work, see the following articles by Francisco Vidal Castro: "Aḥmad al-Wanšarīsī"; "El Miʿyār de al-Wanšarīsī," I and II; and "Las obras de al-Wanšarīsī." The contents of the *Miʿyār* are summarized in Lagardère, *Histoire et société*. A selection of *fatwā*s is given in Amar, "La pierre de touche." See now Powers, "Aḥmad al-Wansharīsī."

10. Some sources refer to him as Ibn al-Qābisī. On the man and his writings, see EI2, s.v. "Al-Ḳābisī," 4/341 (H. R. Idris); Idris, *La Berbérie orientale*, 2/722–724 and passim; Muranyi, *Beiträge zur Geschichte*, 271–296; al-Ḏahabī, *Siyar*, 17/158–161, no. 99; al-Ḏahabī, *Taḏkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, 3/1079f., no. 982; Ibn Ḫallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, 3/320–322, no. 446; Maḫlūf, *Šaǧarat al-nūr*, 1/97, no. 230; Ibn al-Ǧazarī, *Ġāyat al-nihāya*, 1/567, no. 2314; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Šaḏarāt al-ḏahab*, al-Maktab al-tiǧārī ed., 3/168; Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *Tartīb al-madārik*, 4/616–621.

latter city was the capital of the Berber dynasty of the Zirids, who ruled the eastern part of the Maghrib as vassals of the Fatimids, but with a large degree of independence.

Apart from the fact that al-Qābisī was blind and had all his writings corrected by trusted companions, the sources consulted mention his piety, strict asceticism, and renunciation of the world.[11] Some of his own masters were mystics and ascetics, and Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ describes him as a *bakkāʾ*—that is, someone given to copious weeping for the miserable state of the world, in repentance for his own shortcomings, or for fear of going to hell.[12] In the year 352/963, at the age of twenty-seven (lunar years), he set out for the East with the purpose of studying with some of the famous masters of his time and of making the pilgrimage to Mecca, where he apparently arrived in 353/964. It is not known how long al-Qābisī chose to stay in the Hijaz; in any event, by 357/968 he was back in Qayrawan, where he was to die in 403/1012. Whereas he had at first made a living teaching the Qurʾān, he decided to apply himself to the study of the law after he found out that one of his students had entered the service of the ruler as a *muqriʾ*. His wish not to be associated in any way with the ruling class is in keeping with his attitude of piety and renunciation, and it was shared by many religious scholars[13] who feared that connection with and dependence on the ruler might corrupt their judgment and prejudice their chances of going to paradise. However, his aloofness did not prevent al-Qābisī from openly criticizing the ruler when he felt this was necessary. An example is provided by Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ.[14] The nephew of a Christian courtier of the Zirid sultan Bādīs (r. 386/996–406/1016) had raped a young girl from a family of *šurafāʾ*—descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad. The outraged populace of al-Mahdiyya, where the crime had taken place, killed the Christian. The sultan was much disturbed and sent an army to al-Mahdiyya to punish the killers. When al-Qābisī heard about this, he went to the mosque and invoked God's help. As usual, God answered his prayer, for the army commander, who had been drinking, fell from his balcony and cracked his skull. The sultan saw a connection between this death and al-Qābisī's prayer and dispatched a number of his grandees to talk to the *muftī*. The latter refused to admit them but sent them to the mosque instead, where they were to

11. Discussing the ascetic and mystical tendencies of many legal scholars in Tunisia, Idris (*La Berbérie orientale*, 2/695) makes the following observations: "Bien avant les Zīrīdes, les ascètes, plus ou moins auréolés de sainteté de leur vivant même, font figure de redresseurs de torts, de guides spirituels du peuple sunnite. Ces champions de l'orthodoxie apparaissent déjà comme les directeurs de conscience au moins de la petite bourgeoisie et des artisans. Le pouvoir les redoute et doit compter avec eux. Leur prestige est d'autant plus grand qu'il y a une véritable osmose entre les juristes et les mystiques. [...] La réussite d'Ibn Abī Zayd, d'al-Qābisī et de leurs successeurs, qui entraîne la victoire définitive du mālikisme, s'explique par une harmonieuse et puissante synthèse de toutes les forces vives de l'orthodoxie ifrīqiyenne."

12. See EI2, s.v. "Bakkāʾ," 1/959 (F. Meier).

13. For this phenomenon in al-Andalus, see Marín, "*Inqibāḍ ʿan al-Sulṭān*."

14. Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *Tartīb al-madārik*, 4/619f.

await the arrival of the *ʿulamāʾ*. In the meantime, al-Qābisī sent a letter to the *ʿulamāʾ* in question, with the request that they let the one with the strongest voice among them read this letter from the pulpit. As the letter was read out aloud, it turned out to contain a very sharp condemnation of any Muslim prepared to avenge the blood of an infidel who has violated a descendant of the Prophet. There could be no mistaking the reference to the sultan.[15]

The basis for al-Qābisī's renown as a specialist in *ḥadīṯ* and theology was probably laid after his journey to the East. It is likely that the works he wrote in these fields date from his more mature period, after he had been exposed to the teachings of important masters in Egypt, the Hijaz, and elsewhere.[16] This is also the period in which he began to consolidate his reputation as a legal scholar and people began to seek his legal opinions (*fatwās*), flocking to his home in droves. Allegedly, al-Qābisī shut himself up in his house at first, hoping they would go away; it was only after his colleague Ibn Šiblūn (d. 390/999) threatened to have his door rammed that al-Qābisī was persuaded that as he was the most learned person in Qayrawan, it was his duty to issue legal opinions.[17]

The petitioners who turned up on al-Qābisī's doorstep were probably people from the rank and file of Muslims, seeking his advice on particulars of the *šarīʿa* about which they felt uncertain. Ordinary individuals usually made up (and still make up) the bulk of the clientele of a *muftī*. Queries could range from a seemingly trivial matter such as the minimal quantity of water to be used for the ritual ablution to more weighty matters such as the correct procedure for establishing a religious endowment (*ḥabūs*, *waqf*), and everything in between and beyond. However, the opinions of jurisconsults were solicited also by rulers looking for religious legitimation of their policies and military campaigns. In addition, a large number of opinions were issued at the request of judges who felt insecure about the correct way to proceed in a certain case.[18] In particular, *qāḍīs* who did not feel sufficiently qualified to deal with complicated or sensitive matters or who wanted to share responsibility for a possible death sentence would consult with *muftīs*, who were often more versed in the law and enjoyed greater respect among the people. The *fatwās*

15. This episode is also mentioned in Idris, *La Berbérie orientale*, 1/86, 2/763.

16. For a list of al-Qābisī's works, see Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *Tartīb al-madārik*, 4/619. Although most of these writings deal with law, theology, and *ḥadīṯ*, the list also contains a book on pedagogy and methods of teaching, *Kitāb al-mutaʿallimīn wa-l-muʿallimīn* (many variants of this title are known), which became quite popular. See Speight, "Muslim Attitudes," 185.

17. See Idris, *La Berbérie orientale*, 2/724.

18. On the practice and technicalities of issuing legal opinions (*iftāʾ*, *futyā*), see Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire*, 219–230; Powers, "Legal Consultation"; Motzki, "Religiöse Ratgebung"; Krawietz, "Der Mufti und sein Fatwa"; Masud, Messick, and Powers, "Muftis, Fatwas, and Islamic Legal Interpretation"; Powers, "Fatwā, Premodern," EI3.

presented here deal with a sensitive case that was delegated by a judge to al-Qābisī, who is well represented in the collection of al-Wanšarīsī.[19]

Among the *fatwā*s issued by al-Qābisī, we find several that deal with cases related to blasphemy, and the two *fatwā*s that follow belong in this group.[20] Like every *fatwā*, each is made up of two parts: the petition (*istiftāʾ*) and the responsum, the *fatwā* proper. Although the texts are of different lengths, it is clear at a glance that both deal with the same incident.

Such duplications are not uncommon in *al-Miʿyār* and, considering the size of the work, perhaps even to be expected.[21] However, it will be argued below that in this case it is not mere oversight on the part of the compiler, al-Wanšarīsī; rather, the two *fatwā*s complement each other and should be read in conjunction in order to get the full picture.

Al-Qābisī's *Fatwā*s on Reviling the Torah

The first[22] *fatwā: Man sabba al-Tawrāt ǧāhilan amr al-kutub al-arbaʿa* (On a person who reviles the Torah, being ignorant of the matter of the Four Books)[23]

> Abū l-Ḥasan al-Qābisī was asked concerning a man who testified that an aged slave came to a Jew and demanded the return of something that he was owed and entitled to, whereupon the Jew swore to him by the Torah [presumably that he didn't have the money or that he would pay it back soon]. The slave then said: "May God curse the Torah!" Then another witness came forward, who testified as follows: "I met the slave and said to him, 'I have heard that you cursed the Torah,' to which he said, 'I cursed the Torah of the Jews.'" The *qāḍī* investigated the condition of the slave, and a reliable witness testified that he was advanced in years, feebleminded, and ignorant and did not know what the Four Books were. The *qāḍī* then ordered that the Šayḫ [al-Qābisī] be consulted concerning this case and be requested to explain the matter to him; if the *muftī*'s reply asked for the death penalty, he [the *qāḍī*s] would have him killed.

19. See the index volume of the *Miʿyār*, s.v. "al-Qābisī, Abū l-Ḥasan."

20. The texts discussed here are summarized or partially translated in Amar, "La pierre de touche," 12/342f.; Idris, "Les tributaires en Occident musulman," 1/175, no. 17; Lagardère, *Histoire et société*, 23, no. 26

21. See Vidal Castro, "El Miʿyār de al-Wanšarīsī," 2/ 220–222, for a list (not exhaustive) of *fatwā*s duplicated (*mutatis mutandis*) elsewhere in the same work. The cases that appear twice include some questions concerning blasphemous utterances.

22. I have reversed the order in which the texts appear in al-Wanšarīsī's collection: this longish *fatwā* appears *after* the shorter one presented in this article as the second *fatwā*, which seems to me later than the longer one. It is only when read in this order that the shorter text can be properly understood.

23. Al-Wanšarīsī, *al-Miʿyār*, 2/525f.

[Al-Qābisī] replied: This testimony does not provide proof that enables us to decide the matter in a way that we can be at peace with. This is so because [the testimony of] the first witness does not obligate the death penalty, seeing that he is on his own,[24] whereas the second one attaches his statement to a qualification that is open to interpretation; it is possible that the ignorant person be absolved of his guilt because of his ignorance, because what he said was "the Torah of the Jews"; he may think that the Jews adhere to something coming from God and not know that the Jews deviate from what they possess of God's revelation, or that they change it from its places. On the other hand, he may think that their [whole] Torah is something that they produced for themselves, and that none of it is of divine origin. You [i.e., the *qāḍī*] have described the condition of this slave—namely, that he is advanced in years, feebleminded, and ignorant—and these are three qualities that may affect the owner of such characteristics [i.e., may cause diminished legal responsibility].

Now, if his feeblemindedness had reached such a degree that he did not know what he was saying, then he would not demand his money back, nor would he [be able to] converse with people; therefore, his feeblemindedness does *not* reach such a degree as to lift the blame from him [that is, he can be held responsible for what he said].

If the two witnesses had both testified that the slave cursed the Torah, period [without any further qualifications], as is said by the first one, then there would be less room for interpretation, for it is highly unlikely that a Muslim who has reached an advanced age has not heard that the Torah is one of the books that God, exalted is He, has revealed.

I have thus shown you that I am obliged to be ambiguous in the answer I give.

If someone is liable to the maximum punishment, that is, execution, but there is an obstacle which renders the death sentence problematic, this person should not be released from prison, but neither should his prison term be extended if he has spent an appropriate length of time in jail. Moreover, he may be relieved of carrying more chains than he can bear.

Perhaps God will show [us] a reply concerning this issue that the heart can be at peace with and that is supported by evidence from God's proof [i.e., the Qurʾān] and the proof of his Messenger [i.e., the Sunna]. This is what I hold, and in God is success.

24. As is well known, at least two witnesses are required to arrive at a conviction. See Scholz, *Malikitisches Verfahrensrecht*, 192–194.

The second *fatwā*: *Ḥukm sabb al-Tawrāt* (The ruling on reviling the Torah)[25]

> [Abū l-Ḥasan] al-Qābisī was asked concerning a man who argued with a Jew, whereupon the latter swore to him by the Torah. The other man then said: "Curse the Torah!" A witness testified against him, confirming this, and then another one testified that he had asked [the offender] about this business, and that the latter had said to him: "I cursed the Torah of the Jews."
>
> [Al-Qābisī] replied: The one witness does not obligate execution, and the other one attached the matter to a qualification which is open to interpretation; for it may be that [the man] did not think that the Jews adhere to anything that comes from God, because of their alterations and distortions. If the two witnesses had agreed that the man cursed the Torah, period [without any further qualifications], then there would be less room for interpretation.
>
> The *fuqahāʾ* of Baghdad agreed to offer the *muqriʾ* Ibn Šannabūḏ—one of the leading Qurʾān reciters in the city, along with Ibn Muǧāhid—the opportunity to repent and retract his reading [of the Qurʾān] and his teaching of the deviant letters that are not in the [ʿUṯmānic] *muṣḥaf*. They drew up a document for him, in which he recanted and showed repentance for it, and in which he declared this about himself in the *maǧlis* of the vizier Abū ʿAlī b. Muqla in the year 323/935. Among the ones who issued a legal opinion concerning him to this effect were Abū Bakr al-Abharī and others.

Discussion

The Texts

As mentioned earlier, it is clear that the two texts deal with the same issue. Theoretically the possibility exists that the *muftī* was approached by two different concerned individuals, or groups of people, and supplied each of them with a different answer. But it is more likely that the shorter of the two texts is a later revision of the first one, with an addition lacking in the earlier one (the significance of this addition will be discussed below). This does not mean, however, that the longer text reproduces the original petition. In fact, in both texts, the *istiftāʾ* is apparently a paraphrase of the original application. We have no way of knowing how much information was originally provided in this section. Al-Wanšarīsī, or his source, changed the wording of the *istiftāʾ*, converting it from a direct appeal into the description of one; from direct to indirect speech. He may also have deleted much information.[26] Unlike the *istiftāʾ*, the *fatwā* proper, at least the longer one, seems to have suffered fewer distortions and shows us how al-Qābisī arrived at his conclusion.

25. Al-Wanšarīsī, *al-Miʿyār*, 2/362f.

26. This often occurred when *fatwā*s were incorporated in collections compiled by later authors. In particular, responsa of leading *muftī*s were collected by later compilers in order to preserve them for

Blasphemy and Apostasy in Mālikite Law

The two texts presented here deal with an incident perceived as blasphemy: a slave, obviously a Muslim, curses one of the books recognized in the Qurʾān as a divine revelation: the Torah. Before turning to the specific case of the Torah, let us look briefly at the prescribed punishment for blasphemy in general according to the Mālikite school of law, to which al-Qābisī belonged.

In the manuals of *furūʿ* (positive law), blasphemy is often discussed together with apostasy (*irtidād*, *ridda*), since both are considered forms of unbelief (*kufr*).[27] However, whereas most Mālikite jurists would offer the apostate (*murtadd*) the opportunity to repent (*istitāba*) within three days of his apprehension and thus save his life, this possibility was usually denied the blasphemer, whose fate was entirely in the hands of the *qāḍī*. The latter could decide either to sentence the blasphemer to death or, if little importance was attached to the offensive utterances or it was thought advisable for political reasons not to impose the death penalty, to give an exemplary punishment (*taʾdīb*).[28] Jurists often preferred not to apply the death penalty and searched for ways to avoid it. An effective way out was by having the witnesses disqualified,[29] or by defining the case under review as an ambiguous one, which meant that the penalty fixed for the particular offense could not be imposed.[30] We see that al-Qābisī, too, refers to the ambiguity of the testimonies, which renders it impossible for him to give the unequivocal advice to apply the death penalty. What the *muftī* needs to establish, in fact, is not only whether blasphemy was intended but whether it took place at all. For what does it actually mean to curse "the Torah of the Jews"?

"The Torah" versus "the Torah of the Jews"

Although the Qurʾān contains many references to the Torah, it displays an ambivalent attitude toward this scripture. On the one hand, the Torah is described as the book of the

future reference, and many of them found their way into codes of substantive law, although in much altered form. On this process, see Hallaq, "From *Fatwās* to *Furūʿ*."

27. The topics are also discussed together in al-Sāmarrāʾī, *Aḥkām al-murtadd*. I have not been able to consult Bercher, "L'apostasie, le blasphème et la rebellion." See also Friedman, *Tolerance and Coercion*, chapter 4: Apostasy.

28. See Fierro, "Andalusian 'Fatāwā,'" esp. 103f.; Fierro, *La heterodoxia en al-Andalus*, appendix 1.

29. An attempt to have a witness disqualified may be initiated by the *qāḍī* but also by the accused. For an example of the first, see Fierro, *La heterodoxia en al-Andalus*, 66f.; for the second, see Fierro, "El proceso contra Ibn Ḥātim al-Ṭulayṭulī," esp. 189, 191, 192, 196f. The latter article deals with a man who was accused, among other things, of expressing himself disrespectfully about the Prophet Muḥammad, his wife ʿĀʾiša, and the caliphs ʿUmar and ʿAlī. Most of these charges seem to have been trumped up, which did not prevent his being executed.

30. See EI2, s.v. "Shubha," 9/492f. (E. K. Rowson); Fierro, "Idraʾū l-ḥudūd."

Israelites and their descendants, the Jews, revealed by God to Moses "on the mountain." This divine scripture was later superseded and abrogated, first by the *Inǧīl* (evangel, gospel), given to Jesus, and finally by the Qurʾān, revealed to Muḥammad. Elsewhere in the Qurʾān, however, the Jews, or some Jews, are accused of tampering with the revealed Torah, either by substituting some passages for others or by giving it a wrong interpretation, apparently with the intention of hiding the references to Muḥammad that were supposedly to be found in the Torah.[31]

Therefore, when Muslim writers differentiate between "the Torah" and "the Torah of the Jews," they distinguish between the true, divine revelation given to Moses, on the one hand, and the text they believe underwent changes and distortions at the hands of the Jews, on the other. Muslims are required, on the basis of statements to this effect in the Qurʾān, to believe that God did indeed give Moses and his people a divine revelation, called Torah. But they are not required to believe that the book the Jews possess and claim to be the revealed text is the unadulterated transcript of God's revelation to his prophet Moses. By cursing *the Torah*, the slave in our *fatwā*s created the impression that he was cursing the true revealed book, which may incur the death penalty. But by stating that he cursed *the Torah of the Jews*, he saved his hide, for no blasphemy may have been intended or have taken place; it may be that he was merely cursing the forged and altered book the Jews call Torah. It is up to the *muftī* to decide the putative blasphemer's intention.

The Circumstances

Although *muftī*s were often asked for their opinion on completely theoretical matters—which has led several scholars to question the validity of *fatwā*s as a source for reconstructing social and religious history[32]—we have no reason to doubt that the events described here actually did take place. Admittedly, the texts discussed here provide very little detail in comparison with many other *fatwā*s in *al-Miʿyār*. We are not told, for example, where and when the events took place, nor who the persons involved were. We hear of a slave, a Jew, a witness, another witness, and a judge. If it were not for the appearance of the name of al-Qābisī in the text,[33] we would not even know in which period

31. On the accusation of forgery and alteration (*taḥrīf*, *tabdīl*) of the Jewish scriptures, see EI2, s.v. "Taḥrīf," 10/111f. (H. Lazarus-Yafeh); Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds*, esp. chapter 2; Lazarus-Yafeh, "*Taḥrīf* and Thirteen Torah Scrolls"; Adang, *Muslim Writers*, chapter 7; Adang, "Medieval Muslim Polemics" [chapter 2 in the present volume]; Adang, *Islam frente a Judaísmo*, chapter 5.

32. See the discussion in Shatzmiller, "On Fatwas and Social History." In defense of *fatwā*s as valid sources for social, legal, religious, and economic history, see also Powers, "*Fatwā*s as Sources," 296–298; Hallaq, "From *Fatwā*s to *Furūʿ*," 31–37. For a list of publications that use *fatwā*s from *al-Miʿyār* as a source, see Lagardère, *Histoire et société*, 485–494.

33. The *muftī*'s name appears in the second text, and although he is not explicitly referred to in the

and in what area to situate the events. This economy of detail is a feature common to many *fatwā*s, for the *muftī*s wanted their legal opinions to be universally applicable, not to apply to just one very specific case.[34] Nevertheless, a careful reading of the two *fatwā*s allows us to draw some conclusions.

Al-Qābisī was active in Qayrawan, and we may assume that the judge who solicited his opinion resided in the same city,[35] which had an economically and intellectually thriving Jewish community.[36] The Jews of Qayrawan made their living in a variety of ways: by engaging in arts and crafts, by selling agricultural produce and livestock, and by trading in nonperishable goods.[37] Although there was a predominantly Jewish quarter in Qayrawan, with its own market, this does not mean that the Jews formed a completely closed community. First, a number of them lived outside the Jewish quarter, and second, the population of this quarter was not exclusively Jewish: a number of Muslims lived there as well.[38] As a result, occasions for close contact between the two groups abounded[39]—in the marketplace, on the premises of joint businesses, and on jointly operated ships and caravans that transported the goods traded in the region or abroad. Jews were employed by the Muslim administration as tax collectors; and Muslims sometimes acted as couriers on behalf of Jews, transporting sums of money, documents, and divorce papers to parties overseas. In addition, Muslims extended loans to Jews, and this probably accounts for the case we are dealing with in the present article: an aggrieved Muslim demanding the return of the money, or perhaps property, owed to him by a Jew.[40]

It is unclear who first brought the accusation of blasphemy against the slave. It is not unlikely that members of the Jewish community of Qayrawan brought the matter to

first *fatwā*, it is clear from the context that the jurisconsult in question is al-Qābisī, since the text forms part of a series of legal opinions issued by him.

34. See Hallaq, "From *Fatwā*s to *Furūʿ*," 34.

35. On the *qāḍī*s of Qayrawan, who all belonged to the same family, see Idris, *La Berbérie orientale*, 2/554ff.

36. See Ben-Sasson, *Emergence of the Local Jewish Community*.

37. Ben-Sasson, *Emergence of the Local Jewish Community*, 54ff.

38. Ben-Sasson, *Emergence of the Local Jewish Community*, 395–397. The creation of a (predominantly) Jewish quarter seems to have been a spontaneous development; it was not imposed by the rulers.

39. Close social relations between Jews and Muslims were discouraged by the Jewish leadership, since they might lead to even further assimilation and, ultimately, to conversion. See Ben-Sasson, *Emergence of the Local Jewish Community*, 392.

40. According to Robert Brunschvig (EI2, s.v. "ʿAbd," 1/24–40), "His status does not debar the slave from administering property and laying claim to the 'possession' (*yad*) of it...." Usually, however, the master's permission was required for transactions with third parties involving property or financial assets. See Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto*, 2/352–356, 466, 485. A slave who had signed a *mukātaba* contract with his master, leading to his manumission, was usually given more discretion to dispose of his own property. The wording of the texts presented here does not allow us to draw any conclusions as to the slave's position vis-à-vis his owner.

the attention of the *qāḍī*. They would naturally be affronted by the insult to their holy scripture and might expect a conviction, since they were probably aware that the Torah is a holy book in the eyes of the Muslims, too, even if the commonly accepted view among the latter was that it had been tampered with. However, it is doubtful that the witnesses who testified in this case were Jews, for the testimony of non-Muslims against Muslims is not usually considered valid.[41] If the judge had made an exception and had admitted non-Muslim witnesses, this would certainly have been reflected in the texts.

Al-Qābisī and the Jews

The Jews of Qayrawan, if they were indeed a party to the accusation against the offending slave, must have been disappointed with the opinion relayed by the *muftī* to the judge and probably felt that he favored the Muslim slave.

Al-Wanšarīsī's collection provides us with two more cases in which al-Qābisī deals with a Jewish party. In the first, he is consulted by a man who has a Jewish neighbor whom he has apparently known all his life and with whom he exchanges greetings and small favors; for although he loathes the Jews, this Jew has a kind heart, he says. The man—who pretends to inquire on someone else's behalf—wishes to know whether there is any harm in these low-key relations with his neighbor. Al-Qābisī replies that while it is always best to avoid contact with non-Muslims, there is no harm in maintaining good neighborly relations, though one should be on one's guard and not be overly friendly or respectful.[42] The second text tells of a Jew from Qayrawan who had obtained permission from the ruler—presumably Sultan Bādīs[43]—to renovate his synagogue. Al-Qābisī rules against the renovation, and as a result the Jew abandons the project.[44] Al-Qābisī does, however, allow him to make some necessary repairs. This decision, in conjunction with the texts analyzed above, allows us to conclude that the *muftī* advocated strict application of the laws of *ḏimma*, that is, the protection offered the non-Muslim communities in exchange for recognition of the suzerainty of the Muslim ruler, payment of a special poll-tax (the *ǧizya*), and acceptance of a series of social and religious restrictions.[45] In opposing the Qayrawani Jew's request to renovate the synagogue (one of several in the city at

41. See Scholz, *Malikitisches Verfahrensrecht*, 256–261; Fattal, *Le statut légal*, 361–363.

42. Al-Wanšarīsī, *al-Miʿyār*, 11/300f. According to the *muftī*, Christians, too, should be treated with circumspection and Muslims should not participate in Christian festivals. See Speight, "Muslim Attitudes," 184–186.

43. On Jewish life under the Zirids and this dynasty's attitude toward the Jews, see Idris, *La Berbérie orientale*, 2/764–769, 802–808; Ben-Sasson, *Emergence of the Local Jewish Community*, 382–384; Hirschberg, *History of the Jews*, 1/110ff. and passim.

44. Al-Wanšarīsī, *al-Miʿyār*, 2/259; Idris, *La Berbérie orientale*, 2/768.

45. See EI2, s.v. "Dhimma," 2/227–231 (Cl. Cahen); EI2, s.v. "Djizya (i)," 2/559–562 (Cl. Cahen).

the time),[46] al-Qābisī stuck to the letter of the Covenant of ʿUmar, which includes a clause forbidding non-Muslims to restore houses of worship that have collapsed.[47] Apparently, the ruler was more inclined to grant the Jew his request, and this must have seemed to the Mālikite jurisconsult an unwarranted concession to the *ḏimmī* community. We see once again that al-Qābisī, who rejected any involvement with the political establishment, was not afraid to speak his mind and even challenge the sultan's decision. As one of the leading religious authorities of his day, he could probably afford to do so.

The Muftī and the Judge

If the Jews were perhaps the ones who denounced the slave who had cursed their scripture, it was clearly the judge himself who applied to the *muftī*. As noted earlier, *muftī*s were often consulted by *qāḍī*s facing life-and-death decisions.[48] The *qāḍī* in this case is apparently at a loss as to what to do and decides to call on the advice of someone more versed than himself in the intricacies of the law: the famed jurisconsult al-Qābisī. We see in the first text that the *qāḍī* is prepared to carry out the death sentence if the *muftī* deems this the appropriate punishment; in the meantime, he has the slave imprisoned. If he expected a decisive answer from al-Qābisī, however, he is disappointed, for the latter advises him to keep the culprit in prison pending a more clear-cut decision, but to take care he does not suffer too much: his shackles should not be unduly heavy, and if he has served part of his sentence, this is to be deducted from the time the *qāḍī* has in mind for him.

Theoretically, the judge could ignore al-Qābisī's opinion, for as a rule a *fatwā* is not binding. However, a *mustaftī* (petitioner) would usually accept the advice of the *muftī* he applied to, especially if the latter is of the stature of al-Qābisī.

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46. See Ben-Sasson, *Emergence of the Local Jewish Community*, 155.

47. On the Covenant of ʿUmar, see Tritton, *Caliphs and Their Non-Muslim Subjects*; Fattal, *Le statut légal*; Lewis, *Jews of Islam*; Noth, "Abgrenzungsprobleme"; and Cohen, "What Was the Pact of ʿUmar?"; Levy-Rubin, *Non-Muslims*. Interestingly, al-Wanšarīsī includes a number of *fatwā*s in his collection that deal with the question of whether synagogues may be rebuilt or restored, or whether new houses of worship may be constructed. This shows, first, that it was a matter of some concern throughout the Maghrib (the texts are not only about Qayrawan but also about Tunis, Touat in Algeria, and Cordoba in al-Andalus); and second, that al-Wanšarīsī himself attached importance to the topic. *Al-Miʿyār* contains a relatively large number of *fatwā*s dealing with the (unequal) relations between Muslims as the dominant class and their non-Muslim subjects, a fact that probably reflects the compiler's frustration with the success of the Christian reconquest of Spain, resulting in the definitive loss of al-Andalus—which up to that time had been part of *Dār al-Islām*.

48. See Powers, "Legal Consultation," 10.

The Offender: A Muslim Slave

Although the religious identity of the slave is not mentioned, it is obvious from the context that he is a Muslim. The *muftī* speaks of a number of facts that might, under certain circumstances, be regarded as mitigating factors: apart from there being only one eyewitness—whose testimony is moreover weakened by that of a secondary witness—the offender is old, feebleminded, and ignorant. That we are dealing here with a slave is not used as a mitigating factor; for although slaves are generally considered not to be fully responsible and hence get away with lighter punishments than do free persons,[49] this does not apply in cases of apostasy and by extension, we may assume, blasphemy.[50] The *muftī*, while hesitant to apply the maximum penalty to the slave, seems to have little sympathy for him and dismisses the claim that he is feebleminded and not responsible for his utterances: he can express himself well enough when it comes to demanding his money back from the Jewish debtor. Therefore, the blasphemer of the Torah might well have been sentenced to death had there been no *iškāl* (ambiguity), for a blasphemer, unlike an apostate, is not usually given the opportunity to repent. What saves the slave is that he creates an ambiguity by stating that he cursed "the Torah of the Jews."

From the *fatwā*s in al-Wanšarīsī's collection in which al-Qābisī gives an opinion on cases of blasphemy, one gets the impression that he was rather lenient in his views on what to do with blasphemers—much more so than some fellow Mālikites from al-Andalus and the Maghrib.[51] Thus a drunk who cried out that he was God is expected to repent, in which case he will be given only an exemplary punishment;[52] and someone who compares an ugly man to Munkar and Nakīr, the angels who interrogate the dead in their graves, will not be punished if it is clear there was no intention to insult the angels.[53] However, when the honor of the Prophet Muḥammad is at stake, al-Qābisī is much less tolerant,[54] although here, too, he reveals a tendency to take extenuating circumstances into account.

Although the existence of extenuating circumstances and ambiguities is usually regarded as sufficient reason to withhold the death penalty, al-Qābisī strengthens his case by making reference to the trial of Ibn Šannabūḏ (see the second *fatwā*).

49. Schacht, *Introduction to Islamic Law*, 127f.

50. See EI2, s.v. "ʿAbd," 1/29. Brunschvig points out that the Muslim slave guilty of apostasy is punished in the same way as a free man: by death, when the necessary conditions for this punishment have been fulfilled.

51. See, e.g., al-Wanšarīsī, *al-Miʿyār*, 2/344, 351, 354, 356, 361, 366f.

52. Al-Wanšarīsī, *al-Miʿyār*, 2/362.

53. Al-Wanšarīsī, *al-Miʿyār*, 2/358.

54. See al-Qābisī's views in al-Wanšarīsī, *al-Miʿyār*, 2/355, 519–21, 523; see also Idris, *La Berbérie orientale*, 2/697.

The Trial of Ibn Šannabūḏ

Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ayyūb b. al-Ṣalt Ibn Šannabūḏ[55] was a *muqriʾ* who insisted on reciting the Qurʾān with a number of variant readings that deviated from the ʿUṯmānic recension, and this at a time when attempts were being made to get that recension accepted as the standard text for the whole empire.[56] Ibn Muǧāhid, who, like Ibn Šannabūḏ, is mentioned in al-Qābisī's second *fatwā*, was the man who led this campaign and was responsible for Ibn Šannabūḏ's denunciation. Apart from outrage at Ibn Šannabūḏ's use of variant readings, Ibn Muǧāhid may have had a personal reason for wishing to get his colleague into trouble: Ibn Šannabūḏ made no secret of his disdain for Ibn Muǧāhid, a disdain he continued to express when this was least advisable: when he was summoned before the vizier Ibn Muqla to explain himself.[57] Ibn Ḫallikān preserves details of the hearing, which I quote here in translation:[58]

> Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ayyūb b. al-Ṣalt Ibn Šannabūḏ, the *muqriʾ* from Baghdad, was a renowned and prominent master of Qurʾān readings. He was a pious and well-intentioned but foolish man. It is said that he talked a lot but knew little. Having become the sole depository of some singular readings of the Qurʾān (*al-šawāḏḏ*), he introduced them into his recitations while leading the public prayer and by this incurred general reprehension. This became known to the vizier Abū ʿAlī b. Muqla, the celebrated penman, who was told that [Ibn Šannabūḏ] had changed some words in the Qurʾān and recited a version that differed from the revealed text. He had him brought before him, in the beginning of the month of Rabīʿ II 323/March 935, and kept him prisoner in his house for some days. On Sunday, the seventh of the same month, the said vizier summoned the *qāḍī* Abū l-Ḥusayn ʿUmar b. Muḥammad, the *muqriʾ* Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. al-ʿAbbās Ibn Muǧāhid, and other experts in the Qurʾān. Ibn Šannabūḏ was then brought in and interrogated in the presence of the vizier, but he replied with great insolence to him, the *qāḍī*, and Ibn Muǧāhid, calling them persons of scant learning and reproaching them for not having traveled in pursuit of learning as he had done. *Qāḍī* Abū l-Ḥusayn he treated like a child. At this, the vizier ordered him to be flogged, and he was flogged with seven whips. As he was being beaten, he invoked God's vengeance on Ibn Muqla, pray-

55. On him, see EI2, s.v. "Ibn Shanabūdh," 3/935f. (R. Paret); Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, 1/82-83; Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿǧam al-udabāʾ*, 5/2323–2326, no. 967; al-Ḏahabī, *Siyar*, 15/264–266, no. 113; Ibn al-Ǧazarī, *Ġāyat al-nihāya*, 2/52–56; Ibn Ḫallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, 4/299–301, no. 628, translated in *Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary*, 3/1618.

56. See Nöldeke, Bergsträsser, and Pretzl, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, 3/110–112; EI2, s.v. "Ḳirāʾa," 5/127–129 (R. Paret); Watt, *Bell's Introduction to the Qurʾān*, 48f.; Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, 46f.

57. On this vizier, see EI2, s.v. "Ibn Muḳla," 3/886f. (D. Sourdel).

58. I have adapted the translation given in *Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary*, 3/16f.

> ing that his hand might be cut off and his prosperity scattered; and this really came about, as will be seen in our account of Ibn Muqla, God willing. Then they interrogated him about the words he was accused of having recited; he denied the most objectionable ones and declared that the remaining ones were being used by other people. Being called on to recant, he did so (*fa-statābuhu fa-tāba*) and said that he renounced his manner of reading and in the future would only go by the *muṣḥaf* of ʿUṯmān b. ʿAffān, may God be pleased with him, and recite in the manner generally accepted among the people. The vizier wrote down this declaration and made him sign his name to it. [Ibn Šannabūḏ] added some expressions of sincere repentance.[59]

Although this is not explicitly stated, the impression created is that Ibn Šannabūḏ would have been sentenced to death had he insisted that his uncanonical reading of the Qurʾān was the correct one. Instead, he was offered the chance to save his life, despite his insolent behavior toward all the dignitaries present at his inquisition.

Of the *ʿulamāʾ* involved in the hearing, Ibn Ḫallikān mentions only one: *qāḍī* Abū l-Ḥusayn ʿUmar b. Muḥammad. Al-Qābisī mentions another: Abū Bakr al-Abharī. This is not by chance: al-Abharī (d. 375/986) was the leading figure of Baghdadi Mālikism at the time,[60] and what the Qayrawani *muftī* seems in fact to be saying is that if al-Abharī could find it in his heart to offer Ibn Šannabūḏ a way out, then surely he, al-Qābisī, a Mālikite like al-Abharī, should give the detractor of the Torah this opportunity. Al-Qābisī thus shows that there are precedents within the Mālikite *maḏhab* for offering the possibility of repentance to someone who in one way or another gives offense to the revealed scriptures. As mentioned earlier, the Torah and the Qurʾān belong to the group of Four Books, the status of which was allegedly unknown to the slave who is the subject of the *fatwā*s; but in the eyes of most Muslims, any perceived attack on the Qurʾān would no doubt be much more serious than an insult to the Torah, which was considered not only abrogated but also corrupted and was associated with Judaism.

One question that remains to be answered is why al-Qābisī refers to this case only in what is apparently the later of the two *fatwā*s. The explanation may be that our *muftī* was reminded, or became aware of, Ibn Šannabūḏ's case only after having issued the first opinion, and that this parallel case constituted, in his view, the missing piece of information that rendered it possible for him to issue an opinion with which his mind could be at peace (see the end of the first responsum). Whereas in the first *fatwā*, the advice is to keep the slave in prison until additional evidence is produced that can result in a clearer decision, the recommendation made by the *muftī* in the second *fatwā is* a more positive

59. Ibn Ḫallikān subsequently provides a list of Ibn Šannabūḏ's variant readings and gives the wording of his expression of repentance.

60. See Melchert, *Formation of the Sunni Schools*, 176f. On Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Abharī, see al-Ḏahabī, *Siyar*, 16/332–334, no. 241; Maḫlūf, *Šaǧarat al-nūr*, 1/91, no. 204.

one—namely, to offer the slave the opportunity to recant; if he acquiesces, it is implied, he will be released. One's impression is that al-Qābisī feels he owes the judge, and the prisoner, a clearer answer than he was able to give in his first *fatwā*.

Conclusion

The texts presented here reflect the ongoing discussion about the integrity or otherwise of the Torah, a topic that was, and is, at the heart of Muslim polemics against Judaism. Al-Qābisī mentions two possible views on the Torah: (a) the book the Jews possess is the genuine article,[61] and (b) the Jews have distorted the text of the holy book revealed to Moses by God. From the wording of the first *fatwā*, it would seem that al-Qābisī himself subscribed to the second view. Had it been clear to him that the slave had cursed the distorted book, he would not have regarded this as blasphemy. On the other hand, had he been persuaded that the offender knowingly impugned the divine revelation, the *muftī* might have recommended that the death penalty be applied, provided there were no circumstances countering this verdict.

61. Some decades after al-Qābisī, the Andalusi theologian and legal scholar Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064) was to complain that there were still Muslims who held this view. On Ibn Ḥazm's polemics against the Jewish scriptures in general and the Torah in particular, see Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds*, passim; Adang, *Muslim Writers*; Adang, *Islam frente a Judaísmo.*

Chapter Eleven
The Chronology of the Israelites according to Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī

Camilla Adang

Introduction

Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ḥamza b. al-Ḥasan[1] [b.] al-Muʾaddib al-Iṣfahānī, referred to by later authors simply as "Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī," was born around the year 280/893 in the Iranian city of Isfahan, where he was to die sometime between 350/961 and 360/971.[2] We know nothing of his childhood, nor of his early education, which he seems to have acquired in his native city, ruled by the Ziyārid dynasty.[3] Apart from three visits to Baghdad, Ḥamza seems to have spent most of his life in Isfahan, and he describes its history in his *Tārīḫ Iṣbahān*, also known as *Kitāb Iṣbahān wa-aḫbārihā*. This work, which has not come down to us, was extensively used by his fellow townsman Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī for his own *Kitāb Ḏikr Iṣbahān*, as well as by Yāqūt in his *Muʿǧam al-buldān*, which also cites other works by the author.[4] Although Ḥamza did not travel much, he managed to establish contacts with some of the leading scholars of his day, such as the man of letters Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī (d. 335/946) and the philologist Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933).[5] Moreover, during the first of his journeys to Baghdad, in 308/920, Ḥamza studied with Abū Ǧaʿfar al-Ṭabarī

1. Al-Samʿānī (*al-Ansāb*, 1/175f.) has his father's name as al-Ḥusayn, whereas Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī (*Ḏikr Iṣbahān*, 1/300) has al-Ḥasan, as does Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, 1/432.

2. On Ḥamza, see EI1, s.v. "Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī" (E. Mittwoch); Mittwoch, "Die literarische Tätigkeit"; EI2, s.v. "Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī" (F. Rosenthal); Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur: Supplementbände* [henceforth GALS], 1/221f.; Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, 1/336f., and the sources listed in n. 1 above.

3. On them, see Bosworth, *New Islamic Dynasties*, 166f.

4. On Ḥamza's history of his native city, see Mittwoch, "Die literarische Tätigkeit," 130f.; Rosenthal, *History of Muslim Historiography*, 160.

5. For a list of Ḥamza's teachers and colleagues, see Mittwoch, "Die literarische Tätigkeit," 115–128.

(d. 310/923), the famous historian and *mufassir*, attending his lectures on tradition.[6] However, *ḥadīṯ* was not Ḥamza's main field of interest: philology, lexicography, poetry, and history are the topics of most of his works.[7] His writings contain no indication of his religious affiliation. According to Massignon he was a "shîʿite déterminé,"[8] but there is no strong evidence to support this, apart from the fact that he apparently approved of the Šīʿite Būyids who supplanted the Ziyārids in Isfahan in 323/935.[9]

The work that interests us here is *Taʾrīḫ sinī mulūk al-arḍ wa-l-anbiyāʾ* (History of the years of the kings of the earth and of the prophets), a chronological work that was completed in the year 350/961 and quoted by eminent scholars such as al-Bīrūnī (d. ca. 442/1050), Ibn al-Aṯīr (d. 630/1233), and Abū l-Fidāʾ (d. 732/1331).[10] It is divided into ten chapters, each one discussing the rulers (male and female) and, in some cases, the prophets of a given nation. The fifth chapter deals with the history of the Israelites, and it is this chapter that will be presented here in translation.

The Work

The nations discussed in Ḥamza's *Taʾrīḫ sinī al-mulūk* are the following:[11] the Persians and their kings (pp. 9–51); the Rūm[12] (pp. 52–63); the Greeks (pp. 64f.); the Copts (p. 66); the Israelites (pp. 67–73); the Lakhmid Arabs of Iraq (pp. 74–88); the Ghāssanid Arabs of Syria

6. On al-Ṭabarī, see Rosenthal's detailed bio-bibliography in *History of al-Ṭabarī*, vol. 1. Ḥamza is not mentioned here among his students, but see Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī, *Ḏikr Iṣbahān*, 1/300.

7. See the references to his writings in Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, 1/432; Mittwoch, "Die literarische Tätigkeit"; Brockelmann, GALS, 1/221f.; Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, 1/336f.; and EI2, s.v. "Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī," which together yield a list of fifteen works, most of which are no longer extant. About the (presumed) contents of Ḥamza's works, see Mittwoch, "Die literarische Tätigkeit," 128–136.

8. Massignon, *La Passion de Hallāj*, 1/522, 534.

9. On the Būyids, see Busse, "Iran under the Buyids"; Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig*; EI2, s.v. "Buwayhids or Būyids" (Cl. Cahen). According to Bosworth, the Būyids' Šīʿism was probably partly a manifestation of anti-Arab, Iranian national feeling; see *New Islamic Dynasties*, 156. This, however, seems to be an anachronism, as Šīʿism came to be associated with Iran and vice versa only much later, and the country was predominantly Sunnī until the rise of the Ṣafavids around the year 1500 CE; see EI2, s.v. "Iran, vi: Religions" (J. T. P. De Bruijn).

10. According to Rosenthal, the difference between historical and chronological works is that the latter are concerned with establishing historical dates and not with evaluating the historical information. Ḥamza's information about the individual rulers is largely restricted to the length of their reigns; see Rosenthal, *History of Muslim Historiography*, 137. For a brief characterization of the work, see Mittwoch, "Die literarische Tätigkeit," 129f.; Dunlop, *Arab Civilisation*, 114–116; Rubin, "Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī's Sources"; Pourshariati, "Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī."

11. The references are to the undated Beirut edition.

12. Under this heading Ḥamza discusses the Macedonians, the Romans, the Byzantines, and the Ptolemids.

(pp. 89–96); the Ḥimyarite Arabs of Yemen (pp. 97–110); the kings of Kinda (pp. 111f.); and the Qurašite Arabs of Islam (pp. 113–183).

As can be seen, the largest number of pages is devoted to the Muslim Arabs, followed by the Persians. The chapter on the Muslims, however, contains a long section dealing with the dates of the *hiǧrī* calendar on which the Persian New Year, Nayrūz, fell. While Franz Rosenthal believes that the inclusion of this section is due to the importance of these dates in fiscal matters,[13] others see it as a clear indication of Ḥamza's pro-Persian sentiments. This opinion seems to be strengthened by the fact that he opens his *Taʾrīḫ* with a discussion of the Persians; he also wrote a separate tract on poetry celebrating Nayrūz and Mihraǧān, in addition to a work in which he seeks to trace the Persian etymologies of Arabic words—an attempt disparaged in the chapter on the Šuʿūbiyya in *Muhammedanische Studien* by Ignaz Goldziher, who regards Ḥamza as a typical representative of this pro-Persian movement.[14] D. M. Dunlop, on the other hand, while not denying Ḥamza's interest in all things Persian and admitting that he may indeed have been something of a Persian nationalist, believes that "the great fact of history for Ḥamza as for his colleagues ... was Islam or at least the rise of the Arab empire, by comparison with which even the glories of ancient Iran bulked small." In his view, the *Taʾrīḫ* "does not appear to show any overwhelming predilection in favour of Persia."[15] This assessment echoes earlier ones to the same effect by Eugen Mittwoch and Carl Brockelmann.[16]

As he himself proudly acknowledges,[17] Ḥamza had an impressive range of oral and written sources at his disposal, Muslim and non-Muslim alike, which he often compared with other materials.[18] In more than one case he states that he has used different versions of one and the same work, as many as he could lay his hands on, and points out discrepancies he has encountered. Like his contemporaries al-Maqdisī (wrote 355/966) and al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956),[19] Ḥamza made a point, wherever possible, of obtaining information from members of the different nations and denominations he discusses. Much of his knowledge of Byzantine history, for example, was acquired during conversations

13. Rosenthal, *History of Muslim Historiography*, 116, n. 3.

14. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, 1/209f. (= *Muslim Studies*, 1/192f.)

15. Dunlop, *Arab Civilisation*, 115.

16. See Mittwoch, "Die Literarische Tätigkeit," 136–141; Brockelmann, GALS, 1/221. Interestingly, however, the Sayyid edition of Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* (1/432) contains a reference to a work by Ḥamza entitled *al-Šuʿūbiyya* (*wa-lahu min al-kutub al-Šuʿūbiyya*). This is also the case for the earlier Taǧaddud edition (p. 154). The undated Tunisian edition of the *Fihrist* (p. 199) has *al-šiʿriyya*. Assuming Sayyid's and Taǧaddud's reading is the correct one, this might shed new light on the nature and strength of Ḥamza's pro-Iranian sentiments.

17. See, e.g., Ḥamza, *Taʾrīḫ*, 16, 20, 54, 55f., 97, 103, 104.

18. Ḥamza's sources are listed in Mittwoch, "Die literarische Tätigkeit," 122–128. For al-Ṣūlī, see Massignon, *La Passion de Hallāj*, 1/636; 2/130–133. On Ḥamza's use of non-Muslim sources, see also Shboul, *Al-Masʿūdī and His World*, 137, 138, 233, 234, 265.

19. On these authors and their attitude to non-Muslim sources, see Adang, *Muslim Writers*, chapter 2.

with an aged Greek captive who was well versed in the subject. The Greek did not speak Arabic, but his son, who did know it, mediated between Ḥamza and his father.[20] Ḥamza furthermore had discussions with representatives of the Zoroastrian priestly hierarchy, and even quotes the Avesta.[21] His treatment of Israelite and Jewish history was no different: during his first visit to Baghdad he was provided, at his own request, with an excerpt of the chronological parts of the Hebrew Bible by a Jewish interlocutor named Ṣidqīyā. This man was not the only Jew whom Ḥamza met in the ʿAbbāsid capital; as we shall see, he also spoke with a student of Ṣidqīyā's who lavishly praised his master's learning. Moreover, it is not unlikely that Ḥamza associated with Jews in his native Isfahan, which had a thriving Jewish community, allegedly going back as far as the days of Nebuchadnezzar.[22] Ḥamza supplemented his oral information with the consultation of a book attributed to a certain Finḥās b. Bāṭā al-ʿIbrānī (Pinhas the Hebrew). Apparently this book, whose author cannot be identified, also dealt with issues of chronology.[23] Several other books, whose authors and titles are not mentioned, also aided Ḥamza in composing his account of Israelite and early Jewish history.

Although Ḥamza usually indicates his preference for a certain version of the events related, he is often skeptical about the possibility of establishing the truth: expressions such as *wa-huwa aʿlam*, *wa-huwa aʿlam bi-l-ḥaqāʾiq*, *wa-huwa aʿlam bi-ḥaqīq al-umūr*, and *wa-l-ʿilm ʿinda llāh* appear very frequently (sometimes as often as three times on one page), mostly in the sections dealing with the Persians, the Lakhmids, the Ghassanids, and the Ḥimyarites. That these caveats do not appear in the chapter on the Israelites, to be presented below, does not mean that Ḥamza has greater confidence in the reliability of the historiography of the Jews; on the contrary. At the beginning of his work he indicates the reason for his uncertainty and skepticism: in the course of history many of the chronicles kept by the different nations have become corrupted and can no longer be relied upon.[24] As an example, Ḥamza refers to the discrepancies that exist between the three different versions of the Torah: the Hebrew, the Samaritan, and the Greek.[25] This explanation,

20. Ḥamza, *Taʾrīḫ*, 55f.

21. Ḥamza, *Taʾrīḫ*, 50.

22. See Yāqūt, *al-Buldān*, *Dār ṣādir* ed., 1/208; Fischel, "Isfahan," 112f. The Jewish section of the city was sometimes referred to as Yahūdistān, and according to Yāqūt one would be hard pressed to find a noble family in Isfahan which did not originate from either weavers or Jews; see *al-Buldān*, 1977 ed., 1/208f.; Fischel, "Isfahan," 115. See also Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḏikr Iṣbahān*, 1/18f., 23f., about Isfahan as a city with a large Jewish population. Ḥamza himself mentions the presence of Jews in his city in the pre-Islamic period; see *Taʾrīḫ*, 44.

23. Rosenthal, *History of Muslim Historiography*, 139, n. 5.

24. Confusion regarding names accounts for some of the mistakes. There were several Persian kings called Bahrām, for example, and some chroniclers record the name of one or two only, omitting the third one, so that a gap is created in the chronology. Ḥamza aims to restore the Persian genealogies, and thereby the chronologies, to their original form; see Ḥamza, *Taʾrīḫ*, 17f.

25. Ḥamza, *Taʾrīḫ*, 11. The Hebrew Torah is the version used by the Jews; the Greek Torah is the Sep-

which he quotes on the authority of the astronomer Abū Maʿšar (d. 272/886),[26] was to be adduced about a century later by the astronomer al-Bīrūnī, who acknowledges his debt to Ḥamza on various occasions in his *Chronology of Ancient Nations*.[27] Interestingly enough, neither Ḥamza nor al-Bīrūnī turns the differences between the three recensions of the Torah into a polemical issue by accusing the Jews or the Christians of having forged their scripture, as did the fifth/eleventh-century theologian and jurist Ibn Ḥazm and other authors in his wake.[28]

Unsurprisingly, Ḥamza states that unlike the historical chronicles of the Persians and other nations, those of the Muslim Arabs are completely in order and free of all corruption,[29] and we do not therefore encounter any of the expressions of skepticism in the chapter about the Muslim Arabs.

In the following pages I shall present Ḥamza's survey of Israelite and early Jewish history in translation.[30] The biblical names will be given in their anglicized forms, followed by the Arabic forms in brackets. I have made no attempt to establish the correctness of the chronological details provided, but only traced the relevant biblical passages. The numbers in square brackets refer to the pages in the Beirut edition of the text.

The Text

[67] Fifth chapter, on the course of the [dates of the] years of the Israelites[31]

In the year 308 (920 CE) I met in Baghdad a certain Jewish scholar who claimed that he could recite the books of the Torah by heart. I heard a student of his mention that [this man] could [faith]fully recite twelve of the books of the prophets of the Israelites [apart from the books of the Torah]. The titles of these books are:[32]

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tuagint used by the Christians. Ḥamza mentions that the Samaritan version differs from the one held by the majority of Jews, and that the Greek version transmitted from the Seventy (i.e., the Septuagint) differs from versions transmitted by others.

26. On him, see EI2, s.v. "Abū Maʿshar ... al-Balkhī" (J. M. Millás). See also Rosenthal, *History of Muslim Historiography*, 111, 386f.

27. See al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āṯār al-bāqiya*, 31, 52, 97f., 105, 108, 114, 119, 123, 125f., 129, 130 (= *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, 36, 61, 62, 106, 112, 114, 117, 118, 122, 124, 125, 127, 128).

28. See Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 235f. for al-Bīrūnī; 247f. for Ibn Ḥazm.

29. Ḥamza, *Taʾrīḫ*, 125.

30. I have consulted Joseph Gottwaldt's Latin translation, which was published together with his edition of Ḥamza's work in 1844–48, and Moritz Steinschneider's German translation, published in 1845 under the title "Jüdische Chronik nach Hamza el Isfahani."

31. On this section of Ḥamza's book, see Steinschneider, "Jüdische Chronik"; Bacher, "Bibel und biblische Geschichte," 11f., 15–18; Bacher, "Zu G. Rothstein," 771f.

32. I provide here the Arabic titles as they appear in Ḥamza's text, with translation and some comments in the footnotes; in the Appendix the titles are given in Arabic script. According to Bacher ("Zu G. Rothstein," 773f.), the list of biblical books cannot have been provided in this form by the Jew from

- *Kitāb Yūšaᶜ b. Nūn*
- *Kitāb Šafaṭī*[33]
- *Kitāb Šamwīl*[34]
- *Kitāb Sifr al-mulūk*[35]
- *Kitāb Ḥikmat Sulaymān*[36]
- *Kitāb S-h-b-r-ā*[37]
- *Kitāb Qūhilit*[38]

Baghdad, but was rather inserted by Ḥamza into his informant's account, for it seems to reflect Christian influence: "Die Liste beruht offenbar auf unordentlichen Notizen, die Ḥamza nach christlichen Angaben ... besaß und etwas gewaltsam zu einer Liste von 12 Büchern redigierte." Elsewhere Bacher writes that the order in which the biblical books—none of which is included in the Torah proper—appear seems rather arbitrary, but the fact that the prophets are put at the end and that Daniel is added to Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel shows the influence of the Septuagint. This is confirmed, he states, by the fact that the list includes two apocrypha, viz. the Wisdom of Solomon and the book of S-h-b-r-ā (see notes 37 and 38 below), which he identifies as Ben Sira, a book that in the Septuagint appears after the Wisdom of Solomon. On the other hand, he adds, the remaining books, such as Song of Songs and Psalms, are all given with their Hebrew titles, which suggests that the list was compiled from pieces of information of Jewish and Christian provenance. See Bacher, "Bibel und biblische Geschichte," 11f.

33. The Book of Judges; compare to the Hebrew title of the book: *Šofetim*. One might have expected the title "Quḍāt" or "Ḥukkām" instead; see, e.g., Abū l-Fidā, *Historia*, 2; Ḥāǧǧī Ḫalīfa, *Kašf al-ẓunūn*, 1/505. *Sufṭī* is given by Ibn al-Nadīm in his list of the canonical books of the Jews; see *al-Fihrist*, 1/54. In Ibn al-Nadīm's list of Christian scriptures (1/56–58), the same book is referred to as "*Kitāb al-Asbāṭ wa-huwa Kitāb al-Quḍāt*" (1/57). The anonymous chronicle discussed by Johann W. Rothstein (*De chronographo arabe anonymo*) and further analyzed by Gustav Rothstein ("Der Kanon der biblischen Bücher") has "*Kitāb Sāfaṭī allaḏī yuᶜrafu bi-Kitāb al-Quḍāt wa-l-dayyānīn*"; see "Der Kanon," 638. Gustav Rothstein dates this text to the ninth or tenth century CE and places it in a Babylonian Nestorian milieu.

34. The Book of Samuel.

35. The Book of Kings. The term *sifr* (Hebrew *sefer*, "book") is redundant here after the word *Kitāb*. We find the same double indication for "book" in the section on the Jewish canon in Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*, ed. Tağaddud, 25, e.g., *kitāb sifr Ishaᶜyā* (cf., however, ed. Sayyid, 1/56, where *sifr* is invariably replaced by *tafsīr*), whereas the word *sifr* is absent in his list of Christian scriptures. At first sight it would therefore seem to provide a clear indication of Jewish influence, but the combination of *sifr* with *kitāb* is also encountered in the list of biblical books in Rothstein's anonymous chronicle, which is apparently of Nestorian provenance: *Kitāb sifr Malkā* or *Malkī*.

36. I.e., the Book of Wisdom, a noncanonical book which is known in Greek as *Sophia Salomonos*: the Wisdom of Solomon.

37. It is not entirely clear which biblical or extrabiblical book is indicated by the letters *s-h-b-r-ā*. Steinschneider translates it as "Das Buch der Klagen," i.e., Lamentations; see "Jüdische Chronik," 274. According to Bacher, however, it is a corruption of Sīra, the extracanonical book better known as Ben Sira, Sirach, or Ecclesiasticus; see his "Bibel und biblische Geschichte," 12. The possibility that we have here a much distorted reference to *Divre ha-yamīm* (Chronicles) is not entirely to be excluded either.

38. The Book of Ecclesiastes.

- *Kitāb Rūṯ*[39]
- *Kitāb Šīrīṯ*[40]
- *Kitāb Sīrīn*[41]
- *Kitāb Ayyūb*[42]
- *Kitāb Ǧawāmiʿ*[43]
- *Ḥikam Īšaʿyā, Armiyā, Ḥizqiyāl, Dāniyāl*[44]

I asked this man, whose name was Ṣidqīyā, to prepare for me a comprehensive excerpt of the chronologies of the Israelites, brief yet thorough, and he compiled from it what I am about to relate in this chapter.

He claims that the Torah states that God (mighty and exalted is He) created Adam on Friday, after three hours of it had passed. Then He created from him Eve and made the two of them dwell in *Kanʿādin,*[45] which is the Garden of Eden, at the sixth hour of that day. Then Adam disobeyed his Lord, so He expelled both of them from [the garden] at the ninth hour of that [same] day,[46] and He caused the two of them to descend on the holy

39. The Book of Ruth. In most Arabic sources it appears as *Raʿūṯ* or *Rāʿūṯ*; see, e.g., Rothstein, "Der Kanon," 638.

40. This is probably a reference to the Book of Psalms, which apart from *Tehillim* is also known as *Shirot* in Hebrew. However, Steinschneider takes the two titles *Kitāb Šīrīṯ* and *Kitāb Sīrīn* together and translates them as "Lied der Lieder" (Song of Songs; *Shir ha-shirim* in Hebrew); see his "Jüdische Chronik," 274. Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, ed. Tağaddud, 25, has *Sīr sīrīn* (ed. Sayyid, 1/55: *Sīr sīrin*); Rothstein's anonymous chronographer ("Der Kanon," 638) has *Sh-r-t sīrīn*.

41. This seems to be *Shirim*, i.e., [Song of] Songs; see previous note.

42. The Book of Job.

43. Again, it is not clear to which book this refers. At first sight it seems to be a reference to the Book of Ecclesiastes (*Ǧāmiʿ* in the Arabic Bible translations), but this has already been referred to as *Qūhilit*. Bacher ("Bibel und biblische Geschichte," 11) translates it as "kurze Aussprüche" and then adds (on p. 12) that it is probably a reference to Proverbs. In a later article, however, he states that perhaps *Ǧawāmiʿ* is to be read as *Ǧāmiʿa*, i.e., Qohelet, in which case this book would erroneously appear twice in the list ("Zu G. Rothstein," 774, n. 2).

44. Literally, the wisdoms of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel. These four books seem to be regarded as one scripture.

45. Hebrew: *Gan ʿEden.*

46. On the cycles of three hours, see also al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīḫ*, 1/5; Smit, *"Bijbel en Legende,"* 2. Smit refers to the *Cave of Treasures* and a number of other Christian texts as possible sources for al-Yaʿqūbī. He adds that many Jewish sources also mention that the expulsion from Paradise occurred at the ninth hour. *The Book of the Cave of Treasures* is a Syriac apocryphon, written in the third century CE. It was available in an Arabic translation at least since 750 or 760 CE and seems indirectly to have influenced Muslim authors such as Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889), al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), and especially al-Yaʿqūbī (d. in or after 292/905). See Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 3, 16, 114, 121. Al-Ṭabarī mentions the cycles of three hours (*Annales*, 1(1)/116f.; *History of al-Ṭabarī*, 1287f.), as does al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956); see *Murūǧ al-ḏahab/Les prairies d'or*, vol. 1, par. 47.

mountain,[47] and He dispatched an angel to them who taught Adam to plough, to sow, to thresh, to grind, and to sieve.[48] Eve [he taught] to weave, [68] to spin, to knead, and to bake [bread].[49] The life-span of Adam (peace be upon him) was 930 years.[50] The birth of Seth (*Šīṯ*) occurred after 130 years of [Adam's] life [had passed].[51] After the death of his father, Seth lived [another] 112 years, so that his total life-span was 912 years.[52] The birth of Noah occurred 126 years after the death of Adam, that is, 1,056 years after the day Adam (peace be upon him) was created.[53]

All the years of the world that passed until the beginning of the era of the Arabs, which starts with the *hiğra*, were 4,382.[54] Of [these years], 1,056 [passed] from the day of Adam's creation until the birth of Noah (peace be upon him). From the birth of Noah until the birth of Abraham (peace be upon him), there were, after his death, 850 years,[55] and from the birth of Abraham until Jacob's arrival in Egypt at his son Joseph's (peace be upon both of them), there were 290 years. From this [it follows] that the age of Abraham (peace be upon him) until the birth of Isaac (peace be upon him) was a hundred years.[56] From that time until his death, seventy-five years [passed].[57] From the birth of Isaac until the birth of Jacob (peace be upon both of them), sixty years passed.[58] From that time until [Isaac] died 120 years [passed]. From Jacob's birth until his arrival in Egypt, 130 years passed. From that time until his death, seventeen years [passed].[59] Jacob's arrival in Egypt occurred ten years after Isaac had died. Thereafter the Israelites dwelled in Egypt

47. See al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, 1(1)/123; *History of al-Ṭabarī*, 1/294.

48. Cf. al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīḫ*, 1/6; Smit, *"Bijbel en Legende,"* 3f.; al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, 1(1)/127–129; *History of al-Ṭabarī*, 1/298–300. According to Muslim tradition, the angel who was sent was Gabriel (*Ğibrīl*).

49. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, 1(1)/163; *History of al-Ṭabarī*, 1/334. Despite the claim of the Jewish informant, the account of the hours in which Adam was first created, then put into the Garden of Eden together with his wife, Eve, and subsequently expelled from that garden is not biblical. The informant may have taken the term Torah as a *pars pro toto* for the entire biblical and postbiblical tradition. This was not uncommon among the Jews; see EI1, s.v. "Tawrāt," 6/706 (J. Horovitz). Apparently as a result of this, the Muslims also took the term Torah to refer to a whole series of biblical and postbiblical books; see Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 17.

50. Gen. 5:5.

51. Gen. 5:3.

52. Gen. 5:8.

53. Note that many generations are skipped: Enosh, Kenan, Mahalel, Jared, Enoch, Methushelah, and Lamech are not mentioned.

54. According to Rosenthal, this figure corresponds to the traditional Jewish calculation; see his translation of al-Ṭabarī's *Taʾrīḫ* (*History of al-Ṭabarī*, 1/184, n. 14).

55. As was already observed by Steinschneider ("Jüdische Chronik," 275), this does not seem to make sense. He therefore suggests reading "after the flood" for "after his death."

56. Cf. Gen. 17:17.

57. I.e., Abraham was 175. See Gen. 25:7.

58. Gen. 25:26.

59. Gen. 47:28.

for 210 years until Moses led them out of there. From the Israelites' departure from Egypt until the construction of the Temple (*Bayt al-maqdis*),[60] 480 years [passed]. The Temple stood intact for a period of 410 years, after which it lay in ruins for seventy years. Then it remained intact [once more] for 420 years, and thereafter it lay in ruins for 554 years, and so [it was] at the arrival of the Arabs. Then ʿUmar b. al-Ḫaṭṭāb rebuilt it.[61] So far all that Ṣidqīyā related to me from the Torah.

Now, I myself have read in [69] **a book by a chronicler** (*baʿḍ ruwāt al-siyar*) that the destruction of the first Temple was carried out by Nebuchadnezzar (Buḫt al-Naṣṣar) b. Rahām (but it is also said that his name was Buḫtnaṣṣar b. Wayh b. Ǧūdarz[62]), at the orders of King Luhrāsb, after he had captured their king Jechoniah[63] (Yaḫuniyā), destroyed their city, and sent the captives to Babylonia; and that the one who restored it after seventy years was a king whose name in Hebrew is Koreš. The Jews believe that he is Bahman b. Isfandiyār,[64] but this is not in accordance with the chronology of the Persians, and the discrepancy between the two chronologies is more than 200 years. From the rebuilding of the Temple until its destruction by Titus, king of Rome, there are 460 years, and 460 years had passed from the era of Alexander.

I read in **another book** that between the construction of the Temple by Solomon and the reign of Alexander 717 years intervened; then between the destruction of the Temple by the Persians[65] and the death of Alexander 269 years passed. The appearance of the Messiah[66] (peace be upon him) occurred in the 65th year from the reign of Alexander, in the 51st year from the [beginning of the] reign of the Arsacids (*al-Ašaġāniyyīn*). The birth of the Messiah (peace be upon him) had occurred in the 42nd year of the reign

60. It is not always clear whether the name *Bayt al-maqdis* indicates the Temple or Jerusalem. However, since the text sometimes distinguishes between *Bayt al-maqdis* and Ūrušalīm, I have generally translated the former as the Temple.

61. This information is probably added by Ḥamza himself. According to a number of Islamic sources, including al-Ṭabarī, the Temple Mount and several other holy sites had been buried under rubble and filth by the Romans. ʿUmar started clearing away the rubbish with his own hands and ordered the construction of a place of worship on the spot. See Busse, "ʿUmar b. al-Ḫaṭṭāb in Jerusalem."

62. See also Ḥamza, *Taʾrīḫ*, 31, where the destruction of Jerusalem by Buḫtnaṣṣar b. Wayū [*sic*] b. Ǧūdarz is mentioned as one of the events that took place during the reign of the Persian king Kay-Luhrāsb. On p. 28 it is said that the city was destroyed, and its people were exiled.

63. He is also known as Jehoiachin.

64. See also Ḥamza, *Taʾrīḫ*, 32.

65. This confusion can possibly be explained by the fact that Nebuchadnezzar was believed by some to have been a Persian; see al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, 1(2)/649; *History of al-Ṭabarī*, 4/47: "It is said that this Nebuchadnezzar who attacked the Israelites was called Bukhtrashah, and that he was a Persian of the progeny of Jūdharz."

66. *Al-Masīḥ*; the reference is to Jesus.

of Augustus, king of the Romans.[67] Then followed the destruction of the Temple at the hands of Titus, son of Vespasian, king of the Romans, after the warriors had been killed and [their] children had been taken captive to the city of Rome, and the Temple was demolished until not a single stone remained on top of the other, forty years after the Messiah (peace be upon him) had been taken up [to heaven].[68]

From the destruction of the Temple by Titus until the end of the reign of Constantine 272 years passed. From the end of the reign of Constantine until the *hiǧra*, 285 years and a bit have gone by.

I have read in **a book whose authorship is attributed to Finḥās b. Bāṭā the Hebrew**[69] that between the birth of Moses (peace be with him) and [the time] he led the bands of Israelites [70] out of the land of Egypt into the plain of Palestine, that is, the desert (*al-tīh*),[70] eighty years passed, and from his sojourn in the desert until Joshua led the Israelites out of it, forty years. According to this calculation, then, 120 years passed between the birth of Moses (peace be upon him) and his death.[71] When Joshua took the Israelites out of the desert, he led them, while the Ark of the Covenant was with him, until he crossed the river Jordan. He and his companions came upon a path,[72] and they surrounded the city of Jericho for six days, intent on war.[73] On the seventh day, he gave them orders to blow [their] horns, and the people raised one great cry, and as a result the walls of the city fell;[74] they plundered it, destroyed it, and burned it down with all that was in it, except the gold and the silver and the vessels of copper and iron, which they put into the treasury.[75]

Then Joshua b. Nun attacked the king of Ai (ʿĀy) and his people.[76] He conquered Ai and crucified its king on a piece of wood.[77] He burned the city, killing 12,000 men,

67. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, 1(2)/740; *History of al-Ṭabarī*, 4/124: "Some historians mentioned that Jesus was born forty-two years after Augustus had become emperor."

68. The destruction of the Temple by Titus is mentioned also in the chapter on the Romans, *Taʾrīḫ*, 58, where Vespasian is joined to him as a co-ruler.

69. I have not been able to identify this person.

70. Here I adopt Gottwald's reading.

71. Deut. 34:7. Elsewhere, namely, in his chapter on the Persians, Ḥamza states that the exodus from Egypt, the wanderings through the desert, the revelation of the Torah, and the entry into Palestine under Joshua occurred simultaneously with the reign of Manuchehr; see *Taʾrīḫ*, 28f.

72. Josh. 3:11–17. The path they came upon was created miraculously: the waters of the river Jordan were dried up so that the Israelites could cross.

73. Josh. 6:1–3.

74. Josh. 6:4f., 15f., 20.

75. Josh. 6:19.

76. Josh. 8.

77. Cf. Josh. 8:29: "He hanged the king of Ai from a tree." The wording found in Ḥamza's text (*ṣalaba malikahā ʿalā ḫašaba*) corresponds literally with what we encounter in the *Taʾrīḫ* of Ḥamza's teacher al-Ṭabarī; see *Annales*, 1(1)/514; *History of al-Ṭabarī*, 3/96.

women, and youngsters.[78] Now, from the moment Joshua took charge of the affairs of the Israelites—that is, from the time Moses (peace be upon him) died—until he himself died, twenty-seven years passed.[79]

After Joshua b. Nun the tribe of Judah and the tribe of Simeon took charge of the [affairs of the] Israelites, and they prepared for war against the Canaanites and the Perizzites; they attacked them and at Bezek (Bāraq) they killed 10,000 people.[80] They seized the king of Bezek and took him to Jerusalem (Ūrušalīm), where he died.[81] Then the Israelites committed sins and worshipped a mule,[82] and their misdeeds increased, and Elijah (Ilyās) b. Bāsīn b. ʿĪzār b. Hārūn b. ʿImrān was sent to them, and he called upon them to desist from their sins, but they did not obey him, so he invoked a drought upon them, and it did not rain for three years.[83] Elijah kept himself hidden among them, and they could not find him. After the Israelites failed to locate him, Elisha (Alīsaʿ) b. Aḫṭūb replaced him, and he remained among them while they abandoned themselves to sinning. The Ark was among them and they asked for its assistance during [their] advances [against enemy armies]. After Elisha a man called Īlāq ruled over them. An enemy of his marched against him, so he went out with the Israelites to meet him, while the Ark went ahead of him. The enemy seized the Ark, and [the affairs of] the Israelites became confused and the enemy put them to flight, so they retreated to their [own] country and remained [71] different from their usual state.[84] The number of years that passed while they were in this state, that is, the years associated with the leaders and judges from among the Israelites after the death of Joshua b. Nun, is 460.[85]

78. Josh. 8:19, 25.

79. Al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, 1(1)/515f.; *History of al-Ṭabarī*, 3/97.

80. Judg. 1:4.

81. 1 Kings 16:32f..

82. *Baġl*, which is an obvious mistake for *baʿl*: Baal, idol. Cf. Judg. 2:11–13. See also Bacher, "Bibel und biblische Geschichte," 16, n. 1.

83. 1 Kings 17:1; 18:1. In al-Ṭabarī's *Taʾrīḫ* (*Annales*, 1(2)/540; *History of al-Ṭabarī*, 3/122) we find the following name: Ilyās b. Yāsīn b. Finḥās b. Alʿīzār b. Hārūn b. ʿImrān. The name Finḥās is missing in Ḥamza's text. In the Bible Elijah's name is given simply as Elijah the Tishbite. For an explanation of the link between Elijah and Pinhas, see *Encyclopedia Judaica*, s.v. "Elijah," col. 637: "The furious zeal displayed by Elijah on that occasion (cf. I Kings 18:40, 19:10, 14) was so similar to that shown by Aaron's grandson Phinehas (cf. Num. 25:7ff., Ps. 106:30) that in Rabbinic literature the two are often identified, either expressly or by implication." See also Bacher, "Bibel und biblische Geschichte," 16f.

84. This phrase appears almost literally in al-Ṭabarī's *Annales*, 1(2)/545; *History of al-Ṭabarī*, 3/126. Here, the name of this unidentified ruler is given as Īlāf. According to Brinner, Ilāf or Aylāf is "not identifiable with any biblical figure except perhaps Eli the priest," although the latter is mentioned by name later; see *History of al-Ṭabarī*, 3/126, n. 671.

85. Al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, 1(2)/545; *History of al-Ṭabarī*, 3/127. Several judges are missing from the following account, namely, Othniel, Ehud, Shamgar, and Deborah, who was a judge and a prophetess.

Of these [460 years] God caused Cushan (Kūšān), king of Aram, to rule them for eight years because of their sins.[86] He was of the descendants of Lot who lived in the Damascus area. Then they had rest from war for forty years.[87] Then He made Eglon (ʿAqlūn), king of Ḏāb,[88] rule over them, and he enslaved them for eighteen years.[89] Their rest from war lasted for eighty years.[90] Then Jabin (Yābīn), also known as Naqāš, king of Canaan, was made to rule over them and to enslave them for twenty years.[91] Then they had rest from war for a forty-year period.[92] Then the people of Midian—who were a people from the descendants of Lot who lived near the borders of the Ḥijāz—were made to rule over them for seven years.[93] Their subjugation by Gideon b. Joash (Ǧadʿūn b. Yuwāš) and his judgeship over them lasted forty years.[94] The rule of Amlak (= Abimelek) b. Gideon over them lasted three years.[95] The rule of Tola b. Phua (Tūlaʿ b. Fuwā) over them lasted twenty-three years;[96] that of Jabin (Yābīn = Jair) the Israelite twenty-two.[97] For eighteen years the Ammonites, a people from Palestine, ruled over them.[98] The rule of Jephtah (Yaftaḥ), a leader in charge of the Israelites, lasted six years;[99] the rule of Ibzan (Baḥsūn) from the village of Bethlehem, who was an Israelite, lasted seven years;[100] that of Elon (Alūn) lasted ten years; and[101] that of Abdon (Abdūn)—who had forty sons and thirty grand-

86. Judg. 3:8.
87. Judg. 3:11.
88. Read Moab.
89. Judg. 3:12f.
90. Judg. 3:30.
91. Judg. 4:2f.
92. Judg. 5:31.
93. Judg. 6:1.
94. Cf. Judg. 8:28.
95. Judg. 9:22.
96. Judg. 10:1f.
97. Judg. 10:3.
98. Judg. 10:7.
99. Judg. 12:7.
100. Cf. Judg. 12:8f. The name of the judge in question, Ibzan, is either so badly distorted as to be unrecognizable, or conflated with the name Nahshon (who was the chieftain of the tribe of Judah at the time of the exodus from Egypt; see Exod. 6:23; Num. 2:3, 7:12–17, 10:14). Ḥamza appears to be following al-Ṭabarī here, who has Bağšūn (and we find the same in al-Masʿūdī's *Murūǧ al-ḏahab*, vol. 1, par. 96). On the other hand, al-Yaʿqūbī's *Taʾrīḫ* (1/19) has Abīṣān allaḏī yudʿā Naḥšūn. Smit ("*Bijbel en legende*," 60, n. 1) traces this combination of the names Ibzan and Nahshon to the Syriac work known as *The Cave of Treasures*, which, as was mentioned earlier, seems to have been one of the main sources of al-Yaʿqūbī's biblical section. Bacher, on the other hand, assumes that the explanation lies in the fact that in the Talmud Ibzan is identified with Boaz, who was one of the ancestors of Nahshon; see "Bibel und biblische Geschichte," 23.
101. Judg. 12:11.

sons who rode with him on asses—lasted eight years.[102] The second [period of] Philistine domination over them lasted forty years.[103] The rule of Samson the powerful (Šimšūn al-Ǧabbār) from among the Israelites lasted twenty years.[104] After Samson the Israelites remained without a leader for ten years.[105] The rule of Eli the priest (Ġālī al-kāhin), who managed the affairs of the Israelites and in whose days the people of Ashdod, Gaza, and Ashkelon took possession of the Ark of the Covenant,[106] lasted forty years.[107] In the 21st year of his rule, the second millennium of the world was completed.

[72] After Eli the priest, the affairs of the Israelites were managed by the prophet Samuel (peace be upon him) for twenty years.[108] Then Samuel anointed the head of Ṭālūt—whose name in Syriac is Shaul (Šāwul)—with oil so as to make him king over the Israelites.[109] He remained among them [as their king] for forty years.[110] Then David (peace be upon him), who had taken over from Saul at the attack on Goliath (Ǧālūt), was king for forty years.[111] Thereafter Solomon, the son of David (peace be upon both of them), ruled for forty years.[112] Then the children of Solomon and their children ruled, until Nebuchadnezzar attacked them and expelled them from Jerusalem, taking those he had made captive among them to Babylonia. Earlier, Sennacherib (Sanḥārīb), the king of Mosul, had attacked them in the days of Isaiah, when the sons of Solomon (peace be upon him) ruled.[113] The sum total of all these years until Nebuchadnezzar's destruction of the Temple is 394 years and six months.

102. Judg. 12:13f.; a rare case of anecdotal information which has no immediate bearing on issues of chronology. For some reason, the information about the judge's offspring and their riding animals is given only in this case, although similar details are provided in the Book of Judges for Jair (see Judg. 10:4) and Ibzan (Judg. 12:9, about his offspring).

103. Judg. 13:1.

104. Judg. 16:31.

105. Cf. Judg. 17:6, 18:1, 19:1, 21:25.

106. 1 Sam. 4:10f. The towns of the Philistines are referred to in 1 Sam. 6:17.

107. 1 Sam. 4:18.

108. Cf. 1 Sam. 7:2, 15.

109. 1 Sam. 10:1; see al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, 1(2)/559; *History of al-Ṭabarī*, 3/139: "Ṭālūt's name in Syriac is Šāwul," which according to Brinner corresponds with the Hebrew rather than with the Syriac; see p. 139, n. 740 in his translation. See also Bacher, "Bibel und biblische Geschichte," 17, n. 3: "Unter surjani is wahrscheinlich Hebräisch miteinbegriffen."

110. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, 1(2)/559; *History of al-Ṭabarī*, 3/139: "The people of the Torah assert that Saul's reign lasted forty years [...]."

111. 1 Kings 2:11. See al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, 1(2)/559; *History of al-Ṭabarī*, 3/139.

112. 1 Kings 11:42.

113. 2 Kings 18:13; 2 Kings 19.

Of the[se years], Rehoboam (Arḥabʿam), son of Solomon, ruled for seventeen years;[114] Abijam (Abiyā), son of Rehoboam, for three years;[115] Asa (Asā), son of Abijam, for forty-one years;[116] Jehoshaphat (Yahūšāfāṭ), son of Asa, for twenty-five years;[117] Jehoram (Yahūrām), son of Jehoshaphat, for eight years, starting during his father's rule;[118] Ahaziah (Aḥaziyāhū), son of Jehoram, for one year;[119] Joash (Yūʾaš), son of Ahaziah, for forty years;[120] Amaziah (Amaḍiyā), son of Joash, for twenty-nine years (that is, fourteen years until he was incarcerated);[121] Uzziah (ʿUziyā), son of Amaziah, for fifty-two years (fifteen of which while his father was alive and in prison);[122] Athaliah (ʿAṯaliyā), who is the mother of Ahaziah, for six years;[123] Jotham (Yūṯām) for sixteen years;[124] Hezekiah (Ḥizqiyā), son of Ahaz (Aḥāz), who ruled at the time of Isaiah, for twenty-nine years;[125] Manasseh (Manašā), son of Hezekiah, for twenty-five years;[126] Amon (Amūn), son of Manasseh, for two years;[127] Josiah (Yūšiyā), son of Amon, for thirty-one years;[128] Jehoahaz (Yāhuwāḥāz), son of Josiah, for three months;[129] Jehoiakim (Yahūyāqīm), for eleven years;[130] and Jechoniah (Yaḫuniyā), son of Jehoiakim, who was imprisoned and taken to Babylonia by Nebuchadnezzar, for three months.[131] Then Zedekiah (Ṣidqiyā) became king, appointed by Nebuchadnezzar when [the latter] left Jerusalem to go [back] to Babylonia. When he saw that Nebuchadnezzar had left, he showed disobedience, so Nebuchadnezzar turned [73] back and attacked them once more and destroyed the city, razing the Temple (*al-haykal*) to the ground. He imprisoned Zedekiah and took captive the common people among the Israelites, deporting them to Babylonia. The rule over Jerusalem and the Temple (*Ūrušalīm wa-bayt al-maqdis*) fell to Nebuchadnezzar, and it remained in ruins for seventy

114. 1 Kings 14:21.
115. 1 Kings 15:1.
116. 1 Kings 15:10.
117. 1 Kings 22:42.
118. 2 Kings 8:17.
119. 2 Kings 8:26.
120. 2 Kings 12:1.
121. 2 Kings 14:2.
122. 2 Kings 15:2. Uzziah is also known as Azariah.
123. 2 Kings 11:3. Athaliah in fact ruled after her son Ahaziah and before her grandson Joash.
124. 2 Kings 15:33. Jotham was succeeded by Ahaz, who ruled for sixteen years; see 2 Kings 16:2. He is omitted from Ḥamza's list.
125. 2 Kings 18:1f.
126. This is an error; 2 Kings 21:1 has fifty-five years.
127. 2 Kings 21:19.
128. 2 Kings 22:1.
129. 2 Kings 23:31.
130. 2 Kings 23:36.
131. He is also known as Jehoiachin; see 2 Kings 24:8; cf. 1 Chron. 3:16.

years.[132] When the Israelites returned to Jerusalem, the Greeks and the Romans ruled over them.

In another work [it is written] that the period of Nebuchadnezzar's rule over Jerusalem and the remaining lands of the West was forty-five years, nineteen of them before he destroyed the Temple and twenty-six thereafter. Then Nebuchadnezzar's son, Aw-Kardūğ,[133] became its king for twenty-two years. Then Belshazzar (Balšaṣar) ruled for three years,[134] and then Dārā b. Dārā, whose name in Syriac is Dāryāwuš, killed Belshazzar.[135]

Concluding Remarks

As in his chapters on the other nations, in the chapter on the Israelites Ḥamza has taken care to avail himself of a number of written and oral sources, not necessarily Muslim ones. In fact, sometimes he prefers to consult non-Muslim sources in order to arrive at a reliable account—to the extent possible, that is, for we have seen that in Ḥamza's view the chronology of the Israelites, like that of the Persians and those of several other nations, underwent considerable distortion in the course of history, so that it is difficult to reconstruct the correct duration and sequence of reigns and events. His account of the Israelites is built on no fewer than five sources, one oral (Ṣidqīyā), the others written; while at least one of his written sources must have been Christian, because it refers to the appearance of the Messiah (i.e., Jesus), another one is definitely Jewish, viz. the book ascribed to Finḥās b. Bāṭā. However, the latter source is something of an enigma: it is precisely in the section ascribed to Finḥās b. Bāṭā that we find a series of phrases that seem to be taken literally from the *Taʾrīḫ* of al-Ṭabarī, with whom Ḥamza studied for some time in Baghdad. It is possible that he switched freely between the account of Ibn Bāṭā and that of al-Ṭabarī, but in that case it is surprising that we do not find a reference to the famous historian, since Ḥamza usually scrupulously indicates the provenance of his information, whether obtained orally or from written sources. It is, of course, possible that the work did originally contain a reference to al-Ṭabarī, but that it was subsequently deleted, most likely inadvertently, by the copyist. Some of the other information may well have been taken from one of the works of Abū Maʿšar consulted by Ḥamza.[136]

132. 2 Chron. 36:10–21.

133. Nebuchanezzar's son Evil-Merodakh is referred to in 2 Kings 25:27, Jer. 52:31; see also al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, 1(2)/651: Awalmardūḫ (and see the variants in the footnotes); *History of al-Ṭabarī*, 4/49. According to al-Ṭabarī, he ruled for twenty-three years.

134. According to al-Ṭabarī (*Annales*, 1(2)/651f.; *History of al-Ṭabarī*, 4/49), he was a son of Evil-Merodakh and ruled for one year.

135. See al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, 1(2)/652; *History of al-Ṭabarī*, 4/49.

136. See Rosenthal, *History of Muslim Historiography*, 111: "We know as a fact that much historical

It is interesting that Ḥamza made do with a set of excerpts from the Bible (and a number of secondary works) when he could himself have consulted the text, which by his time was available in a number of Arabic translations.[137] In so doing, he placed much trust in his sources, which he does not seem to have verified. If he had, he would have noticed that the information given is sometimes at variance with the text of the Bible, and that many links in the chronology of the Israelites were missing: several patriarchs, judges, and kings are simply not mentioned.[138]

For his historical survey of the Israelites, Ḥamza has used a number of sources that complement each other; only here and there is information duplicated, and where it is, Ḥamza makes no attempt to harmonize the different accounts, nor does he indicate a preference for one of them, which is unusual for him.

As for the nature of the information supplied by Ḥamza: he is concerned only with the order in which the leaders of the Israelites (patriarchs, judges, prophets, priests, and kings) succeeded each other, and with the lengths of their respective reigns. We find no discussions of important events that took place during the reigns of the various kings, nor of the nature of their rule (whether they were pious or the opposite) or their religious policies, and in fact this is not to be expected in a work of this nature. While Ḥamza may well have felt out of his depth here, it should be pointed out that he explicitly states that he has aimed to keep his work brief, and that he has therefore omitted several accounts.[139] This applies to the chapter on the Israelites no less than to the remaining sections.

All in all, Ḥamza's account of Israelite and early Jewish history is among the most accurate ones produced by medieval Muslim scholars,[140] and, according to Rosenthal, he is to be commended for his serious scientific spirit and his courage to go back to the original sources.[141]

material was contained in the *Kitâb al-Ulûf* of Abû Maʿšar, which was, therefore, used by the historians al-Masʿûdî and Ḥamzah al-Iṣfahânî."

137. Ḥamza's contemporary, al-Masʿūdī, seems to have had access to a number of Arabic translations of the Torah, and he was personally acquainted with a number of Jews who had translated their scriptures; see Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 124f.

138. After Solomon, the only rulers referred to are the kings of Judah; their rivals in the kingdom of Israel are not mentioned at all. See also notes 55, 87, and 126 above.

139. Ḥamza, *Taʾrīḫ*, 163.

140. Rosenthal, *History of Muslim Historiography*, 91.

141. Rosenthal, "Influence of the Biblical Tradition," 42.

Appendix: Books of the Bible and Biblical Names in Ḥamza's *Taʾrīḫ* in Order of Appearance

Canonical and Extra-Canonical Books

The Book of Joshua — كتاب يوشع بن نون
The Book of Judges — كتاب شفطي
The Book of Samuel — كتاب شمويل
The Book of Kings — كتاب سفر الملوك
The Wisdom of Solomon — كتاب حكمة سليمان
Lamentations? Ben Sira?[142] — كتاب سهبرا
Ecclesiastes — كتاب قوهلت
The Book of Ruth — كتاب روث
Psalms?[143] — كتاب شيريث
Song of Songs?[144] —كتاب سيرين
The Book of Job — كتاب أيوب
Proverbs?[145] — كتاب جوامع
The Books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Danie1[146] — ودانيال وأرميا إيشعيا وحزقيال

Persons, Peoples, and Places

Adam — آدم
Eve — حوّا
Garden of Eden — كنعادن
Seth — شيث
Noah — نوح
Abraham — ابرهيم
Jacob — يعقوب
Joseph — يوسف
Isaac — إسحاق
Nebuchadnezzar — بخت النصر بن رهام
Jechoniah — يخنيا
Cyrus — كورش
Moses — موسى

142. See n. 38 above.
143. See n. 41 above.
144. See n. 42 above.
145. See n. 44 above.
146. See n. 45 above.

Joshua — يوشع
Ai — عاي
Judah — يهودا
Simeon — شمعون
Canaanites — الكنعانيون
Perizzites — الفرزيون
Bezek — بارق
Jerusalem — أورشليم
Elijah — إلياس بن باسين بن عيزار بن هارون بن عمران
Elisha — اليسع بن أخطوب
Īlāq[147] — إيلاق
Cushan, king of Aram — كوشان ملك ارم
Lot — لوط
Eglon, king of Moab — عقلون ملك ذاب
Jabin — يابين، ناقش
Midian — مدين
Gideon b. Joash — جدعون إبن يواش
Amalek (=Abimelek) b. Gideon — أملك بن جدعون
Tola b. Phua — تولع بن فوا
Jabin (= Yair) the Israelite — يابين الإسرائيلي
Ammonites — بني عمون
Jephtah —يفتح
Ibzan — بحسون
Elon — الون
Abdon — ابدون
Samson — شمشون الجبّار
Eli the Priest — غالي الكاهن
Saul — طالوت، شاول
David — داوود
Goliath — جالوت
Sennacherib — سنحاريب
Rehoboam, son of Solomon — أرحبعم
Abijam, son of Rehoboam — أبيا بن أرحبعم
Asa, son of Abijam — اسا بن أبيا
Jehoshaphat, son of Asa — يهوشافاط بن اسا
Jehoram, son of Jehoshaphat — يهورام بن يهوشافاط
Ahaziah, son of Jehoram — احزياهو بن يهورام
Joash, son of Ahaziah — يوأش بن احزياهو

147. See n. 85 above.

Amaziah, son of Joash — امضيا بن يواش
Uzziah, son of Amaziah — عزيا بن امضيا
Athaliah, mother of Ahaziah — أثليا أم أحزيا
Jotham — يوثام
Hezekiah, son of Ahaz — حزقيا بن احاز
Manasseh, son of Hezekiah— منشا بن حزقيا
Amon, son of Manasseh — امون بن منشا
Josiah, son of Amon — يوشيا بن امون
Jehoahaz, son of Josiah — ياهواحاز بن يوشيا
Jehoiakim — يهوياقيم
Jechoniah, son of Jehoiakim — يخنيا بن يهوياقيم
Zedekiah — صدقيا
Evil-Merodakh — أوكردوج
Belshazzar — بلشصر
Dara b. Dara, Daryāwuš — داریاوش، دارا بن دارا

Chapter Twelve
A Rare Case of Biblical "Testimonies" to the Prophet Muḥammad in Muʿtazilite Literature: Quotations from Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī's *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-Dawla* in Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Basrī's *Ġurar al-Adilla*, as Preserved in a Work by al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī

Camilla Adang

Introduction

The text presented in the following pages is a chapter from *al-Munqiḏ min al-taqlīd*,[1] a compendium of Muʿtazilite theology composed in the year 581/1185 by the Imāmī Muʿtazilite Sadīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī b. Ḥasan al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, who died after 600/1204.[2] The chapter that is edited and translated here deals with the biblical passages that were adduced by Muslims as proof of the veracity of the prophethood of Muḥammad.[3]

It is of great scholarly interest for a number of reasons. First of all, it contains extensive quotations from a work, now lost, by the well-known Muʿtazilite theologian Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1044).[4] The work in question is *Ġurar al-adilla*, "The best of proofs," in which the author defends himself against attacks elicited by his earlier tract

1. Al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, *al-Munqiḏ*. For a list of manuscripts and editions, see *Muʿǧam al-turāṯ al-kalāmī*, 5/305. The work is also known under the titles *al-Muršid ilā l-tawḥīd wa-l-munqiḏ min al-taqlīd* and *al-Taʿlīq al-ʿirāqī li-l-kalām.*

2. On this author, who is little known to Sunnī scholars but no stranger to Šīʿites, see the introduction to the edition of *al-Munqiḏ*, and the introduction to Schmidtke and Ansari, *Khulāṣat al-Naẓar*, x–xi.

3. I should like to thank Wilferd Madelung for drawing my attention to the section on biblical annunciations and for a number of valuable comments and suggestions for improvement of the edition and the translation. Needless to say, I alone remain responsible for any remaining errors.

4. On Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, see *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. "Abū'l-Ḥosayn al-Baṣrī," 1/322–24

Taṣaffuḥ al-adilla.[5] On the basis of al-Ḥimmaṣī's work—not only the chapter under discussion here—it is possible to make a partial reconstruction of the contents of the *Ġurar*.

Secondly, it is quite unusual to find, in a work of Muʿtazilite theology, a section dealing with biblical predictions of the coming of Muḥammad and of Islam. For although most *kalām* theologians, both Muʿtazilites as well as others, discussed the issue of prophethood and the ways to demonstrate the genuineness of the message of someone claiming to be a prophet, they usually concentrated on the inimitable Qurʾān as the incontrovertible proof of Muḥammad's prophetic dignity. Apparently, unlike the more traditionally minded theologians, they saw the description of the prophet in the Bible as a secondary proof, and they clearly did not take the Qurʾānic verse which states that Muḥammad is encountered in the Torah and the Gospel that the Jews and the Christians possess (Q 7:157) as an invitation to verify for themselves where and in which way he is described. Even the Qādī ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamaḏānī (d. 415/1025), arguably the most influential Muʿtazilite theologian and author of, among other things, a voluminous work on the proofs of prophethood (*Taṯbīt dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*), dispenses with a discussion of what had come to be recognized as one of the most resounding proofs of a prophet's veracity: annunciation in an earlier sacred scripture.[6] The presence of a chapter on testimonies in a work of the nature of *al-Munqiḏ min al-taqlīd*, then, is somewhat of a surprise. But in dealing so extensively with the topic, al-Ḥimmaṣī merely follows the example of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, from whose *Ġurar al-adilla* he lifted the section on biblical annunciations.

But the chapter presented here is important for a third reason: it provides decisive proof of the antiquity and authenticity of a text that has long been considered a twentieth-century forgery, namely, *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* by Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī, a third/ninth-century Christian convert to Islam (d. ca. 251/865).[7]

The author of this work sought to convince non-Muslims in general, and Christians in particular, of the truth of Muḥammad's prophetic mission. Almost half of the book is taken up by argumentation on the basis of passages from the Bible (in its wider sense, in-

(D. Gimaret); EI2, s.v. "Abū'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī," suppl., 25 (W. Madelung); and the introduction to Schmidtke and Ansari, *Khulāṣat al-Naẓar*.

5. See Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, *Taṣaffuḥ al-adilla*.

6. See Reynolds, *Muslim Theologian*, 98: "[ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār] is generally silent on biblical predictions of Muḥammad, a topic about which other Muslim scholars speak at length." It should, however, be noted that the authenticity of the *Taṯbīt* as a work by ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār has been questioned. See Ansari, "Yek purseš muhimm darbāra-yi yek kitāb-I mašhūr: *Taṯbīt dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*," and Ansari, "Nawīsanda-yi *Taṯbīt dalāʾil al-nubuwwa* (2)."

7. For a brief history of the controversy and a biographical sketch of the author, see Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 23–29, with bibliographical references. See also chapter 7 in the present volume. To date there have been three editions of Ibn Rabban's work, viz. by Alphonse Mingana (who also produced an English translation under the title *The Book of Religion and Empire*), by ʿĀdil Nuwayhiḍ, and by Rifaat Ebied and David Thomas (Ebied and Thomas also provide a translation of the work).

cluding the New Testament) that could be taken to refer to the Prophet and to his nation. From the Hebrew Bible alone Ibn Rabban adduces more than sixty testimonies, sixteen of which are reproduced, in most cases verbatim, by al-Ḥimmaṣī, who indicates that he is quoting them from Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Ġurar*. Since Abū l-Ḥusayn, and al-Ḥimmaṣī in his wake, mentions Ibn Rabban by name, we have here a concrete—and relatively early—piece of evidence positively linking Ibn Rabban to the Manchester manuscript that was regarded with suspicion.

The number of alleged biblical references to the Prophet contained in the chapter under discussion is small in comparison to what we find in Ibn Rabban's work, which means that a selection was made. The question is only by whom: was it Abū l-Ḥusayn himself who picked what had by that time become the standard testimonies (e.g., Gen. 16:6–12; Deut. 18:18f.), discarding the less obvious and therefore less popular ones, or was it al-Ḥimmaṣī who chose these sixteen passages from a larger number found in the *Ġurar*? What exactly was Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Vorlage*?[8] Although he closely follows the text of Ibn Rabban's book as well as his argumentation,[9] this need not mean that he had a complete copy at his disposal, and perhaps not even a complete version of the chapters from *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* that deal with biblical annunciations (chapters 9 and 10 in the Arabic text). It is not inconceivable that these chapters circulated as a separate booklet, under Ibn Rabban's name, and that an excerpt of this booklet was made later on, containing mainly the most popular proof texts which had become fixed ingredients in Muslim polemics and apologetics. If this is so, one cannot escape the irony that Ibn Rabban's list, which, as I have shown elsewhere, was itself based on a preexisting list of Messianic passages which he managed to expand,[10] should in turn have been curtailed.[11]

What is interesting is that Abū l-Ḥusayn seems to accept Ibn Rabban's version as the authoritative one. He uses it as his basic proof text, comparing it at times with the Hebrew version or at least a version allegedly transmitted from the Hebrew by a Jew. Moreover, he makes frequent reference to a number of Christian transmissions, in Syriac and other languages. However, what he does not seem to realize is that Ibn Rabban's version is, in the final analysis, also a Christian (albeit an islamized) one in the sense that it is based on the Syriac.

8. He indicates that he has seen more than one manuscript of Ibn Rabban's text.

9. Though Abū l-Ḥusayn has some highly original arguments as well.

10. Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 21, 145, 148.

11. It also shows that Moshe Perlmann was correct in his assumption that Ibn Rabban's tract was "a Bible quarry for Muslim controversialists" and that *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* was perhaps not eclipsed by a similar work by his contemporary, Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889), as I previously assumed; see Perlmann, "Note on the Authenticity," and Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 148. For a translation of the biblical annunciations adduced by Ibn Qutayba—most of which can be encountered in Ibn Rabban's tract and some of which appear in Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *Ġurar* as quoted by al-Ḥimmaṣī—see Adang, *Muslim Writers*, Appendix 3. See also chapters 4 and 5 in the present volume.

Unlike Ibn Rabban, who mainly had his former coreligionists in mind, Abū l-Ḥusayn seems to address himself exclusively to the Jews. He adduces passages only from the Hebrew Bible, refutes Jewish arguments, and refers to one or more Jewish interlocutors. That Abū l-Ḥusayn held discussions with Jews seems to be confirmed by references in his discussion of *nasḫ*, abrogation of one revealed law by another, which we find in al-Ḥimmaṣī's *Munqiḏ*.[12] According to Madelung and Schmidtke, there must have been Jews who were attracted to Abū l-Ḥusayn's teachings. One of them may have been a convert to Islam of Egyptian origin who became a disciple of Abū l-Ḥusayn.[13]

Although al-Ḥimmaṣī's work has been preserved in several manuscripts and is available in various editions, most of these are not easily accessible. The edition I had at my disposal is, moreover, seriously flawed, especially in the section under discussion, where the editor was clearly unfamiliar with the subject matter and with biblical names. In addition, he was obviously unaware of the existence of Ibn Rabban's work. For the edition presented here Abū l-Ḥusayn's quotations were compared with *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, which made it possible to correct many errors.[14] All corrections and emendations are indicated in the footnotes,[15] as are the parallels with Ibn Rabban's tract,[16] which are quoted in full, highlighting the extent of Abū l-Ḥusayn's indebtedness to the earlier author. Biblical names have been corrected on the basis of the Arabic translation of the Bible, published in 1998 in Lebanon by the Bible Society. The numbers in square brackets that appear in the edition and the translation refer to the pages in the Qum edition of the *Munqiḏ*.

Translation

[504] Among the clear proofs of [Muḥammad's] prophethood are the annunciations of him [found] in the books of the prophets (peace be upon them), of the spread of his call, the appearance of his religion, the victory of his tribe, and the cultivation of his country and his desert.

This was stated by Šayḫ Abū l-Ḥusayn in his *Ġurar*, where he says: Among this is what is [stated] in the ninth chapter of [505] the first book (*sifr*),[17] namely, that when Sarah became angry at Hagar,[18] the angel of God (exalted is He) appeared to [the latter] and

12. Discussed by Sabine Schmidtke in her "Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī on the Torah" [chapter 8 in the present volume].

13. Madelung and Schmidtke, *Rational Theology*, 9. See also n. 38 to the translation presented here.

14. Despite the fact that both editions available to date also contain many mistakes.

15. Readings of the edition of the *Munqiḏ* are indicated as مت.

16. The references are to the Mingana edition.

17. In fact Gen. 16:6–12.

18. In the Arabic text Sarah is the object of Hagar's anger instead of the other way around as in Gen. 16:6. Cf., however, Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 67: *lammā harabat Hāğar min Sārah*.

said: "O Hagar, where are you going and where are you coming from?" She said: "I am fleeing from my mistress Sarah." And he said to her: "Go back to your mistress and submit to her, for God will multiply your progeny and your offspring;[19] you will conceive[20] and give birth to a son, and you will name him Ishmael, because God (exalted is He) has heard [of] your self-denial and your humility; he will be a wild ass of men;[21] his hand will be above (*fawq*) everyone's hand, and the hands of everyone will be stretched out to him in submission, and he will live on the borders of the land of all his brethren." This is how **Ibn Rabāʾ al-Ṭabarī** transmits it, and some copies have "**Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabīb**" (the physician).

Said Šayḫ Abū l-Ḥusayn: I heard a certain Jew transmit it as follows: "His hand will be on all and the hands of all will be on him," for, he said, what we encounter in Hebrew is "bāḏ bikūl wa-bāḏ kūl,"[22] and he claimed that this passage may imply either that he[23] exercises control, or [rather] that his hand is on everyone in the sense that he associates with everyone.

The method of reasoning in this saying [by the Jew] is that [the verse] is issued as an annunciation, but it is not conceivable that the angel should bring tidings of injustice and oppression on behalf of God (exalted is He) nor of a matter that was not fulfilled without lying about God (praised be He).

Now, it is well known [says Abū l-Ḥusayn] that Ishmael and his offspring did not exercise control—meaning in the larger part of the world and among the majority of nations—nor did they associate with everyone and intermingle with them, their hands being on all of them and the hands of all on them, except in Islam, because before Islam they had been confined to the desert and did not venture to enter the perimeters of the Arabs and of Syria, except with great trepidation.

But when Islam came, they took possession of the East and the West through Islam, and they intermingled with the nations and settled down in their countries, and the nations mingled with them and became involved with them and betook themselves to them

19. Cf. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 67, with slight variants, one of which is, however, significant: Ibn Rabban follows the Biblical text in putting the words "I will multiply your progeny" into the mouth of the angel, whereas in the version presented here the angel states that *God* will multiply Hagar's progeny, thus avoiding the theologically problematic suggestion that anyone but God has the power to do so. It is not clear whether Abū l-Ḥusayn implemented this change or whether his *Vorlage* already contained the variant reading.

20. According to Gen. 16:4, Hagar was already pregnant by this time.

21. The Arabic has *ʿayn al-nās* instead of *ʿayr* which is required by the Hebrew. Ibn Rabban discusses in detail why the nickname "wild ass" particularly suits Ishmael; see *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 72; *Religion and Empire*, 83f. *ʿAyr* would have suited the purpose of the Muslim author since in Arabic it also has the meaning of lord, chief, or king.

22. Hebrew: *yado ba-kol ve-yad kol bo*; see Gen. 16:12.

23. The text actually has "his hand," which is awkward in translation.

and made the pilgrimage to their *qibla* and entered their desert in order to be close to the Kaʿba and to receive the sciences of the religion from Medina or Mecca.

[506] If the Prophet were not truthful, as [the Jews] claim, then this approach on the part of the nations, and the [Muslims'] mingling with the nations, and the nations' mingling with them would constitute disobedience to God and exchanging obedience to Him and His religion for disobedience of Him and obedience to Satan, and God (mighty and exalted is He) is far above annunciating something of this nature.

In the eleventh chapter of the fifth book it says, quoting Moses (peace be upon him): "The Lord your God will raise up a prophet for you like me from among you and from among your brethren, so hearken."[24]

In this [same] chapter [we find]: "The Lord said to Moses (peace be upon him): 'I am raising up for them a prophet like you from among their brethren, and whichever man does not hearken to my words that this man will convey from me in my name, I shall take revenge on him.'"[25]

Said the Šayḫ [Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī]: I have seen in the Torah after His saying "from their brethren" [the following words]: "And I will put my word in his mouth, and whichever man does not hearken to the words that he will speak in my name, I shall take revenge on him."[26]

This saying demonstrates that the prophet whom He raises up is not from among the Children of Israel, because if someone addresses a certain people and says to them, "I will raise up a man *from among your brethren*," it will be concluded from this that he will not be *from among themselves*, like when someone says to the Banū Hāšim, "There will be a leader (*imām*) from among your brethren," it will be understood from this that he will not be from among the Banū Hāšim [themselves]. Now, no prophet sent after Moses was from among their brethren, being from the Children of Israel [themselves]. The Prophet, however (peace be upon him), *was* from among their brethren, because he was from the children of Ishmael, and Ishmael was the brother of Isaac. If this annunciation had been of a prophet from among the Children of Israel, it would be meaningless, because God (exalted is He) had already sent many prophets from among the Children of Israel after Moses.

[Abū l-Ḥusayn] said: A certain Jew told me that they believe that after Moses no other prophet will come from among the Children of Israel.[27] This confirms what we have said about the annunciation being of a prophet from among others than themselves.

24. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 73; *Religion and Empire*, 85; cf. Deut. 18:15.
25. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 73f.; *Religion and Empire*, 85; cf. Deut. 18:18f.
26. Cf. Deut. 18:18.
27. The Jewish interlocutor probably means that there will be no further lawgiver after Moses.

[507] If they say, "His saying 'from among you'[28] precludes that the reference is to Muḥammad, because he did not rise up from among the Children of Israel," it will be said: But he *did* actually rise up from among them, for he rose up in the Hijaz, received his mission in Mecca, and emigrated to Medina, where his affair was accomplished. Now, around Medina there were Jewish towns, such as Khaybar, [those of] the Banū Qaynuqāʿ and Naḍīr, etcetera, and moreover, the Hijaz is situated close to al-Šām (Greater Syria) and the majority of Jews were at the time in al-Šām. Therefore, whoever rises up in the Hijaz has in fact risen up from among them, because he is not far removed from them.[29]

It says in the twentieth chapter of this book: "The Lord came from Mount Sinai, and rose up for us from Seʿir and appeared from Mount Paran, while with him at his right hand there were the masses of holy ones, and he granted them the power and caused them to be loved by the nations, and invoked a blessing on all his holy ones."[30] Mount Paran, now, is in the Hijaz, for it says in the Torah that Ishmael learned archery in the desert of Paran,[31] and it is known that he was only ever in Mecca.[32]

Said the Šayḫ [Abū l-Ḥusayn]: I have read in the handwriting of Ibn al-Kūfī in *Kitāb Manāzil Makka*[33] that he says: "A number of Bedouin of Maʿdin Banī Sulaym, not just one or two, told me that the dilapidated house which is located two and a half miles before the quarry (*maʿdin*) was called Rayyān; it was the house before the present one and we nowadays call it the Old Quarry. The mountain in which the quarry is located is called Fārān; I found it accurately vocalised."[34] He said: "It is located slightly to the left of the road [...]."[35] He said: "Beyond it are two mountains, one of them called Yaramram[36] and the other al-ʿAlam. Yaramram is situated to the right of the ascent to Mecca, and al-ʿAlam to the left of it, and between them and Fārān are Qulwa[37] and Majīʾ Allāh, which is the place where His revelation and His messengers appeared."

28. As in Deut. 18:15.

29. Although the verse cited is often used by Muslim polemicists and apologists, I have not seen this particular argument elsewhere.

30. See Deut. 33:2f.

31. Cf. Gen. 21:20f.

32. Cf. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 74f.; *Religion and Empire*, 86f.

33. On the bibliophile Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd b. al-Zubayr al-Asadī, known as Ibn al-Kūfī (254/868–348/960), see Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, 1/384f. The title *Kitāb Manāzil Makka* does not necessarily refer to a work by Ibn al-Kūfī himself; he was in the habit of annotating the volumes in his well-stocked library, and Ibn al-Nadīm's frequent references to information he read *bi-ḫaṭṭ Ibn al-Kūfī*, for example, may well refer to notebooks by Ibn al-Kūfī or to the catalog of his library that Ibn al-Kūfī himself compiled and annotated.

34. For the location of Maʿdin Banī Sulaym, see the map in Lecker, *Banū Sulaym*, xiii.

35. Here follow two obscure words.

36. On Mount Yaramram, see al-Bakrī, *Muʿǧam mā istaʿǧam*, 4/1347, 1393.

37. *Qulwa* literally means highest point, summit.

If [the Jews] say: What is meant by this [verse cited above] is the arrival of Ishmael to the desert of Paran when he was one of the [508] friends of God, they will be told: "But it said [earlier] 'and he granted them the power,' but no power was granted there after Ishmael dwelled there, nor did any multitudes of holy ones gather there."

One of them said: What is meant by this [verse] is that when the fire appeared from Mount Sinai, another fire appeared [simultaneously] from Seʿir as well, and also from Mount Paran, and spread from those places.[38]

It will be said [to them]: That is not correct, because if God (exalted is He) created a fire or something else in a certain place, it would not be said, "God came from that place," except if [this event] were followed by a revelation, or if a [divine] punishment struck that place, or something like that. According to what you have [in the Torah], the appearance of the fire was followed neither by a revelation nor by [divine] speech except on Mount Sinai, so it should actually [only] say, "God came from Mount Sinai," but not "He appeared from Seʿir and from Mount Paran," just like it is not said, "God came from the clouds," if what came from the clouds was fire and flames, such as appear on the days of spring.

[Abū l-Ḥusayn] said: Also, in the Book of Habakkuk we find clarification of what we have said, namely:

"God came from Mount Sinai,[39] and the Holy One from Mount Paran. Heaven was eclipsed by the splendor of the Praised One (*muḥammad*), and the earth was filled with his praise (*ḥamd*). The rays of his sight shall be as the light, and he shall encircle his country with his might. Death goes before him, and birds of prey accompany his armies. He stood and measured the earth, and he contemplated the nations and watched them. The everlasting mountains were scattered, and the perpetual hills bowed. The curtains of the land of Midian trembled, and he took possession of the everlasting ways. God was displeased with the rivers. Your anger is in the rivers, and the wrath of your boldness is in the seas. You rode on horses and went up on the chariots of salvation and help. You shall be filled in your bows to overflowing, and the arrows shall surely be drenched at your command, O Praised One (*muḥammad*). The earth shall be cleft with rivers. The mountains saw you and trembled, and the showers of the torrent passed away from you. The abysses gave a howl of fear and lifted up their hands in dread and alarm. The sun and the moon stood still in their course, and the armies marched at the flash of your arrows and at the shining of your spears. You shall subjugate the earth in anger and tread upon the nations in

38. The point being made here is that God's light shone forth from various places at the same time, not three consecutive periods representing the times of Moses, Jesus, and Muḥammad, respectively, as is held by Abū l-Ḥusayn and Muslim apologists before and after him.

39. Ibn Rabban, following the biblical text, has *ǧāʾa llāhu min al-Tayman*: God came from Teman (i.e., Yemen).

wrath, because you came forth for the salvation of your nation and for the deliverance of the inheritance of your fathers."[40] [509] Thus transmitted **Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī**.[41]

Said [Abū l-Ḥusayn]: As for the Christians, I have seen in their transmission, "He appeared from Mount Paran, and heaven was shot through with the splendor of the Praiseworthy One (*al-maḥmūd*), and the arrows shall be drenched at your praiseworthy command, because you came forth for the salvation of your people and the deliverance of your Messiah."

He said: From the Syriac is transmitted, instead of His saying "and he contemplated the nations and watched them," "he distressed the nations."

Instead of "the abyss gave a howl": "the abyss raised its voice and started to extend its arms," meaning that those who had had little power in the army now rose up.

And His saying "The everlasting mountains were scattered" means that the kings and those high in power were brought low.

"The sun and the moon stood still in their course to be illuminated by the flash of your arrows and the shining of your spears"; that is, what happened is that as a result of the multitude of your troops and the multitude of their weaponry, his rays eclipsed the rays of the sun and the moon, veiling both of them so that they sought him in their need. This [is said] by way of emphasis; this characteristic is found in the Prophet (peace be upon him) and his nation.

"And the Holy One [came] from Mount Paran and heaven was eclipsed by the splendor of the Praised One (*muḥammad*)" implies that his coming brought about that which we have mentioned, and this occurred only with the coming of Muḥammad (peace be upon him), and not, as they claim, through the fire that appeared from Mount Paran when God spoke to Moses (peace be upon him) [on Mount Sinai]. Don't you see that when a person says, "Zayd came in to us and the house shone and was filled with joy," this implies that this was because of his arrival and followed upon it?

As for their transmission "from the resplendence of *al-maḥmūd*," it is in the sense of *muḥammad*, because both *maḥmūd* and *muḥammad* indicate the one[s] on whom the praise (*ḥamd*) befell. In Syriac, they are *mašīḥā* and *mašyūḥa*, respectively, that is, *muḥammad* and *maḥmūd*, and therefore [510] if a speaker of Syriac (*suryānī*) wants to praise God, he says "*Mašyūḥā lāhā*," and this word of his, *mašyūḥā*, means praise (*al-ḥamd*) and *lāhā* is God. This transmission of theirs does not prejudice us, for except for *Muḥammad* (peace be upon him), no one came from Mount Paran who possesses this characteristic (*ṣifa*).[42]

40. See Hab. 3:3–13.

41. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 103f.; *Religion and Empire*, 119f.

42. For a similar attempt to find a Syriac parallel to the names *Muḥammad*, *Aḥmad*, and *Maḥmūd* and thus to demonstrate that the prophet of Islam is mentioned in the Bible by name, see Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 75f., 77, 88, 90, 93f.; *Religion and Empire*, 88f., 90, 103, 105, 108. As I have shown elsewhere, Ibn

If [the Jews] say: The one intended is God [himself at the time] when the Messiah comes, and therefore it has at the end of the saying, "and the salvation of your Messiah," it will be said: It is not allowed to describe God as if He were riding horses or as if the rays of His sight are like the light, or as if He took possession of the everlasting ways, and we cannot abandon the apparent sense of these expressions without necessity.

Also, he mentions these expressions following upon his saying "And the Holy One [came] from Mount Paran." According to them, [however,] the Messiah will *not* come from Mecca or the Hijaz. Therefore, we know from this that the reference in this saying is to a person who comes from the Hijaz and in whose wake will occur that which He mentioned in the way of crossing the seas and the rivers, just like the Muslims crossed the Tigris into al-Madāʾin.[43]

As for His saying "the deliverance of your Messiah," behold, Muḥammad (may God bless him and grant him salvation) saved the Messiah (peace be upon him) from the lies of the Christians and the slander of the Jews about him.

In the transmission of the Jews [it says], "The Lord came from Mount Sinai and the Holy One from Mount Paran eternally (*sarmadan*)," and this precludes that it is the appearance of fire from Mount Paran and requires that what is intended is the revelation and the eternal law *(al-sharʿ al-dāʾim)*.

In the Book of Isaiah, in the twenty-second or twenty-seventh chapter, [it is said]: "God said to her—that is, Mecca[44]—Arise, and make your lamp shine, for your time has come near and the glory of God is rising upon you. For darkness has covered the earth, and fog has overspread the nations. The Lord shall shine upon you, and he will cause His glory to be seen upon you. The nations shall come to your light, and the kings to the brightness of your rising. Lift up your sight to what is around you and contemplate, for they shall all gather themselves unto you [511] and make pilgrimage to you.[45] Your sons will come to you from a remote country, and your daughters will be nursed in canopies and on couches. And when you see this, you will rejoice and be delighted, because the treasures of the sea shall be turned [over] to you, and the armies of the nations shall make pilgrimage to you[46] until you will throng with camels and your land will be too small to contain the files [of animals] that shall gather to you. The rams of Midian and the

Rabban was not the first to employ this method of tracing the Prophet's name in scripture; see Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 144f.

43. Ctesiphon, the ancient capital of the Persian empire.

44. Cf. Ibn Rabban (*al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 98; *Religion and Empire*, 109), who introduces the passage quoted by saying that it is addressed to Hagar and to Mecca, the birthplace of her children.

45. *Wa-yaḥuǧǧūnaki*; the biblical text has nothing remotely similar to this interpolated Islamic expression which is already present in Ibn Rabban's version. See Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 95; *Religion and Empire*, 110

46. The biblical text has the much more neutral "they will come."

rams of Ẓufār[47] will be led to you, and the people of Sheba shall come to you and tell of the favors of God, and they shall praise Him, and all the flocks of Kedar shall come to you and the lambs of Nebaioth shall serve you. They will offer on my altar what pleases me, and then I will renew praise (*ḥamd*) to the house of my laudation (*maḥmada*)."[48]

These characteristics are all to be found in Mecca, for indeed the land has become too small to contain the files, that is, the assembled trains of camels, and the armies of the nations [do] make pilgrimage to it, and the treasures of the sea are [indeed] turned over to it. In one transmission [it says] "the riches of the sea, until more of it is carried there than to any other city."

Said the Šayḫ [Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī]: A curious thing occurred to me with regard to His saying "I will renew praise (*ḥamd*) to the house of my laudation (*maḥmada*)," and also concerning His saying "the people of Sheba shall come to you and tell of the favors of God and they shall praise Him"; namely, that the Arabs would [already] chant the *talbiya* before Islam, saying: "At your command, you have no partner save the one who is yours; you have dominion over him and whatever he possesses." Then Islam renewed it [as follows]: "At your command, O God, at your command. All praise and bounty are yours, and all dominion. You have no partner!"

This, now, is the praise (*al-ḥamd*) that God renewed for the house of His laudation, and it is the bounty of which the people of Sheba tell when they make the pilgrimage, and by His saying "I will renew praise (*ḥamd*) to the house of my laudation," he means a praise (*ḥamd*) which is particular to the House (i.e., the Kaʿba); that is, [this praise] is pronounced when one goes there.

"The flocks of Kedar [that] shall come to Mecca" are the flocks of the Arabs, because Kedar is the son of Ishmael.

If it is said that Jerusalem[49] is meant, and that [all of] this will come to pass in the future, it will be said: It is inconceivable that the Wise One (*al-ḥakīm*) should say, "Your time has come near," with regard to something in the religion, and then it does not come near; [512] or that that which *does* come near would be a matter which does not agree with His pleasure but which nonetheless He does not warn of. Rather, He says that something like this will happen somewhere other than Jerusalem, so do not be deceived by it.

If [the Jews] say that Isaiah could not possibly mention Mecca, and that everything he says is about Jerusalem alone, it will be said: But [Isaiah] had already mentioned the characteristics of Mecca and the desert and what proceeds from it to the lands of al-

47. The biblical text has Ephah, which is situated in the land of Midian, on the east shore of the Dead Sea; Ẓufār, on the other hand, is a region in southern Oman, near the eastern border of Yemen.

48. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 94f.; *Religion and Empire*, 109f.; cf. Isa. 60:1–7.

49. Or perhaps "the Temple"; *bayt al-maqdis* can mean either.

Ahwāz and al-Māhīn;[50] don't you see what is [written] in the tenth chapter, viz. "You will come to the land from the direction of the Yemen and from a remote country and from the land of the desert, swiftly and rapidly like tempests and storms from the winds?"[51] Then he says: "Rise, O lands of al-Ahwāz and Ǧabal al-Māhīn, for everything you used to compete for and dispute about has ceased."[52] Then he says: "The Lord said to me: Go and set the guard on the watchtower, to report to you what he sees. And what he saw were two riders, one riding an ass, the other a camel. And as he was thus, behold, one of the riders approached, saying: 'Fallen, fallen is Babylon, and her graven idols are broken unto the ground. That which I have heard from the god of the Children of Israel I have declared to you.'"[53]

In some transmissions it has, instead of his saying "Behold, *one* of the riders approached," "two horsemen approached, and when the guard saw the two of them, he cried: Babylon is fallen." Said the transmitter: This is an allusion to two persons at whose hands Babylon was destroyed, namely, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. This transmission, now, is from the Hebrew.[54]

In the sixteenth chapter of Isaiah, it says: "Let the parched desert land rejoice, and let the wilderness and the desert be glad, let them rejoice and rise up like a mountain goat, because they will be given the most praiseworthy (*aḥmad*) beauties of Lebanon, and something like the goodness of villages and luxuriant gardens. And you will see the glory of God and the splendor of our God."[55] This is in the transmission of **Ibn Rabban**.[56]

He [Abū l-Ḥusayn] said: I have seen in the transmissions of the Christians: "Let the parched wasteland rejoice, and the plain be glad, [513] and let it bloom like the henna plant in which the henna blossoms bloom, for they will be given the beauties of Lebanon." [The Christians] do not mention *aḥmad*.

The Šayḫ [Abū l-Ḥusayn] said: It is transmitted from the Syriac: "For they will be given the most praiseworthy (*aḥmad*) beauties of Lebanon." I have learned that in this place there is an expression that some of them have dropped, or perhaps some of them have distorted (*qad ḥarrafahu*). But it does not prejudice us that this name [*aḥmad*] is not

50. The biblical text has Elam, as does Ibn Rabban; al-Ahwāz is the capital of the Iranian province of Ḫūzistān, ancient Elam; Ibn Rabban, too, has Māhīn, which stands for biblical Media.

51. Cf. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 82; *Religion and Empire*, 95f., and cf. 97. Interestingly, our text is slightly more detailed here than is *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*. Cf. Isa. 21:1–10.

52. Cf. Isa. 21:2.

53. Cf. Isa. 21:6–10.

54. As opposed to the Syriac, I assume. The fact that the transmitter, who quotes a version allegedly based on the Hebrew, refers to the first rightly guided caliphs may be an indication that the informant was a Jewish convert to Islam.

55. Cf. Isa. 35:1f.

56. See Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 85; *Religion and Empire*, 99. The text presented here varies slightly from Ibn Rabban's in the Mingana edition.

present, for the people already know that there had appeared in the arable land of Mecca luscious gardens and [all] kinds of fruits, and also on the west bank of the Tigris at Basra, and out of the wasteland there developed luscious gardens that everyone knows. This occurred under Islam, and the fact that it was annunciated implies the soundness of all that was accomplished through it.

In the nineteenth chapter [of Isaiah we find]: "A crier cried in the wilderness, saying: Prepare the way for the Lord, make straight in the desert the way for our God, and the valleys shall be filled with water to the point of overflowing; the mountains and the hills shall be made low; the hillocks shall be leveled; the rough ground shall be trampled; and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed and everyone shall see it."[57]

His saying "Prepare the way for the Lord" means for the friends of the Lord (*awliyāʾ al-rabb*).[58]

Close to this [passage] is what we find in the tenth chapter of the Book of Isaiah: "You shall lodge in the forest on the way to Duranim. Welcome the thirsty with water, O people of Yemen, and receive with your food the scattered and dispersed people, because the sword has scattered them, and their dispersion was from fear of sharp blades, bent bows, and fierce and endless warfare."[59]

This is a clear reference to the Arabs and their attacks on the lands of Persia and Byzantium, when beforehand they had been dispersed by the raids of Šāpūr Ḏū l-Aktāf against them,[60] and the Persians and the Byzantines confined them to their desert.

[514] In the twentieth chapter of Isaiah—and it is also mentioned in the 153rd of the Psalms of David, according to what I have seen (though **Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī** says that it is in the 52nd one)—we read: "Let the wilderness and its towns rejoice, and let the land of Kedar turn into meadows; let the inhabitants of the caves praise [God], and shout the Lord's praises (*ḥamd al-rabb*) from the tops of the mountains, and let them spread His glorification, for the Lord shall come as a mighty man, as a man stirring and raging and imperious, and He shall rebuke and demonstrate His power and kill His enemies."[61]

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57. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 85; *Religion and Empire*, 99; cf. Isa. 40:3–5.

58. The purpose of this gloss is probably to neutralize a possible anthropomorphism.

59. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 84; *Religion and Empire*, 97f.; cf. Isa. 21:13–15.

60. On this Sasanid emperor, who reigned from 309 till 379 CE and led many expeditions against the Arabs, see EI2, s.v. "Shāpūr," 9/309 (C. E. Bosworth), where his nickname is explained as follows: "Arab captives had their shoulders pierced or dislocated, whence Shāpūr's nickname in the Arabic sources of Dhu 'l-Aktāf, 'the man of the shoulder-blades.'"

61. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 78f.; *Religion and Empire*, 91f. The text is included by Ibn Rabban among the prophecies of David about Muḥammad. He mentions that it is from the 152nd Psalm—rather than the 52nd as stated by Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī—but adds that it is attributed to Isaiah. It does in fact correspond with Isa. 42:11–13. According to Mingana (*Religion and Empire*, 92, n. 1), these verses from Isaiah, together with Exod. 15:1–21 and Deut. 32:1–43, are incorporated with the Psalter in the East Syrian or Nestorian breviary.

Kedar, now, is the father of the Arabs and the son of Ishmael, and the land of Kedar is Mecca, which was turned into a meadow.

He had already related that something will come from God (exalted is He) which will bring revenge upon the enemies, and the fact that he ascribes it to God indicates that it is true and not false, and he indicates this also in his saying "Let the inhabitants of the caves praise [God], and shout the Lord's praises," because of what will come to pass in the way of killing the enemies.

And his saying, "Let the wilderness and its towns rejoice, and let the land of Kedar turn into meadows," points to the fact that something comes from God that will bring aid to this place and aid to its people, and that He does not wreak vengeance on all its people, which is in accordance with his saying in the tenth chapter, "The rule will come to you from the direction of the Yemen and from the desert land," and with his saying in the twentieth chapter, "The weak and the poor seek water, and there is no water for them; their tongues have dried with thirst, and I, the Lord, will answer their call on that day, and I will not forsake them, but I will open for them rivers in the mountains and I will make fountains flow between the wastelands, and will create pools in the desert, and will make springs of water flow in the dry land; I will grow in the deserts and the wastelands pine trees, myrtle, and olive trees, and I will plant in the arid desert the magnificent cypress, that they may all see, and reflect, and know that [515] the hand of God did this and that the Holy One of Israel created this."[62]

These are the characteristics of the Arabs, because they were in the parched lands; then great reservoirs welled up in the desert areas and between the mountains, and rivers flowed west of Basra,[63] which had till then been arid, and all this came to pass under Islam.

This is subsequently confirmed in the twenty-first chapter, [where he says]: "I create a new thing, and you will see it and know it; let the beasts of the desert praise me and exalt me, from the jackals to the ostriches, because I have caused water to flow in the desert and have made rivers flow in the country of Ašīmūn in order that my chosen nation drink from them, and may the nation that I have chosen drink from them."[64]

God confirmed the truth of this report through the reservoirs and rivers in the desert that He brought into being under Islam, so that the pilgrims may drink of them; now the country of Ašīmūn is the wasteland.

Everything we have mentioned shows that the Book of Isaiah is full of references to the desert and the lands of the Arabs and the annunciation of what He would bring about there under Islam, and they cannot divert it[s application] to the Messiah whom they are awaiting, for the Christians do not see it that way, nor do the Jews [themselves] hold that

62. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 88f.; *Religion and Empire*, 103; cf. Isa. 41:17–20.
63. The reference may be to the many canals that were dug in the Basra area.
64. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 89; *Religion and Empire*, 104; cf. Isa. 43:19f.

he will come from the lands of the Arabs and the mountains of Paran; and because the frequency of the references to the desert indicates that the one who is being annunciated has a special connection with the desert. They, however, believe that the one they are awaiting will come from the lands of the Byzantines, while the Jews are dispersed over the lands. Also, it is clear from the ninth chapter of the Book of Ezekiel that the one who appears from the desert will bring about the ruin (*ḥatf*) of the Jews, as follows: "Your mother is planted on the water in your blood; she is like the vine which brought forth its fruits and its branches, through many waters. Branches sprang up from it like rods, strong and standing high up over the branches of the nobles and the rulers, and their boughs and branches became lofty and surpassed the others, and their stature was enhanced by their height and the intertwining of their branches. But it was not long before that vine was plucked up in fury and beaten down [516] to the ground, and the hot winds burned up its fruits; its strength was scattered and the rods of its might withered, and the fire came upon them and consumed them. At that, a plant was planted in the desert and in the neglected, barren, and thirsty land, and fire came out of its lofty rods and consumed its fruits until not one strong rod remained of them, nor a branch that rose up for the power of authority."[65] This is the transmission of **Ibn Rabban**.

In the transmission of the Christians [we find] "And [fire] came out of its chosen rods," and from the Syriac is transmitted "selected," and they do not deny that this saying appears in condemnation of the Jews and concerning God's wrath at them.

Said the Šayḫ [Abū l-Ḥusayn]: This demonstrates that of their power there remains a remnant that will be eliminated by the plant that was planted in the desert land, and his saying "from its selected rods" shows that he is a prophet from God, and this is only true with regard to the Prophet (peace be upon him), for the sovereignty of the Jews ceased to be and none of it was left apart from slight remnants in the area of the Hijaz such as in Khaybar and other towns, and it ceased to exist through the selected rod that emerged from the plant that was planted in the desert. This plant, now, is the Prophet (peace be upon him), and the selected rod is ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (peace be upon him), and those who were with him at the time when he conquered Khaybar.[66]

In the first chapter of the Book of Zephaniah [is written]: "O you people, wait for the day in which I shall rise up to witness, for the time has come to show my decision to gather the nations and bring together the kings to pour forth upon them my wrath and

65. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 109f.; *Religion and Empire*, 128; cf. Ezek. 19:10–14.

66. At first sight this passage seems to reveal Šīʿite sympathies on the part of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, but this is inconclusive in view of the fact that the role of ʿAlī in the conquest of Khaybar is acknowledged by Sunnīs as well as Šīʿites. Moreover, Abū l-Ḥusayn wrote a refutation of Twelver Šīʿite conceptions of the imamate (which was in turn refuted by Imāmī scholars); see Schmidtke and Ansari's introduction to *Khulāṣat al-Naẓar*, x, n. 17. It is, of course, possible that the addition about ʿAlī is to be attributed to al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, who was a Šīʿite.

my painful punishment, and the earth shall be consumed with the fire of my anger and disapproval. There I will renew to the nations the chosen language, that all may taste the name of the Lord, and serve Him together in common obedience, and bring [me] sacrifices from beyond the rivers of Kush."[67]

[517] Now, it is known that the Arabic language was chosen and has spread over the earth, for it has gained currency in the entire East, in the seas and in the mountains, after it had previously not been spoken there.

Said the Šayḫ [Abū l-Ḥusayn]: As for Iraq, al-Šām, the Ǧazīra, Egypt, and the lands of the Maghrib, it was not spoken there at all, but then after Islam entered [these countries] Arabic made its mark on their people to the point that a youngster would learn only Arabic well as he was growing up, whereas the matter had been different before Islam.

[Abū l-Ḥusayn] said: I used to be amazed at this, until I read this chapter from the Book of Zephaniah, for then I knew that God had renewed this language through this *šarīʿa*, which came to take revenge on the kings of the faraway countries and to bring down their rule, and this demonstrates that it came from [God].

One of them transmitted, "There I shall renew to the nations the chosen *šafa*,"[68] but this does not contradict the [other] transmission, for *šafa* means language, just like *lisān* (tongue) means language. For they say, "The people of the tongue say," when they mean "the people of the language" (*ahl al-luġa*), and they say, "In the Arabic tongue (*lisān al-ʿarab*) it is so and so," when they mean "in the language of the Arabs." What clarifies what we have said is that it is not possible that He intended by this the regeneration of the *šafa* in the literal sense, because He had created its variety before that and God did not renew it at this time.

They may say: By the renewal of the *šafa* he meant the renewal of the praise given to God, and this is the chosen *šafa*.

But they will be told: That is not correct, because if you mean that He will renew the *act* of praising God, that is impossible, for the people[69] are the ones who praise God and perform [that precept]; and if you mean that He will renew the *command* to praise and worship Him, that has been issued by God before; but we know that He will renew the worship and speech in a [certain] language, and He will cause certain nations to be marked by it, and this is the worship He renewed through the recitation of the Qurʾān, the call to prayer, the call to rise for prayer, the sermon, the utterance of the profession

67. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 104f.; *Religion and Empire*, 121; cf. Zeph. 3:8–10. In Hebrew, the last two verses read: *Ki-az ehefokh el-ʿammim safah berurah li-qro kulam be-shem Adonay le-ʿavdo shekhem eḥad / me-ʿever le-nahare Kush* (...). The Arabic has *al-luġa al-muḫtāra*, which does not correspond with the Hebrew.

68. Hebrew *safah*, language, also means lip, as does the Arabic *šafa*, which does not, however, have the related meaning of language.

69. Rather than God himself; He does not praise Himself.

of faith, the supplication during the ritual prayer, and the [...],[70] and through the fact that God made the Arabic language the mark for regions whose people had theretofore not been marked by it.

[518] These[71] are the annunciations of the Prophet (peace be upon him), his religion and his nation, and when a righteous person contemplates what God says, to the effect that He was going to send a prophet from among the brethren of the Children of Israel, and that he would come from Mount Paran, and the saying of the angel, "The hand of Ishmael is above the hands of all," and the saying of Habakkuk, "The Holy One came from Mount Paran," and that He caused this to be followed by wars and domination over the lands; [then if one] learns what Isaiah said about the flourishing of the land of Kedar and of the desert and the large quantities of water in it so that the people would drink of it, and what is mentioned in the Book of Ezekiel, that He planted a plant in the desert and destroyed the rest of the dominion of the Jews until no sovereignty remained with them, and then what is in the Book of Zephaniah about the renewal of the chosen language; [if he contemplates all of this], this righteous person will know that only the Prophet (peace be upon him) and his nation [can be] intended.

If the prophethood of our chosen Prophet (peace be upon him) has [thus] been determined and established, this acknowledgment and confirmation must apply to everything he brought in the way of revealed laws and accounts and reports, in accordance with what has been referred to above.

Now, since among the sum of things that [Muḥammad] brought there is the promise of reward (*al-waʿd*) for the obedient and the threat of punishment (*al-waʿīd*) for the unbelievers and sinners, it is appropriate that I should present the discussion of the promise and the threat after the discussion of his prophethood (peace be upon him and his family).

Edition

ومن الآيات المؤكدة لنبوته ما في كتب الأنبياء عليهم السلام من البشارة به وبانتشار دعوته وظهور دينه وغلبة رهطه وعمارة بلده وباديته. وقد أورده الشيخ أبو الحسين في غرره، قال:

ففي ذلك ما في الفصل التاسع من [505] السفر الأول: «إن هاجر لما غضبت عليها[72] سارة تراءى لها ملك الله[73] تعالى فقال: يا هاجر أين تريدين ومن أين أقبلت؟ قالت: أهرب من سيّدتي سارة. فقال لها: ارجعي إلى سيدتك واخضعي لها، فإن الله سيكثر زرعك[74] وذريتك،

70. Lacuna in text.

71. The following section is probably to be attributed to al-Ḥimmaṣī, in contrast to the remainder of the text, which is taken from Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *Ġurar*.

72. عليها: على، مت.

73. الله: لله، مت.

74. زرعك: رعك، مت.

وستحبلين وتلدين ابناً وتسمّيه إسماعيل من أجل أن الله تعالى سمع تبتّلك وخشوعك، وهو يكون عير[75] الناس، وتكون[76] يده فوق يد الجميع ويد الجميع مبسوطة إليه بالخضوع وهو يسكن على تخوم أرض جميع إخوته».[77] وهكذا نقل ابن رباء الطبريّ، وفي بعض النسخ ابن ربّن الطبيب.

قال الشيخ أبو الحسين: فسمعت بعض اليهود ينقل كذلك: «وتكون يده في الكل ويد الكل فيه»، قال: لأن الموجود في العبراني باذ بكول وباذكول.[78] وزعم أن هذا الباب يحتمل أن يده متصّرفة في الكل، ويحتمل أن يده في الكل بمعنى أنه يكون مخالطاً للكل. ووجه الاستدلال بهذا الكلام أنه خرج مخرج البشارة، وليس يجوز أن يبشّر الملك من قبل الله تعالى بالظلم والجور وبأمر لا يتمّ إلاّ بالكذب على الله سبحانه. ومعلوم أن إسماعيل وولده لم يكونوا متصرّفين[79] في الكل، أعني في معظم الدنيا ومعظم الأمم، ولم يكونوا مخالطين للكل وممازجين لهم وأيديهم معهم وأيدي الكل معهم إلاّ بالإسلام، لأنهم كانوا قبل الإسلام محصورين في البادية، لا يتجاسرون على الدخول في أوائل العرب وأوائل الشام إلاّ على خوف تام. فلما جاء الإسلام استولوا على الشرق والغرب بالإسلام ومازجوا الأمم ووطنوا بلادهم، ومازجتهم الأمم وخالطوهم وقصدوهم وحجّوا قبلتهم ودخلوا إلى باديتهم لمجاورة الكعبة ولأخذ معالم الدين من المدينة أو مكة. [506] فلو لم يكن النبيّ صادقاً على ما يدّعون لكان هذا القصد من الأمم، وهذه المخالطة منهم للأمم ومن الأمم لهم معصيةً لله وخروجاً عن طاعته ودينه إلى معصيته وطاعة الشيطان، والله عز وجل يتعالى عن أن يبشّر بما هذه سبيله.

وقال في الفصل الحادي عشر من السفر الخامس عن موسى عليه السلام: «إن الرب الهكم يقيم نبياً لكم مثلي من بينكم ومن إخوتكم فاسمعوا». وفي هذا الفصل: «إن الرب قال لموسى عليه السلام: إني مقيم لهم نبياً مثلك من بين[80] إخوتهم وأيما[81] رجل لم يسمع كلماتي التي يؤديها عني ذلك الرجل باسمي أنا أنتقم منه».[82]

قال الشيخ: ورأيت في التوراة بعد قوله «من إخوتهم»: «وأجعل كلمتي في فيه، وأيما[83] رجل لم يسمع القول الذي يتكلم باسمي فإني أنتقم منه». وهذا الكلام يدل على أن النبي الذي يقيمه ليس من بني إسرائيل، لأن من خاطب قوماً فقال لهم: «إني أقيم من إخوتكم رجلاً»، استفيد من ذلك أنه لا يكون من أنفسهم، كما أن من قال لبني هاشم: إنه سيكون من إخوتكم إمام، عُقِل منه أنه لا يكون من بني هاشم. وكل نبي بعث من بعد موسى لم يكن من إخوتهم، لأنه كان من ولد إسرائيل، والنبي عليه السلام من إخوتهم، لأنه من ولد إسماعيل، وإسماعيل أخو إسحاق. ولو كانت هذه البشارة بنبيّ من بني إسرائيل، لم[84] يكن لها معنىً، لأن الله تعالى قد بعث من الأنبياء من بني[85] إسرائيل بعد موسى خلقاً كثيراً.

قال: وذكر لي بعض اليهود أنهم يعتقدون أنه لا يجيء نبيّ من بني إسرائيل من بعد موسى، وهذا يؤكّد ما ذكرناه من أن البشارة كانت بنبيّ من غيرهم. [507] فإن قالوا: قوله «من بينكم» يمنع أن يكون المراد به محمّداً، لأنه لم يقم من بين بني إسرائيل. قيل: بل قام من بينهم،

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75. عير: عين، مت.
76. تكون: يكون، مت.
77. قارن ابن ربن الطبري: كتاب الدين والدولة، ص 76: 11-81: وقد كان موسى عليه السلام تنبأ بمثل هذه النبوة في السفر الأول والفصل التاسع وقال أنه لما هربت هاجر من سارة ترآءى لها ملك الله وقال: يا هاجر أمة سارة من أين أقبلتِ وأين تريدين؟ قالت هاجر مجيبةً له: أهرب من سيدتي سارة. قال لها ملك الرب: ارجعي إلى سيدتك واخضعي لها فإني سأكثر ذريتك وزرعك حتى لا يحصون كثرةً. وها أنت تخبلين وتلدين ابناً وتسميه إسماعيل، لأن الله قد سمع تبتّلك وخشوعك وهو يكون عير الناس وتكون يده فوق الجميع ويد الجميع مبسوطةً إليه ويكون مسكنه على تخوم جميع إخوته.
78. كذا في مت؛ راجع سفر تكوين 61: 21: **ידו בכל ויד כל בו**.
79. متصرفين: منصرفين، مت.
80. بين: بني، مت.
81. وأيما: وإتما، مت.
82. قارن ابن ربن الطبري: كتاب الدين والدولة، ص 37: 31-47: 1: فالنبوة الخامسة الدالة عليه المشيرة إلى نبوته وحقه قول موسى عليه السلام في الفصل الحادي عشر من التوراة من السفر الخامس وهو الأخير لبني إسرائيل: إن الرب الهكم يقيم نبياً مثلي من بينكم ومن إخوتكم فاسمعوا له. وقالت التوراة في هذا الفصل بعينه مؤكداً لهذا القول وموضحاً له أنه قال الرب لموسى عليه السلام: إني مقيم لهم نبياً مثلك من بين إخوتهم وأيما رجل لم يسمع كلماتي التي يؤديها ذلك الرجل باسمي أنا انتقم منه.
83. وأيما: وإتما، مت.
84. لم: لمن، مت.
85. بني: نبي، مت.

لأنه قام بالحجاز وبعث بمكة وهاجر إلى المدينة وبها تكامل أمره، وقد كان حول المدينة بلاد اليهود، كخيبر[86] وبني قينقاع والنضير وغير ذلك. وأيضاً، فإن الحجاز يقارب الشام وجمهور اليهود كانوا إذ ذاك بالشام، فمن قام بالحجاز فقد قام من بينهم، لأنه ليس هو ببعيد منهم.

وقال في الفصل العشرين من هذا السفر: «إن الرب جاء من طور سيناء وطلع لنا من ساعير وظهر من جبل فاران ومعه عن يمينه ربوات القديسين[87] فمنحهم العز وحبّبهم[88] إلى الشعوب ودعا لجميع قدّيسيه بالبركة». وجبل فاران هو بالحجاز، لأن في التوراة: «إن إسماعيل تعلّم الرمي في برية فاران»، ومعلوم أنه إنما بمكة.[89]

قال الشيخ: فرأيت بخط إبن الكوفي في كتاب منازل مكة، قال: أخبرني جماعة من أعراب معدن بني سليم، لا واحد ولا اثنان، فقالوا: المنـزل الخرب الذي كان قبل المعدن بميلين ونصف يقال له ريان، وهو كان المنـزل قبل هذا المنـزل، ونسميه الساعة[90] المعدن العتيق. والجبل الذي كان فيه المعدن، يقال له فاران، وجدته مضبوطاً منقوطاً. قال: وهو يسرة عن الطريق قليلاً رقيق يبرقا[91]. قال: وبعده جبلان يقال لأحدهما يرمرم[92] والآخر العلم، فيرمرم[93] عن يمين المصعد إلى مكة والعلم عن يساره، وبينهما وبين فاران قلوة ومجيء الله هو مجيء وحيه ورسله.

فإن قالوا: إن المراد بذلك حصول إسماعيل ببريّة فاران وهو ولي من [508] أولياء الله، قيل لهم: فقد قال: «فمنحهم العزّ» ولم يحصل عقيب سكنى إسماعيل هناك عز ولا اجتمع هناك ربوات القديسين. وقد قال بعضهم: المراد بذلك أن النار لما ظهرت من طور سيناء، ظهرت من ساعير نار أيضاً ومن جبل فاران أيضاً، فانتشرت في هذه المواضع. قيل: هذا لا يصحّ، لأن الله تعالى لو خلق ناراً أو غيرها في موضع، فإنه لا يقال: جاء الله من ذلك الموضع إلا إذا اتّبع ذلك وحي أو نزل في ذلك الموضع عقوبةً وما أشبه ذلك. وعندكم أنه لم يتّبع ظهور النار وحي ولا كلام إلاّ في طور سيناء، فكان ينبغي أن يقول: جاء الله من طور سيناء، ولا يقول: ظهر من ساعير ومن جبل فاران، كما لا يقال: جاء الله من الغمام إذا ظهر من الغمام احتراق ونيران كما يظهر في أيام الربيع.

قال: وأيضاً، ففي كتاب حبقوق بيان ما قلناه وهو: «جاء الله من طور سيناء والقدوس من جبل فاران، لقد انكسفت[94] السماء من بهاء محمد وامتلأت الأرض من حمده. يكون شعاع منظره مثل النور، يحوط بلده بعزّه، تسير[95] المنايا أمامه وتصحب سباع الطير أجناده، قام فمسح الأرض وتأمل الأمم وبحث عنها. فتضعضعت الجبال القديمة واتضعت الروابي[96] الدهرية، وتزعزعت ستور أرض مدين، ولقد حاز المساعي القديمة وغضب الرب على الأنهار، فرجزك[97] في الأنهار واحتدام صولتك في البحار. ركبت الخيول وعلوت مراكب الإنقاذ والغوث، وسترع[98] في قسيك إغراقاً وترعاً[99] وترتوي السهام بأمرك يا محمّد ارتواءً، وتحرث الأرض بالأنهار. فلقد رأتك[100] الجبال فارتاعت وانحرف عنك شؤبوب السيل ونعرت المهاوي نعيراً ورعباً، ورفعت أيديها وجلاً وخوفاً، وتوقفت الشمس والقمر عن مجراهما، وسارت العساكر في

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86. كخيبر: كخبير، مت.
87. القديسين: المقدسين، مت.
88. وحببهم: وجببهم، مت.
89. قارن ابن ربن الطبري: كتاب الدين والدولة، ص 47: 61-57: 1: وقال موسى في هذا السفر في الفصل العشرين: إن الرب جاء من طور سينين وطلع لنا من ساعير وظهر من جبل فاران ومعه عن يمينه ربوات القدّيسين فمنحهم العز وحبّبهم إلى الشعوب ودعا بجميع قدّيسيه بالبركة. ففاران هي البلدة التي سكنها إسماعيل عليه السلام ولذلك قدّم الله ذكرها في التوراة في قوله: فكان يتعلم الرمي في برية فاران. وقد علم الناس كلهم أن إسماعيل سكن مكة.
90. الساعة: السعاة، مت.
91. رقيق يبرقا: كذا في مت.
92. يرمرم: يرموم، مت.
93. رقيق يبرقا: كذا في مت.
94. انكسفت: انكشفت، مت.
95. تسير: لتسير، مت.
96. واتضعت الروابي: والروابي، مت.
97. فرجزك: فزجرك، مت.
98. وسترع: وستنزع، مت.
99. إغراقاً وترعاً: إعراقاً ونزعاً، مت.
100. رأتك: رأنك، مت.

بريق سهامك ولمعان نيازكك. تدوخ الأرض غضباً وتدوس الأمم رجزاً[101]، لأنك ظهرت لخلاص أمتك وإنقاذ تراث [509] آبائك».[102] هكذا نقل ابن ربّن الطبري.

قال: فأما النصارى فرأيت في نقولهم: «وظهر من جبل فاران، لقد تقطعت السماء من بهاء المحمود وترتوي السهام[103] بأمرك المحمود، لأنك ظهرت لخلاص أمتك وإنقاذ مسيحك». قال: ونقل من السرياني بدلاً من قوله «وتأمل الأمم وبحث عنها» «كرب[104] الأمم»، وبدلًا من قوله «ونعرت المهاوي»: «رفعت الهاوية صوتها وأخذت بسط باعها»، أي: ارتفع مَن كان منخفض القدر في العسكر. وقوله «فتضعضعت الجبال القديمة»، أي انخفض الملوك ومن كان رفيع القدر. وتوقفت الشمس والقمر عن مجراهما ليستنير في بريق سهامك ولمعان نيازكك، أي: إنه قد بلغ من كثرة عساكرك وكثرة سلاحهم ما قد صار شعاعه يزيد على شعاع الشمس والقمر، فقد غشاهما واحتاجا إليه، وذلك على سبيل المبالغة وهذه الصفة موجودة في النبي عليه السلام وأمته. «والقدوس من جبل فاران لقد انكسفت[105] السماء من بهاء محمد» يفيد أن مجيئه أنتج عقيبه هذا الذي ذكرناه، ولم يكن ذلك إلا بمجيء محمد عليه السلام، دون [ما] ادّعوه من النار التي ظهرت من جبل فاران عند كلام الله لموسى عليه السلام. ألا ترى أن الإنسان إذا قال: دخل علينا زيد لقد أضاءت الدار وامتلأت سروراً، أفاد أن ذلك كان بسبب مجيئه وعقيبه؟ فأما نقلهم من بهاء المحمود فهو بمعنى محمد، لأن محمداً ومحموداً هما اللذان وقع عليهما الحمد. وهو بالسريانية: مشيحا ومشيوحا، أي محمداً ومحموداً، ولهذا [510] إذا أراد السرياني أن يحمد الله، قال: مشيوحا لاها، فقوله مشيوحا هو الحمد، ولاها هو الله، وليس يضرنا هذا النقل منهم، لأنه لم يأت من جبل فاران مَن كان هذه صفته إلا محمد عليه السلام. فإن قالوا: المراد به الله إذا جاء المسيح، ولهذا قال في آخر الكلام: «وإنقاذ مسيحك»، قيل: لا يجوز وصف الله بأنه يركب الخيول أو بأن شعاع منظره مثل النور وبأنه حاز المساعي القديمة وليس لنا ترك ظواهر هذه الألفاظ لغير ضرورة. وأيضاً، فأنه ذكر هذه الألفاظ عقيب قوله «والقدوس من جبال فاران»، والمسيح عندهم لا يجيء من مكة والحجاز، فعلمنا بهذا أن المراد بالكلام شخص يجيء من الحجاز يتعقبه ما ذكره من عبور البحار والأنهار كما عبر المسلمون دجلة إلى المدائن. وأما قوله «إنقاذ مسيحك»، فإن محمداً صلى الله عليه وآله أنقذ المسيح عليه السلام من كذب النصارى عليه وافتراء اليهود عليه. وفي نقل اليهود: «جاء الرب من طور سيناء والقدوس من جبال فاران سرمداً»، وهذا يمنع من أن يكون هو ظهور النار من جبل فاران ويوجب أن يكون المراد به الوحي والشرع الدائم.

وفي كتاب إشعيا في الفصل الثاني والعشرين أو السابع والعشرين: «قال الله لها: قومي وأزهري مصباحك، يعني مكة، فقد دنا وقتك، وكرامة الله طالعة عليك، فقد تجلّل الأرض الظلام، وغطى[106] على الأمم الضباب، فالرب يشرق عليك إشراقاً ويُظهِر كرامته عليك، وتسير[107] الأمم إلى نورك، والملوك إلى ضوء طلوعك، ارفعي بصرك إلى ما حولك وتأملي، فإنهم سيجتمعون عندك [511] ويحجونك، ويأتيك ولدك من بلد بعيد، وتتربى[108] بناتك على الأرائك والسرر، وحين ترين ذلك تسّرين وتبتهجين من أجل أنه يميل إليك ذخائر البحر، ويحجّ إليك عساكر الأمم حتى تعمرك [الإبل] المؤبّلة وتضيق أرضك عن القطرات التي يجتمع إليك، وتساق إليك كباش مدين وكباش ظفار ويأتيك أهل سبأ ويتحدثون

101. رجزاً: زجراً، مت.

102. قارن ابن ربن الطبري: كتاب الدين والدولة، ص 301: 5-401: 1: قال حبقوق النبي عليه السلام: إن الله جاء من التيمن والقدوس من جبل فاران. لقد انكسفت السماء من بهاء محمد وامتلأت الأرض من حمده. يكون شعاع منظره مثل النور ويحوط بلده بعزه. تسير المنايا أمامه وتصحب سباع الطير أجناده. قام فمسح الأرض ثم تأمل الأمم وبحث عنها. فتضعضعت الجبال القديمة واتضعت الروابي الدهرية. وتزعزعت ستور أهل مدين ولقد حاز المساعي القديمة وغضب الرب على الأنهار. فرجزك في الأنهار واحتدام صولتك في البحار. ركبت الخيول وعلوت مراكب الإنقاذ والغوث. وستترع في قسيك إغراقاً وترعاً. وترتوي السهام بأمرك يا محمد ارتواءً. وتحرث الأرض بالأنهار. ولقد رأتك الجبال فارتاعت وانحرف عنك شؤبوب السيل ونعرت المهاوي نعيراً ورعباً. ورفعت أيديها وجلاً وخوفاً وتوقفت الشمس والقمر عن مجراهما وسارت العساكر في بريق سهامك ولمعان نيازكك، تدوخ الأرض غضباً وتدوس الأمم رجزاً، لأنك ظهرت لخلاص أمتك وإنقاذ تراث آباءك.

103. السهام: السماء، مت.

104. كرب: كذب، مت.

105. انكسفت: انكشفت، مت.

106. وغطى: وعطى، مت.

107. وتسير: سير، مت.

108. وتتربى: وسترين، مت.

بنعم[109] الله ويمجدونه وتسير إليك أغنام قيدار[110] كلها[111]، تخدمك رخالات[112] نباوت[113] وترفع إلى[114] مذبحي[115] ما يرضيني، وأحدث حينئذ لبيت محمدتي حمداً».[116] وهذه الصفات كلها موجودة بمكة فقد ضاقت الأرض عن القطرات، وهي جمع قطار الإبل، وحجّ إليها عساكر الأمم، ومال إليها ذخائر البحر. وفي بعض النقول: «غناء[117] البحر حتى حمل إليها من ذلك أكثر مما حمل إلى غيرها».

قال الشيخ: وقد وقع لي في قوله «وأحدث حينئذ لبيت محمدتي حمداً» شيء طريف، وكذلك قوله «ويأتيك أهل سبأ ويتحدّثون بنعم الله ويمجدونه»، وذلك أن العرب كانت تلبي قبل الإسلام، فيقولون: «لبّيك لا شريك لك إلا شريك هو لك، تملكه وما ملك»، ثم جدّد الإسلام: «لبّيك اللهم، لبّيك، إن الحمد والنعمة لك والملك، لا شريك لك»، فهذا هو الحمد الذي جدّد الله لبيت محمدته، وهو النعمة التي تحدث بها أهل سبأ إذا حجّوا، ويعني بقوله «أحدث لبيت محمدتي حمداً» أي: حمداً يختصّ البيت، أي يقال عند المسير إليه.

وأغنام قيدار[118] تسير[119] إلى مكة، وهي أغنام العرب، لأن قيدار[120] هو ابن إسماعيل. فإن قيل: المراد بذلك بيت المقدس، وسيكون ذلك فيما بعد، قيل: لا يجوز أن يقول الحكيم: قد دنا وقتك لأمر من أمور الدين ولم يدن، [512] بل الذي يدنو هو أمر لا يوافق رضاه ومع ذلك لا يحذر منه، ويقول أن مثل ذلك يحصل لغير بيت المقدس فلا تغترّوا به.

فإن قالوا: إنه لم يجز لإشعيا[121] ذكر مكة، وإنما كلامه كله في بيت المقدس، قيل: بل قد ذكر صفة مكة والبادية وما يأتي منها إلى البلاد الأهواز والماهين. ألا ترى إلى ما في الفصل العاشر، وهو «إنك ستأتي الأرض [من] جهة اليمن ومن بلد بعيد ومن أرض البادية مسرعاً مغذّاً[122] مثل الزوابع والزعازع من الرياح». ثم قال: «فاصعدي[123]، يا بلاد الأهواز وجبل الماهين، فقد بطل ما[124] كنت تنافسين وتناقشين». ثم قال: «قال لي الرب: امض فأقم الربيئة[125] على المنظرة يخبرك بما يرى. وكان الذي رأى الراكبين أحدهما راكب حمار والآخر راكب جمل. فبينا هو كذلك إذ[126] أقبل أحد الراكبين وهو يقول: هوت هوت بابل وتكسرّت آلهتها المنجورة على الأرض. فهذا الذي سمعت [من] الرب إله بني

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109. بنعم: بنعمة، مت.
110. قيدار: قيذار، مت.
111. قيذار كلها: فإذا ركلها، مت.
112. رخالات: رجالات، مت.
113. نباوت: تتناوب، مت.
114. إلى: إليّ من، مت.
115. مذبحي: مدحي، مت.
116. قارن ابن ربن الطبري: كتاب الدين والدولة، ص 49: 41 -59: 7: وتنبأ في هذا الفصل بما لا يرده إلا الخاسرون ولا يجهله إلا الأجهلون الأعمون فإنه ذكر أيضاً هاجر مخاطباً لها ولبلاد ولدها مكة وقال: قومي وازهري مصباحك فقد دنا وقتك وكرامة الله طالعه عليك فقد تخللت الأرض الظلام وغطى على الأمم الضباب. فالرب يشرق عليك إشراقاً وتظهر كرامته عليك. وتسير الأمم إلى نورك والملوك إلى ضوء طلوعك. ارفعي بصرك إلى ما حولك وتأملي. فإنهم سيجتمعون كلهم إليك ويحجونك ويأتيك ولدك من بلد بعيد وتتربى بناتك على الأرائك والسرر. ويستروح قلبك من أجل أنه يميل إليك البحر وتحج إليك عساكر الأمم حتى تعمرك الأبل المربلة وتضيق أرضك عن القطرات التي تجتمع إليك. ويساق إليك كباش مدين وكباش أعفا وتأتيك أهل سبا ويحدثون بنعم الله ويمجدونه وتسير إليك أغنام قيذار كلها وتخدمك رخلات نباوت ويرفع إلى مذبحي ما يرضيني وأحدث حينئذ لبيت محمدتي حمداً.
117. غناء: عثاء، مت.
118. قيدار: قاذار، مت.
119. تسير: نسير، مت.
120. قيدار: قاذار، مت.
121. لإشعيا: لأشيعا، مت.
122. مغذاً: مقداً، مت.
123. فاصعدي: يا صغرى، مت.
124. ما: عما، مت.
125. الربيئة: الربيّة، مت.
126. إذ: إذا، مت.

إسرائيل قد أنبأتكم».[127] وفي بعض النقول بدلًا من قوله «إذ[128] أقبل أحد الراكبين»: «أقبل فارسان فلما رآهما الديدبان[129] صاح سقطت بابل». قال الناقل: وهذا رمز إلى شخصين يهلك بابل على أيديهما وهما أبو بكر وعمر. وهذا النقل هو من العبراني.

وفي الفصل السادس عشر من إشعيا: «لتفرح أرض البادية العطشى، ولتبتهج البراري والفلوات، ولتستّ وتعلو مثل الوعل فإنها ستعطى[130] بأحمد محاسن لبنان، وكمثل حسن الدساكر والرياض وسترون جلال الله وبهاء إلهنا».[131] هذا في نقل ابن ربّن.

قال: ورأيت في نقول النصارى «يفرح القفر العطشان وتجذل القاع، [513] ولينضر كالفاغية[132] التي ينضر فيها الفواغي[133] فإنها ستعطى[134] محاسن لبنان»، ولم يذكروا «أحمد». قال الشيخ: ونقل من السرياني «فإنها ستعطى[135] بأحمد محاسن لبنان»، فعلمت أن في هذا الموضع كلاماً قد أسقطه بعضهم، ولعلّ بعضهم قد حرّفه. وليس يضرنا أن لا يكون هذا الاسم موجوداً، لأن الناس قد علموا أنه قد حصل بسواد مكة من الرياض وأنواع الفاكهة، وحصل بغربيّ دجلة البصرة، وكانت من القفر ما قد علمه كل أحد من الرياض، وكان ذلك بالإسلام، والبشارة به تقتضي صحة ما تمّ هذا كله به.

وفي الفصل التاسع عشر: «هتف هاتف في البدو وقال: خلوا الطريق للربّ، سهّلوا السبيل لإلهنا في القفر فتستملئ[136] الأودية مياهاً وتفيض فيضاً، وتنخفض الجبال والروابي انخفاضاً وتصير الآكام دكاكاً والأرض الوعرة مذللة ليناً، وتظهر كرامة الرب ويراها كل أحد».[137] وقوله «خلوا الطريق للرب»، يريد به لأولياء الرب.

وقريب من هذا ما في الفصل العاشر من كتاب إشعيا: «إنكم ستبيتون في الغيضة مبيتاً[138] على طريق دورنيم[139]، فتلقوا العطاش بالماء، يا سكان يمن، وتستقبلوا[140] بطعامكم القوم المبددين المفرقين، لأن السيف بدّدهم، ومن خوف الشفار المشحوذة والقسي الموترة والحرب

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127. قارن ابن ربن الطبري: كتاب الدين والدولة، ص 81: 17–82: 16: وقال في الفصل العاشر كاشفاً لما اشتبه ومبيناً لما اغتاص من نبواته: هكذا يقول الرب: إنك ستأتي من جهة التيمن من بلد بعيد ومن أرض البادية مسرعاً مقّداً مثل الزوابع والزعازع من الرياح. ولقد رأينا منظراً رائعاً هائلاً ظالماً يظلم ومنتهباً ينهب، فاصعدي يا جبال عيلم وجبال الماهين فقد بطل جميع ما كنت تنافسين وتناقشين عليه، ومن أجل ذلك اعترت ظهري الرعدة ودير بي كما يدار بالمرأة النفساء ولقد ذعرت حتى ما أسمع وذهلت حتى ما أرى وهام قلبي وأذهلتني السمادير وصار ما كنت أحبّه مؤنساً أنيفاً وحشةً عندي وشيئاً هائلاً. فانصبوا يا هؤلاء الموائد وارفعوا عيونكم أيتها الربايا والجواسيس وكلوا واشربوا ولتقم السادة والقادة إلى أترستهم فليدهنوها دهناً لأن الرب قال لي هكذا امض فأقم الربيئة على المنظرة ليخبر بما يرى. فكان الذي رأى راكبين أحدهما راكب حمار والآخر راكب جمل وسمع مقالاً كثيراً جمّا وأسر صاحب المنظرة إليّ وقال لي في أذني: أنا الرب القيوم وأنا بالمرصاد والمنظر الأعلى ليلاً ونهاراً. فبينما أنا كذلك إذ أقبل أحد الراكبين وهو يقول هوت هوت بابل وتكسّر جميع آلهتها المنجورة على الأرض. فهذا الذي سمعت من الرب إله إسرائيل العزيز قد أنبأتكم.

128. إذ: إذا، مت.

129. الديدبان: الديذبان، مت.

130. ستعطى: ستغطى، مت.

131. قارن ابن ربن الطبري: كتاب الدين والدولة، ص 85: 3–7: وقال في الفصل السادس عشر مفسراً لما تقدم في النبوات ومبكتاً لأهل المحك والغوايات لتفرح أهل البادية العطشى ولتبتهج البراري والفلوات ولتخرج نوراً كنور الشسلبذ ولتستر وتزه مثل الوعل لأنها ستعطى بأحمد محاسن لبنان وكمثل حسن الدساكر والرياض. وسيرون جلال الله عز وجل وبهاء إلهنا.

132. كالفاغية: كالفاعية، مت.

133. الفواغي: الفراعي، مت.

134. ستعطى: ستغطى، مت.

135. ستعطى: ستغطى، مت.

136. فتستملئ: فيتجلي، مت.

137. قارن ابن ربن الطبري: كتاب الدين والدولة، ص85: 11–15: وقال في الفصل التاسع عشر فزاد إبانةً وإيضاحاً هتف هاتف في البدو وقال: خلوا الطريق للرب وسهلوا لإلهنا السبيل في القفر فستمتلئ الأودية كلها مياهاً وتفيض فيضاً وتنخفض الجبال والروابي انخفاضاً وتصير الآكام دكداكاً والأرض الوعرة مذللةً ملساء وتظهر كرامة الرب ويراه كل أحد.

138. مبيتاً: مبيناً، مت.

139. دورنيم: دور يمن، مت.

140. وتستقبلوا: واستقبلوا، مت.

العوان[141] المسعرة كان تشردهم».[142] وهذا تصريح بذكر العرب وخروجهم إلى أرض فارس والروم، وكانوا من قبل مشّردين بغزو سابور ذي الأكتاف لهم وحصر فارس والروم إياهم في باديتهم.

[514] وفي الفصل العشرين من إشعيا وهو مذكور في الثالث والخمسين ومائة من مزامير داود على ما رأيته، وذكر ابن ربن الطبري أنه في الثاني والخمسين: «لترتاج البوادي وقراها ولتصير أرض قيدار[143] مروجاً، وليسبّح[144] سكّان الكهوف ويهتفوا[145] من قلل[146] الجبال بحمد الرب وليذيعوا تسابيحه، فإن الرب يأتي كالجبّار وكالرجل المتحرّك المتلظّي المتكبّر فهو يزجر ويتجبر ويقتل أعداءه».[147] وقيدار[148] هو أبو العرب وابن إسماعيل، وأرض قيدار[149] مكة، وقد صارت مروجاً.

وقد أخبر أنه يجيء ما هو من قبل الله تعالى مما فيه انتقام من الأعداء، ودلّ نسبته ذلك إلى الله على أنه حق غير باطل، ودلّ على ذلك أيضاً بقوله: «وليسبّح سكّان الكهوف ويهتفوا بحمد الرب» لأجل ما يجيء من قتل الأعداء.

ودلّ قوله «لترتاج البوادي وقراها ولتصير أرض قيدار[150] مروجاً» على أن يأتي من قبل الله ما فيه نصرة هذا المكان ونصرة أهله، وأنه غير منتقم من جميع أهله، وهذا موافق لقوله في الفصل العاشر: «إنك ستأتين الأمر من جهة اليمن ومن أرض البادية»، وموافق لقوله في الفصل العشرين: «إن الضعفاء والمساكين يستسقون[151] ماء ولا ماء لهم، وقد جفّت ألسنتهم من الظماء، وأنا الرب أجيب يومئذٍ دعوتهم ولن أهملهم، بل أفجّر لهم في الجبال الأنهار، وأجري بين القفار العيون وأحدث في البدو آجاماً وأجري في الأرض العطشى ماءاً معيناً وأنبت في القفار والبلاقع الصنوبر والآس والزيتون وأغرس في القاع الصفصف السرو البهية، ليروها[152] جميعاً ثم يتدبروا[153] ويعلموا[154] أن [515] يد الله صنعت ذلك وقدوس إسرائيل ابتدعه».[155]

وهذه صفات العرب، لأنهم كانوا في المعاطش، ثم تفجّرت المصانع في القفار وبين الجبال وجرت الأنهار بغربيّ البصرة وكانت قفاراً، وكل ذلك بالإسلام.

ثم وقد أكد في ذلك في الفصل الحادي والعشرين: «إني خالق أمراً جديداً، وسترون ذلك وتعرفونه لتسبحني وتحمدني حيوانات البرّ من

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141. العوان: العواني، مت.

142. قارن ابن ربن الطبري: كتاب الدين والدولة، ص 48: 3-7: وقال في هذا الفصل: إنكم ستبيتون مساءً في الغيضة التي على طريق دورنيم. فتلقوا العطاش بالماء يا سكان التيمن واستقبلوا بالأطمعة القوم المبدّدين المفرّقين لأن السيف بدّدهم ومن خوف الشفار المشحوذة والقسيّ الموترة والحرب العوان المستعرة كان تشرّدهم.

143. قيدار: قيذار، مت.

144. وليسبح: وتسبح، مت.

145. ويهتفوا: وليهتفوا، مت.

146. قلل: قلال، مت.

147. قارن ابن ربن الطبري: كتاب الدين والدولة، ص78: 14–79: 1: وقال عليه السلام في المزمور المائة والثاني والخمسين: فسمّى البلد والأهل فلم يدع موضع مقال ولا اعتدال. وهو مزمور ينسب إلى اشعيا النبي عليه السلام لترتاح البوادي وقراها ولتصر أرض قيذار مروجاً وليسبح سكّان الكهوف ويهتفوا من قلل الجبال بحمد الرب ويذيعوا تسابيحه في الجزائر، لأن الرب يجئ كالجبال وكالرجل المحرب المتلظي للتكبُّر فهو يزجر ويتجبر ويقتل أعداءه.

148. قيدار: قيذار، مت.

149. قيدار: قيذار، مت.

150. قيدار: قيدار، مت.

151. يستسقون: + من، مت.

152. ليروها: لتروها، مت.

153. يتدبروا: تتدبروا، مت.

154. ويعلموا: وتعلموا، مت.

155. قارن ابن ربن الطبري: كتاب الدين والدولة، ص88: 17-89: 5: وقال في هذا الفصل: إن المساكن والضعفاء يستسقون ماء ولا ماء لهم فقد جفت ألسنتهم من الظماء. وأنا الرب أجيب حينئذ دعوتهم ولن أهملهم بل أفجر لهم في الجبال الأنهار وأجري بين القفار العيون وأحدث في البدو آجاماً وأجري في الأرض العطشى ماءً معيناً وأنبت في القفار البلاقع الصنوبر والآس والزيتون وأغرس في القاع الصفصف السرو البهية ليروها جميعاً ويعلموا ويتدبروا ثم يفهموا معاً أن يد الله فعلت ذلك وقدوس إسرائيل ابتدعه.

بنات آوى حتى النعائم، لأني أجريت الماء في البدو وأجريت الأنهار في بلد أبشمون لتشرب[156] منها أمتي المصطفاة وتشرب منها الأمة التي اصطفيتها».[157] وقد صدّق الله هذا الخبر بما أحدث بالإسلام من المصانع والأنهار في البادية، ليشرب منها الحجيج وبلد اشيمون هو القفار.

فدل جملة ما ذكرناه على أن كتاب إشعيا مملوء بذكر البادية وبلاد العرب والبشارة بما حدث فيها بالإسلام وليس لهم أن يصرفوا ذلك إلى المسيح الذي ينتظرونه، لأن النصارى لا ترى ذلك، ولا اليهود تقول أنه يأتي من أرض العرب وجبال فاران، ولأن الإكثار من ذكر البادية يدل على أن المبشر به له اختصاص بالبادية. وعندهم أن الذي ينتظرونه يأتي من بلاد الروم ويكون اليهود متفرّقين في البلاد، ولأنه قد بان في الفصل التاسع من كتاب حزقيل أن الذي يظهر من البادية يكون فيه حتف اليهود، وهو «إن أمك[158] مغروسة على الماء بدمك، فهي كالكرمة التي أخرجت ثمارها وأغصانها من مياه كثيرة وتفرّعت[159] منها أغصان كالعصي قوية مشرفة على أغصان الأكابر والسادات وبسقت وارتفعت أغصانهن وأفنانهن على غيرهن وحسنت أقدارهن بارتفاعهن والتفاف شعبهن، فلم تلبث[160] تلك الكرمة أن قلعت بالسخطة وضرب [516] بها على الأرض وأحرقت السمائم[161] ثمارها، وتفرق قواها، ويبس عصي عزّها[162] وأتت عليها النار فأكلتها، فعند ذلك غرسَ غرسٌ[163] في البدو وفي الأرض المهملة المعطلة العطشى وخرجت[164] من أغصانه[165] الفاضلة[166] نار، فأكلت ثمارها حتى لم تبق منها عصا قوية ولا قضيب ينهض بأمر السلطان».[167] هذا نفل ابن ربن.

وفي نقل النصارى: «وخرج من أغصانه المختارة»، ونقل من السريانية «المنتجبة»، وليس يستنكرون[168] في أن هذا الكلام ورد في ذمّ اليهود وسخط الله عليهم.

قال الشيخ: فدلّ ذلك على أنه تبقى من أمرهم بقية يزيلها الغرس الذي غرس في أرض البادية، ودلّ قوله «من أغصانه[169] المنتجبة» على أنه نبي من قبل الله وهذا إنما تحقق بالنبي عليه السلام، وذلك أن اليهود زالت دولتهم ولم يبق منها إلاّ شيء يسير بأرض الحجاز كخيبر وغيرها من القرى، فزال ذلك بالغصن المنتجب البارز من الغرس الذي غرس في البادية فالغرس هو النبي عليه السلام، والغصن المنتخب هو علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام، والذين كانوا معه حين فتح خيبر.

وفي الفصل الأول من كتاب صفنيا[170]: «أيها الناس، ترجوا اليوم الذي أقوم فيه للشهادة، فقد حان أن أظهر حكمي بحشر الأمم وجمع الملوك لأصبّ عليهم سخطي وأليم عقابي فستحترق الأرض احتراقاً بسخطي ونكيري، هناك أجددّ للأمم اللغة المختارة ليذيقوا اسم الرب جميعاً

156. لتشرب: ليشرب، مت.

157. قارن ابن ربن الطبري: كتاب الدين والدولة، ص 89: 13–16: وقال في الفصل الحادي والعشرين: لتسبحني وتحمدني حيوانات البر من بنات آوى حتى النعائم لأني أظهرت الماء في البدو وأجريت الأنهار في بلد أشيمون لتشرب منها أمتي المصطفاة. فلتشرب منه أمتي التي اصطفيتها.

158. أمك: أمتك، مت.

159. وتفرّعت: وتفرقت، مت.

160. تلبث: ثلبت، مت.

161. السمائم: السماء، مت.

162. عصي عزّها: غضارتها، مت.

163. غرس غرس: غرس، مت.

164. وخرجت: وخرج، مت.

165. أغصانه: أغصانهن، مت.

166. الفاضلة: العاضلة، مت.

167. قارن ابن ربن الطبري: كتاب الدين والدولة، ص 109: 13–110: 4: قال في الفصل التاسع أن أمك مغروسة على الماء بدمك فهي كالكرمة التي أخرجت ثمارها وأغصانها من مياه كثيرة وتفرعت منها أغصان كالعصي قوية مشرفة على أغصان الأكابر والسادات وارتفعت وبسقت أفنانهن على غيرهن وحسنت أقدارهن بارتفاعهن والتفاف سعفهن. فلم تلبث تلك الكرمة أن قلعت بالسخطة ورمي بها على الأرض وأحرقت السمائم ثمارها وتفرق قواها ويبس عصي عزّها وأتت عليها النار فأكلتها. فعند ذلك غرس غرس في البدو وفي الأرض المهملة المعطلة العطشى. وخرجت من أغصانه الفاضلة نار أكلت ثمار تلك حتى لم يوجد فيها عصا قوية بعدها ولا قضيب ينهض بأمر السلطان.

168. يستنكرون: يستنكرن، مت.

169. أغصانه: أعضائه، مت.

170. صفنيا: أصفيا، مت.

وليعبدوه في رقبة[171] واحدة معاً وليأتوا بالذبائح من معابر أنهار كوش».[172] [517] ومعلوم أن اللغة العربية مختارة قد شاعت في الأرض، وذلك أنها صارت تتداول بالمشرق كله وفي البحار والجبال بعد أن كانت لا تذكر فيها.

قال الشيخ: فأما بالعراق والشام والجزيرة ومصر وبلاد المغرب فكانت لا تذكر فيها، ثم صارت طبع أهلها العربية بعد دخول الإسلام فيها، حتى صار الصبي إذا نشأ لا يحسن إلا العربية، وقد كان الأمر قبل الإسلام بخلاف ذلك. قال: ولقد كنت أعجب من هذا حتى قرأت هذا الفصل من كتاب صفنيا[173] فقد علمت أن الله جدد هذه اللغة بهذه الشريعة التي جاءت بالانتقام من ملوك الآفاق وإزالة دولتهم، فدلّ ذلك على أنها من عنده.

ونقل بعضهم: «هناك أجدد للأمم الشفة المختارة»، وهذا لا ينافي ذلك النقل، لأنه قد يعبر بالشفة عن اللغة كما يعبّر باللسان عن اللغة، فيقولون: قال أهل اللسان، وهم يريدون أهل اللغة ويقولون في لسان العرب كذا وكذا، وهم يريدون في لغة العرب. والذي يبين ما قلناه أنه لا يجوز أن يكون أراد به تجدّد الشفة على الحقيقة، لأن الشفة قد خلق جنسها من قبل ولم يجدّدها الله تعالى في ذلك الوقت.

وقد قالوا: أراد[174] بتجديد الشفة تجديد حمد الله، وهو الشفة المختارة. فيقال لهم: هذا لا يصحّ، لأنكم إن أردتم أن يجدد فعل حمد الله فذلك لا يجوز، لأن العبيد هم الذين يحمدون الله ويفعلون ذلك. وإن أردتم أنه يجدّد الأمر بالحمد والتعبّد به، فذلك قد سبق من الله، فعلمنا أنه يجدّد[175] التعبّد بلغة والتكلّم بها، ويجعل بعض الأمم مطبوعين عليها وهو ما جدّده من التعبّد بتلاوة القرآن والأذان والإقامة والخطبة والتشهد والدعاء في الصلاة ....[176]، وبما [518] جعل الله اللغة العربية طبعاً لأقاليم لم يكن أهلها مطبوعين عليها.

فهذه جملة من البشارات بالنبي عليه السلام وبدينه وأمته، وإذا تأمل المنصف فيما ذكره الله من أنه سيبعث نبياً من إخوة بني إسرائيل، وأن الله جاء من جبل فاران، وقول الملك: «إن يد إسماعيل فوق يد الكل»، وقول حبقوق: «إن القدوس جاء من جبل فاران»، وأنه تبع ذلك بالحروب والاستيلاء على الأرض، ثم عرف ما ذكره إشعيا من عمارة أرض قيدار[177] وعمارة البادية وكثرة المياه فيها ليشرب منها الأمة المصطفاة، ثم ما ذكر في كتاب حزقيل من أنه يغرس غرساً في البادية يهلك بقية أمر اليهود حتى لا يبقى لهم سلطان، ثم ما في كتاب صفنيا[178] من تجديد اللغة المختارة، علم ذلك المنصف أنه ليس المقصود بذلك إلاّ النبي عليه السلام وأمته. إذا تقررت وثبتت نبوة نبينا المصطفى عليه السلام وجب الإقرار والتصديق بجميع ما جاء به من الشرائع والقصص والأخبار على ما سبقت الإشارة إليه. ولما كان من جملة ما جاء به الوعد للمطيعين بالثواب والوعيد للكفار والفساق بالعقاب، فبالحريّ إيراد الكلام في الوعد والوعيد عقيب الكلام في نبوته عليه وآله السلام.

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171. رقبة: ربقة، مت.

172. قارن ابن ربن الطبري: كتاب الدين والدولة، ص 104: 14–105: 1: قال يقول الرب: أيها الناس ترجوا اليوم الذي أقوم فيه للشهادة. فقد حان أن أظهر حكمي بحشر الأمم كلها وجميع الملوك لاصبّ عليهم رجزي وأليم سخطي. فستحترق الأرض كلها احتراقاً بسخطي ونكيري. هنالك أجدد للأمم اللغة المختارة ليذوقوا اسم الرب جميعاً ويعبدوه في ربقة واحدة معاً. ويأتوني بالذبائح في تلك الأيام من معابر أنهار كوش.

173. صفنيا: أصفيا، مت.

174. أراد: أرادوا، مت.

175. يجدد: تجدد، مت.

176. بياض في الأصل.

177. قيدار: قيذار، مت.

178. صفنيا: أصفيا، مت.

Chapter Thirteen
Muʿtazilite Discussions of the Abrogation of the Torah: Ibn Ḫallād (Fourth/Tenth Century) and His Commentators

Camilla Adang and Sabine Schmidtke

Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. Ḫallād al-Baṣrī[1] was a distinguished disciple of the Muʿtazilite theologian Abū Hāšim al-Ǧubbāʾī (d. 321/933). While the dates of his birth and death are unknown, the sources state that he did not reach an advanced age (*lam yabluġ ḥadd al-šayḫūḫa*).[2] Ibn Ḫallād's students included Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Baṣrī (d. 367/978) and Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. ʿAyyāš, both of whom in turn were teachers of Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār (d. 415/1025), who later became the head of the Basran school of the Muʿtazila and is arguably the most influential representative of this movement.

According to ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār, Ibn Ḫallād wrote a *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* and a commentary, apparently on this *Kitāb al-Uṣūl*, as well as some further, unspecified writings (he refers to him as *ṣāḥib Kitāb al-Uṣūl wa-l-Šarḥ wa-ġayrihimā*). He further states that when Ibn Ḫallād was about to complete his *Šarḥ al-Uṣūl*, he happened to be in Basra, where he met the Murǧiʾite al-Ḫālidī.[3] Their discussions impelled him first to write the section on the threat.[4] In his *Šarḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil* al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī (d. 494/1101) repeats the informa-

1. On him, see Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, suppl., 1/343; Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, 1/624, no. 17; EI2, s.v. "Ibn Khallād" (J. Schacht); *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. "Ebn Ḵallād" (D. Gimaret); *Dāʿirat al-maʿārif-i buzurg-i islāmī*, s.v. "Ibn Ḫallād Baṣrī," 3/439f. (Sayyid Ǧaʿfar Saǧǧādī).

2. Sayyid, *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl wa-ṭabaqāt al-Muʿtazila*, 330f.; al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī, *Šarḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil*, MS Leiden Cod. Or. 2584A, ff. 119b–120a; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabaqāt al-Muʿtazila*, 105.

3. This is Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḫālidī. On him, see Gimaret, "Bibliographie d'Aš'arī," 245–247, nos. 22–26. See also van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, 6/266.

4. Sayyid, *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl*, 330.

tion provided by ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār in his entry on Ibn Ḫallād.[5] In his entry on al-Ḫālidī he adds that Ibn Ḫallād had died before he could complete his *Šarḥ* and that later on Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār completed it with his *Takmilat al-Šarḥ*.[6] In his biographical notice on ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār, al-Ǧišumī ascribes to him a *Šarḥ al-Uṣūl* as well as a *Takmilat al-Šarḥ*.[7] This suggests that in addition to the latter work, and presumably after having completed it, ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār had written his own commentary on the entire *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* by Ibn Ḫallād.[8]

The *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* had also been studied by the Ḥanafite scholar Abū l-Ḥasan al-Karḫī (d. 340/952) under Abū l-ʿAlāʾ al-Ṣayrafī.[9] Moreover, there is evidence that Ibn Ḫallād's *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* (and possibly his *Šarḥ al-Uṣūl*) was read among contemporary Jewish Muʿtazilites. The Karaite author Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf al-Baṣīr (d. ca. 431/1040) refers to it in his *al-Kitāb al-Muḥtawī*,[10] and he reports in his refutation of his older contemporary, the Rabbanite Samuel ben Ḥofni Gaon (*Naqḍ ʿalā Šemuel Rās al-Maṭība*), that the latter had studied the work with a certain Ibn Tīhān (or Ṯayhān).[11] Moreover, Samuel ben Ḥofni also responds at length to Ibn Ḫallād's polemical arguments against Judaism in his *Kitāb Nasḫ al-šarʿ*,[12] adducing numerous quotations from Ibn Ḫallād's *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* or *Šarḥ al-Uṣūl*.[13]

None of the works of Ibn Ḫallād has come down to us directly, although substantial portions of his *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* have reached us embedded in two works by later Muʿtazilite authors. The first is the *Kitāb Ziyādāt Šarḥ al-Uṣūl* by the Zaydī Imām al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hārūn al-Buṭḥānī (d. 424/1033) in the recension of one Sayyid Abū l-Qāsim, who has been tentatively identified by Wilferd Madelung as al-Nāṭiq's student Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Mahdī al-Ḥasanī.[14] The text of the *Ziyādāt* is

5. See al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī, *Šarḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil*, ff. 119b:20–120a:2.

6. Al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī, *Šarḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil*, f. 123a:11–18.

7. Al-Ḥākim al-Ǧišumī, *Šarḥ ʿUyūn al-masāʾil*, f. 124b:4, 6 (= Sayyid, *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl*, 375).

8. Neither of the two titles is mentioned in the autobibliographical note at the end of his *Kitāb al-Muġnī*, 20(2)/257f. This may suggest that he wrote them after he had completed the *Kitāb al-Muġnī*. Cf. also ʿUṯmān, *Qāḍī l-quḍāt ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār*, 65, no. 24 (*Takmilat al-Šarḥ*) and 66, no. 36 (*Šarḥ al-Uṣūl*, which ʿUṯmān takes to be the same as his *Šarḥ al-uṣūl al-ḫamsa*).

9. Sayyid, *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl*, 323. For al-Karḫī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī's teacher in law, see Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, 1/444, no. 22.

10. See Ben-Shammai's review of Vajda, *Al-Kitāb al-Muḥtawī de Yūsuf al-Baṣīr*, 410.

11. See Sklare, *Samuel ben Ḥofni Gaon*, 53, n. 48; 57, n. 62.

12. See Sklare, *Samuel ben Ḥofni Gaon*, 28f., 52f., 110, n. 31; Sklare, "Responses to Islamic Polemics."

13. Quotations from Ibn Ḫallād (introduced as a rule as *wa-ammā qawl Ibn Ḫallād/ṯumma qāla Bn Ḫallād/ṯumma ḏakara Bn Ḫallād ... wa-qāla*) are to be found in the ninth chapter of the *Kitāb Nasḫ al-šarʿ*, portions of which are preserved in MSS Firk. Yevr.-Arab. I 1686, 3024, and 3204. We are grateful to David Sklare for providing us with copies of these manuscripts.

14. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim*, 180. See also Gimaret, "Les *Uṣūl al-Ḫamsa*," 71. On al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq, see Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim*, 178–182; Madelung, "Zu einigen Werken."

completely extant in what seems to be a unique manuscript, owned by Leiden University Library (abbreviated in the following as MS-L).[15]

A second supercommentary or *taʿlīq* on Ibn Ḫallād's *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* is only partially extant. A unique manuscript held in the Maktabat al-awqāf ("al-Šarqiyya") of the Great Mosque in Sanaa, which is incomplete at the beginning, covers most of the first chapters of the work, viz. those dealing with the temporality of accidents and bodies leading up to the proof of the existence of the Creator, and with God's attributes, ending with the section devoted to God's being existent (abbreviated in the following as MS-Ṣ).[16] An edition of this fragment was published in 1969 unter the title *Fī l-tawḥīd* by Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Hādī Abū Rīda. He concluded that the text was a *taʿlīq* on Ibn Ḫallād which he identified as a portion of the *Dīwān al-uṣūl* of Abū Rašīd al-Nīsābūrī, a prominent student of Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār who was to become the latter's successor as head of the Basran Muʿtazila.[17] A second fragment (incomplete in the beginning and the end) of the same commentary containing most of the chapters dealing with prophecy is preserved in the British Library (abbreviated in the following as MS-BL). It was first described by A. S. Tritton[18] and later partly edited by Richard C. Martin.[19] Martin questioned Abū Rīda's identification of the fragment found in Yemen, arguing that it belonged to the same supercommentary on Ibn Ḫallād's *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* as the British Library manuscript. He argued that both manuscripts constituted fragments of Abū Rašīd's *Ziyādāt al-Šarḥ* that may have been written down by one of his pupils.[20] Gimaret maintained that the work had not been composed by Abū Rašīd but by an anonymous later author.[21] It has more recently been suggested that the two fragments constitute parts of a supercommentary by the Zaydī author ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Daylamī Siyāh [Šāh] Sarīǧān [Sarbīǧān], who flourished two generations after Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār and is known to have composed a *Šarḥ al-Uṣūl al-kabīr*.[22] The popularity of the work among later Zaydī theologians is also attested by a *taʿlīq* composed or transcribed by a certain Abū Ṭāhir b. ʿAlī al-Ṣaffār on Ibn Ḫallād's *Kitāb*

15. MS Leiden Cod. Or. 2949. An *editio princeps* has been published by Adang, Madelung, and Schmidtke as *Baṣran Muʿtazilite Theology*.

16. MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-awqāf, 541, 199 ff., copy dated Ramaḍān 607/February–March 1211. In al-Ruqayhī, al-Ḥibšī, and al-Ānsī, *Fihrist*, 759, the manuscript is erroneously identified as part 1 of the *Kitāb al-Muġnī* by ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār.

17. Abū Rašīd, *Fī l-tawḥīd*. For Abū Rašīd, see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies*, chapter 1.

18. MS British Library Or 8613. Tritton, "Some Muʿtazili Ideas about Religion," also contains an edition of ff. 29b:18–34b of the manuscript.

19. Martin, "Muʿtazilite Treatise" (includes an edition of ff. 2b:5–69b of the manuscript). See also Martin's "Role of the Basrah Muʿtazilah."

20. Martin, "Identification of Two Muʿtazilite MSS."

21. Gimaret, "Les *Uṣūl al-Ḫamsa*," 73.

22. Cf. Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies*, esp. 123f.

al-Uṣūl (with an unknown number of commentary layers in between), written during the second half of the fifth/eleventh century.[23]

Both al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq's *Ziyādāt* and Šāh [Siyāh] Sarīǧān's [Sarbīǧān's] *taʿlīq* provide supplementary information on Ibn Ḫallād's original *Kitāb al-Uṣūl/Šarḥ al-Uṣūl*. Although the *Ziyādāt* contains relatively few references to Ibn Ḫallād's original work and although it is impossible—despite the frequent references to (and most likely quotations from) Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār's *Šarḥ*—to differentiate systematically between the various layers of the text and to reconstruct Ibn Ḫallād's original *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* or *Šarḥ al-Uṣūl*, the overall structure of the *Ziyādāt* doubtless reflects the structure of the original work.

The extant portions of the second work complex, possibly by Šāh [Siyāh] Sarīǧān [Sarbīǧān], which significantly exceeds al-Nāṭiq bi-l-ḥaqq's *Ziyādāt* in length, hardly provide any additional information on the overall structure of the work. In their arrangement they agree, by and large, with the *Ziyādāt*.[24] However, each division (*bāb* as well as *faṣl*) opens with a direct quotation (as a rule abbreviated) that is subsequently commented upon, and which is most likely taken from Ibn Ḫallād's *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* or his *Šarḥ al-Uṣūl*.[25] Also, throughout the chapters there are numerous references to and brief, possibly direct quotations from the original work. As for the subdivision into *fuṣūl*, the structure of MS-BL/MS-Ṣ evidently does not agree with the original work of Ibn Ḫallād. On numerous occasions the opening quotation says [*qāla/ṯumma qāla raḥimahu llāh*] *... ilā qawlihi fī faṣl āḫar* (MS-BL, ff. 2b, 5a, 28a, 76a, 80a, 85b, 100a, 105a, 106a, 116b, 132a; MS-Ṣ, ff. 2b, 25a, 40b, 47a, 52a, 64a, 85b, 91b, 159a, 169a, 193b, 198a).[26] Moreover, the chapter headings of some *fuṣūl* clearly suggest that they did not originate with Ibn Ḫallād.[27] In addition, the chapter division of MS-Ṣ/MS-BL often disagrees with the division into *abwāb* and *fuṣūl* in the corresponding portions of the *Ziyādāt*, and with one exception the chapter headings at the *bāb* level differ between the two work complexes:

23. Cf. Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies*, chapter 5.

24. See Gimaret, "Les *Uṣūl al-Ḫamsa*," 73.

25. Throughout both fragments neither title is mentioned and Ibn Ḫallād is as a rule referred to as *raḥimahu llāh* (MS-BL, ff. 44b), *Abū ʿAlī raḥimahu llāh* (MS-BL, f. 76a), *ṣāḥib al-kitāb* or *Abū ʿAlī ṣāḥib al-kitāb* (MS-BL, ff. 40a). Gimaret ("Les *Uṣūl al-Ḫamsa*," 73) argues that unlike the *Ziyādāt*, the supercommentary by an anonymous later author relates to Ibn Ḫallād's *Šarḥ al-Uṣūl* rather than to his *Kitāb al-Uṣūl*.

26. At times, the anonymous commentator differentiates between various chapters in his subsequent commentary, viz., *iʿlam anna al-ġaraḍ bi-l-faṣl al-awwal huwa ...* (ff. 100a, 105a) or *iʿlam anna al-ġaraḍ bi-hāḏā l-faṣl huwa ...* (f. 106a, 112b).

27. E.g., MS-Ṣ, f. 98a: *faṣl yattaṣilu fī hāḏā l-mawḍiʿ*. The chapter opens with *fa-in qīla* instead of the characteristic quote from Ibn Ḫallād. This also applies to the following chapter (MS-Ṣ, f. 100b), *faṣl fī ḏikr šubahihim*, which opens with the first *šubha* (*qālū*) with no introductory quotation from Ibn Ḫallād.

MS-Ṣ/MS-BL	MS-L
Bāb al-kalām fī anna al-ǧism lam yaḫlu min al-iǧtimāʿ wa-l-iftirāq wa-l-ḥaraka wa-l-sukūn (MS-Ṣ, f. 25a)	*Bāb fī anna al-ǧism lā yanfakku min al-aʿrāḍ* (f. 14a)
Bāb al-qawl fī ḥudūṯ al-aʿrāḍ (MS-Ṣ, f. 64a)	*Bāb fī ḥudūṯ al-aʿrāḍ* (f. 25a)
Bāb fī anna mā lā yaḫlu min al-muḥdaṯ yaǧibu an yakūna muḥdaṯan (MS-Ṣ, f. 84a)	
Bāb al-qawl fī iṯbāt al-muḥdiṯ wa-l-fāʿil (MS-Ṣ, f. 104a)	*Bāb fī iṯbāt al-muḥdiṯ* (f. 32a)
Bāb al-qawl fī l-ṣifāt (MS-Ṣ, f. 159a)	*Bāb al-ṣifāt* (f. 38a)
Bāb al-kalām ʿalā l-Yahūd fī mtināʿihim min nasḫ al-šarāʾiʿ (MS-BL, f. 69b)	*Bāb al-kalām ʿalā l-Yahūd* (f. 113b)
Bāb al-kalām ʿalā l-Kullābiyya (MS-BL, f. 85b)	*Bāb al-kalām ʿalā l-Kullābiyya* (f. 117b)

One of the reasons for these variants may be that MS-L and MS-BL/MS-Ṣ relate to two different original layers of the text—Ibn Ḫallād's *Kitāb al-Uṣūl* as opposed to his *Šarḥ al-Uṣūl*.[28] In addition, it is likely that both work complexes grew in entirely separate generation processes.

* * *

In what follows, we offer critical editions of the section on the abrogation of the Torah from the two work complexes: MS-L, ff. 113b–117b (*bāb al-kalām ʿalā l-Yahūd*) and MS-BL, ff. 69b–85b (*bāb al-kalām ʿalā l-Yahūd fī mtināʿihim min nasḫ al-šarāʾiʿ*).[29]

The overall arrangement of the material is largely identical in both texts. In MS-L, the chapter opens with a list of Jewish *firaq*, distinguished according to their alleged positions on abrogation (*nasḫ*), as was typical for the *kalām* tradition (both Muʿtazilite and Ašʿarite). According to al-Nāṭiq, the following three views were maintained by the different Jewish groups (MS-L, § 1): (1) the abrogation of the law revealed to Moses is not conceivable from a rational point of view; (2) abrogation is impossible on scriptural grounds (though conceivable from the point of view of reason); and (3) the abrogation of the Mosaic law is possible in principle (on grounds of both reason and scripture). However, the upholders of the latter view maintain that Muḥammad's claim to prophethood was not confirmed by a miracle. No such list is offered at the beginning of the text in MS-BL, which opens with an abbreviated quotation from Ibn Ḫallād's work (§ 1). However, the various quotations at the beginning of the *bāb* and the subsequent *fuṣūl* taken together

28. This supports Gimaret's assumption; see above, n. 25.
29. Needless to say, the division into paragraphs is ours.

indicate that Ibn Ḫallād's original work must have included a similar list which addressed at least the first two groups (cf. MS-BL, §§ 1, 22, 38, 56):

1 [قال رحمه الله:] اعلم أن اليهود يطعنون في نبوة نبيّنا ويقولون أنه أتى بشرع نسخ شرائع من تقدّمه من الأنبياء ونسخ الشرائع لا يجوز، لأنه يدل على البداء على الله تعالى إلى قوله وإنما قلنا أن الله تعالى لا يجوز أن يأمر أحدًا بالشيء في وقت وينهاه عنه في وقت آخر، لأن أفعال العباد تتقدر بأوقات لا يتأتى فيها التقديم والتأخير.

22 ثم قال رحمه الله: وإنما قلنا أن الله تعالى لا يجوز أن يأمرنا بالشيء وينهانا عنه بعينه، لأن أفعال العباد لا يجوز فيها التقديم والتأخير، إلى قوله في فصل آخر: ومنهم من يقول أن نسخ الشرائع جائز من جهة العقل.

38 قال رحمه الله: فأما من أجاز ذلك من جهة العقل فقال: إن نسخ الشرائع يجوز ولا يدل على البداء ولا أن يصير الحقّ باطلًا ولا الباطل حقًّا، وإنما لا يجوز لمكان السمع، إلى قوله في فصل آخر : ثم يقال لليهود: اخبرونا بأن الله تعالى هل يزيل عنكم هذه التكاليف بالعلل والأمراض؟

56 قال رحمه الله ثم يقال لليهود: خبرونا، أليس الله تعالى قد يزيل الفرض عنكم بالعلل والأمراض [أ85] والعجز والموت إلى آخر الباب.

The arrangement of the *Ziyādāt* follows the initial division of the Jews into three groups. The first group is dealt with in MS-L, §§ 1–16, the second one in a separate chapter (MS-L, §§ 17–22), and the discussion of the third group is to be found in the last *faṣl* of this *bāb* (MS-L, § 23)—the author remarks that the issue of the Prophet Muḥammad's miracles had already been addressed earlier (as is in fact the case in the preceding chapter, *bāb al-radd ʿalā l-Barāhima wa[-huwa] al-kalām fī l-nubuwwāt*) so as to justify the brevity of this chapter. A similar order is followed in MS-BL: arguments are adduced against the first group of Jews (MS-BL, §§ 1–37), followed by a discussion of the second group (MS-BL, §§ 38ff.). As in the abbreviated quotations from Ibn Ḫallād in the respective chapter headings (MS-BL, §§ 1, 22, 38, 56, as quoted above), there is no separate discussion of the third group of Jews. However, the reader is referred to an earlier chapter in which the miracles of the Prophet Muḥammad are dealt with (MS-BL, § 51). The discussion of the first group of Jews, who maintain that *nasḫ* is impossible on rational grounds, follows two lines of argumentation in both work complexes. The first is to distinguish abrogation (*nasḫ*)—which is claimed to be possible for God from the point of view of reason—from a change of mind on the part of God (*badāʾ*), which is inconceivable (MS-L, §§ 2–8; MS-BL, §§ 1–16 and passim). Second, cases of alleged abrogation that can be observed in the Hebrew Bible are adduced to force the Jews to accept the rational possibility of abrogation: (1) the sons of Adam were allowed to marry Adam's daughters, a custom that was forbidden at the time of Moses (MS-L, § 9; MS-BL, §§ 17f.); (2) Jacob was allowed to be married to two sisters simultaneously (Leah and Rachel, referring to Gen. 29:1–30), whereas this custom was prohibited at the time of Moses (cf. Lev. 18:18; MS-L, § 10; MS-BL, § 19); and (3) while Abraham was ordered to circumcise himself at an old age, this ruling was abrogated by the time of Moses (MS-L, § 10; MS-BL, § 19). The discussion of the second group among the Jews, those who allow the possibility of abrogation on rational grounds while denying it on scriptural grounds, again follows a broadly similar structure in both texts. Both open with a reported saying attributed to Moses (which alludes to various biblical verses often referred to by Muslim authors, viz. Deut. 4:2, Exod. 20:11, and Exod. 31:16, though the exact wording differs in the two texts; MS-L, § 17; MS-BL, § 39) and discuss

two possible strategies to counter this scriptural argument. The first is to deny the reliability of the transmission by arguing that it lacks continuity (*tawātur*).[30] The main argument for this strategy is that the Torah as revealed to Moses had been lost in the course of history, having been destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, and that what the Jews hold nowadays originated with Ezra (ʿUzayr) only (MS-L, § 18; MS-BL, §§ 40–42). The second Muslim strategy was to acknowledge the predicate of *tawātur* for this report but to contest the Jewish interpretation of it, arguing that the alleged eternity of its validity needs to be qualified in view of the possibility that God sends another messenger whose authenticity is confirmed by miracles (MS-L, § 21; MS-BL, §§ 43ff.).

Despite the similarities in the overall arrangement of the discussion in both texts, there are striking discrepancies, the most obvious one being the respective length of the two texts—the ratio of MS-BL to MS-L is about 4 to 1. Moreover, the division into *fuṣūl* clearly differs in the two texts, and in the case of MS-BL, at least, it is evident that it does not agree with the structure of Ibn Ḥallād's original work. This is indicated by the wording of two opening quotations from the latter's work in MS-BL: [*ṯumma*] *qāla raḥimahu llāh ... ilā qawlihi fī faṣl āḫar* (MS-BL, §§ 22, 38). The third *faṣl* opens with a quotation introduced as *qāla raḥimahu llāh ... ilā āḫir al-bāb* (MS-BL, § 56), which again provides no clue as to Ibn Ḥallād's original division. Moreover, some of the material included in MS-L in a separate chapter (e.g., the various cases of alleged abrogation within the Hebrew Bible and their subsequent discussion, MS-L, §§ 9–12) still form part of a preceding chapter in MS-BL (§§ 17ff.).

Differences can also be observed in those sections that are found in both texts. The discussion of the distinction between *nasḫ* and *badāʾ*, for example, is introduced in both by an enumeration of conditions that need to be fulfilled before one can speak of a change of will. These differ in number, order, and terminology. According to MS-L, *badāʾ* occurs only when both command and prohibition relate to the same act (*fiʿl*), aspect (*ǧiha*), moment in time (*waqt*), and person (*šaḫṣ*) (MS-L, § 2), whereas MS-BL lists five conditions: act (*fiʿl*), person (*mukallaf*), moment in time (*waqt*), aspect (*waǧh*), and the condition that the command should follow upon the prohibition or the prohibition upon the command (*an yakūna al-amr mutaʾaḫḫiran ʿan al-nahy aw al-nahy mutaʾaḫḫiran ʿan al-amr*; MS-BL, § 2). There are further salient differences in the way the cases of alleged abrogation within the Hebrew Bible are discussed (see above). Moreover, some of the examples adduced in MS-L, such as § 5, have no parallel in MS-BL, despite the comprehensiveness of this text. In addition, at various instances throughout the text MS-BL opens new lines of argumentation with references to (and possibly direct quotations from) Ibn Ḥallād. This is the case with MS-BL §§ 16, 35, 36, and 44. None of the arguments adduced there has a parallel in MS-L. In addition, an argument included in MS-L in the context of cases of alleged abrogation in the biblical text (MS-L, § 13) occurs in MS-BL in a completely dif-

30. See on this issue Lazarus-Yafeh, *Interwined Worlds*, 41–47.

ferent location (MS-BL, § 56). The extent to which the two texts make use of Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār's *Takmilat Šarḥ al-Uṣūl* or his *Šarḥ al-Uṣūl* also seems to differ—while he is repeatedly referred to in MS-L (§§ 5, 8, 11, 12, 13), there is no reference to him in MS-BL. The only other authority referred to apart from Ibn Ḫallād is Abū Rašīd al-Nīsābūrī (MS-BL, § 45). Moreover, the overall lack of references to Ibn Ḫallād in MS-L—in clear contrast to MS-BL— suggests that MS-L was much more dependent on ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār's commentary, whereas MS-BL seems to have been more dependent on the original work (*Kitāb al-Uṣūl* or *Šarḥ al-Uṣūl*) of Ibn Ḫallād.

* * *

MS Leiden Cod. Or. 2949, ff. 113b–117b

باب الكلام على اليهود

1 اعلم أن اليهود افترقت إلى ثلاث فرق، ذهبت إحداها إلى أن نسخ الشرائع لا يجوز عقلًا. والأخرى ذهبت إلى أنه لا يجوز شرعًا، لأن موسى صلى الله عليه أخبر أن شريعته لا تنسخ أبدًا، فمن ادّعى بعد ذلك نسخها فقد كذب، لأن قول الأنبياء لا يتناقض. وذهبت الفرقة الأخيرة إلى أن النسخ جائز لكنه لم يظهر على محمد صلى الله عليه وعلى أهله العلَم المعجز، فلا بد من الكلام مع كل طائفة منهم.

2 والدليل على أن نسخ الشريعة [114أ] يحسن عقلًا أن هذه الشرائع مصالح، والمصالح قد تختلف باختلاف الأوقات والأزمان كما تختلف باختلاف الأشخاص والأعيان. ألا ترى أن الطبيب يأمر المريض في الأغذية والأطعمة بخلاف ما يأمر الصحيح، كما أنه يأمر المريض تارةً بالفصد وتارةً ينهاه عن ذلك، وليس ذلك إلا لاختلاف مصالح المريض باختلاف الأزمنة وتغيرها بتغير الأزمنة. وأما جهة الشريعة فلأن الشرع أمر الحاضر[31] بخلاف ما أمر به المسافر، وأمر المضطر بخلاف ما أمر به المترفه[32]، وأمر الواجد بخلاف ما أمر به العادم.

3 وليس النسخ من البداء في شيء، لأن مقصود[33] البداء لا يحصل إلا بعد اجتماع شرائط أربعة، أحدها أن يكون الفعل واحدًا، والثاني أن تكون الجهة واحدة، والثالث أن يكون الوقت واحدًا، والرابع مثل أن يكون الشخص واحدًا حتى أنه لو اختلف شيء من هذه الأشياء الأربعة لم يكن ذلك بداء. أما [اختلاف] الفعل، فإنه لو اختلف مثل أن يأمر بالصلاة وينهى عن الصوم لم [يكن] بداء. وأما اختلاف الجهة، فإن سجود الرحمن[34] طاعة وسجود الشيطان معصية وإن كانا مشتبهين في الصورة[35]. وأما اختلاف الشخص، فلأنه لو أمر بالصلاة واحدًا[36] ونهى عنها واحدًا[37] لم يكن ذلك بداء.

4 فإن قيل: ولم قلتم أن عند اجتماع هذه الشرائط[38] يكون بداء؟ قيل له: لأن إذا لم يكن ساهيًا ولا معتوهًا، فإذا نهى عن غير ما أمر به في الوقت الذي أمر به على الوجه الذي أمر به الشخص الذي أمر به، دل[39] ذلك على أنه تغير دواعيه [114ب] وأنه[40] ظهر له ما لم يكن

31. الحاضر: الحائض.
32. المتفره: + وامر الواجد بخلاف ما أمر به المسافر وأمر المضطر بخلاف ما أمر به المتفره.
33. مقصود: مقصور.
34. الرحمن: الرحمان.
35. ولعلها ناقصة هنا جملة بدأت كذا: وأما اختلاف الوقت ...
36. واحدًا: واجدًا.
37. واحدًا: واجدًا.
38. الشرائط: + لا.
39. دل: + على (مشطوب).
40. وأنه: انه.

ظاهرًا[41] من قبل، وهذا لا يجوز على الله سبحانه.

5 قال القاضي رحمه الله: كل أمر ورد عقيب النهي أو نهي ورد عقيب الأمر صح كل واحد منهما من المخاطب مع استواء الحال في العلم بهما، كان ذلك نسخًا لا بداء. وقال سائر أصحابنا: إن كل أمرين لو قدرنا الجمع بينهما يتناقض، كان ذلك بداء لا نسخًا. نظيره أن المولى إذا قال لعبده: إذا زالت الشمس فادخل السوق ولا تشتر اللحم ...[42]، لم يكن مناقضًا وكان ذلك نسخًا. ومثله لو قال: إذا زالت الشمس فادخل السوق ولا تشترِ[43] اللحم، وإذا زالت الشمس فادخل السوق واشتر اللحم، وإذا زالت الشمس فلا تدخل السوق ولا تشتر [اللحم] كان هذا بداء لا نسخًا، لأنه لا يمكن الجمع بينهما وظهر الفرق بين البداء والنسخ.

6 فإن قيل: أليس عندكم أن الله تعالى يجوز أن يكون مريدًا للشيء بعد أن لم يكن مريدًا له، ولا يدل على البداء؟ فكذلك يجوز أن يأمر بالشيء ثم ينهى عنه، ولا يدل على البداء. قيل له: عدم كونه مريدًا للشيء لا يقتضي قبحه ولا حسنه حتى إذا أراد بعد ذلك يصير بخلاف الذي كان عليه من قبل، وليس كذلك فيما نحن فيه لأن الله تعالى إذا أمر بالشيء فإنه يقتضي ذلك وجوبه أو كونه نَدْبًا[44]، فإذا نهى عن ذلك اقتضى ذلك قبحه[45] يدل على[46] أنه ظهر له ما لم يكن ظاهرًا من قبل.

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7 فإن قيل: ما قولكم فيما لو نهى الله تعالى عما أمر به على تلك الجهة التي أمرنا بها، هل كان ذلك يدل على البداء؟ قيل له: لو فعل الله تعالى ذلك لم يمكن أن يقال: إنه يدل على البداء، ولا أن يقال: لا يدل على البداء، وصار ذلك بمنـزلة [115أ] الظلم المقدر من الله تعالى، لأنه لا يمكننا[47] أن نقول: إنه يدل على البداء، لأن هذا محال عليه إذ فيه إضافة الجهل إلى الله تعالى. ولا يمكننا أن نقول: إنه لا يدل على البداء لأنا لو قلنا هذا أخرجنا هذا من أن يكون في الشاهد دليلًا على البداء.

8 جواب آخر ذكره القاضي رحمه الله، وهو أنه يخرج ذلك من أن يكون دليلًا على البداء لما ذكرنا في الظلم.

9 دليل آخر على جواز النسخ[48] عقلًا: إنه قد ثبت أن موسى عليه السلام قد نسخ شريعة من قبله من الأنبياء عليهم السلام، لأنه كان من شريعة آدم عليه السلام تزويج البنات من البنين، إذ لو لم يفعل كذلك لما حصل التناسل.

10 وكذلك كان من شريعة يعقوب عليه السلام جواز الجمع بين أختين في النكاح، وكان من شريعة إبراهيم عليه السلام الختان في حال الكبر بالقدوم، وموسى صلى الله عليه أتى بنسخ هذه الشرائع[49].

11 قال القاضي رحمه الله: افترقت اليهود في هذه المسائل فرقتين، فرقة ذهبت إلى أنه لم يكن شيء من ذلك في زمان آدم عليه السلام ولا في زمان يعقوب، وفرقة منهم سلمت ذلك. وإن امتنعوا دللنا عليه[50] بأنه قد ثبت أن هؤلاء الناس نسبوا إلى آدم وحواء عليهما السلام، ولو لم يحصل تزويج البنات من البنين لم يحصل التناسل ولم يكمل التوليد. فإن قيل: إن الله تعالى بعث الحور العين وزوج آدم بنيه إياهن حتى تناسلوا وحصل بنو الأعمام وبنو العمات، قيل [115ب] له: أجمعنا على أن تناسلنا من آدم وحواء عليهما السلام أبًا وأمًا، فلا معنى للتمسك بهذا الكلام.

12 قال القاضي رحمه الله: لا معنى لدعوى الإجماع هاهنا لأن الإجماع متفرع على معرفة النبوة، فما لم تثبت لهم النبوة فلا معنى لاحتجاجنا بالإجماع. فأما حديث يعقوب عليه السلام من الجمع بين الأختين فقد قيل: إن ذلك منصوص عليه في التوراة عن يعقوب، وكذلك

41. ظاهرًا: ظهرًا.
42. الظاهر أنه قد سقط بعض نص الكتاب هنا من المخطوطة.
43. ولا تشترِ: ولتشتري.
44. ندبًا: بدنًا.
45. قبحه: فتحير.
46. على: عليه.
47. يمكننا: يمكنا.
48. جواز النسخ: جواب الشيخ.
49. الشرائع: الشريعة (+ تصحيح): الشرائع.
50. عليه: عليهم.

الختان[51] في شريعة إبراهيم، فإن كان كذلك[52] كان هذا حجة واضحة، وإن لم يكن كذلك احتجنا إلى استدلال آخر. فأما الفرقة التى تقر بهذه الأشياء فالحجة تكون ظاهرة عليهم، لأنه إذًا جاز نسخ شريعة محمد صلى الله عليه وعلى آله لأجل المصلحة.

13 وجه آخر، وهو أنا أجمعنا على أن هذه الشريعة التي تفرد بها موسى عليه السلام تضاف إليه، ولولا أنه كان شريعة له دون غيره لم يجز إضافته إليه كما لم يجز إضافته إلى يوشع بن نون. قال القاضي رحمه الله: إلا أنهم يقولون: إنما جاز إضافتها إليه لأنه أحياها، ولم يكن من يوشع ذلك فلم يجز إضافته إليه.

14 جواب آخر، وهو أن الله تعالى حرم الطعام والشراب على الصائم إذا كان صحيحًا، وأباحه إذا كان مريضًا أو مسافرًا، وكذلك حرم الصلاة قاعدًا مع القدرة على القيام وأباح ذلك إذا كان عاجزاً وليس النسخ أكثر من هذا. فإن قيل: [116أ] هذا ليس بنسخ عندكم فلماذا تمسكتم به؟ قلنا: معنى النسخ موجود هاهنا، لأن معنى النسخ أن يحل في حال ولا يحل في حال[53] آخر.

15 فإن قيل: قد تقرر في العقول أن الله تعالى لا يكلف العاجز، فهذه الحالة قد اقترنت[54] بالدليل الذي هو الخطاب أنه غير[55] مخاطب به، فالدليل لم يتناول إلا حال الصحة والقدرة. قيل: الدليل سواءً اقترن بالخطاب أم لم يقترن به فإنه في كل الموضعين يدل على أنه المخاطب لم يرد بالخطاب موضع النهي.

16 فإن قيل: هذا الذي ذكرتموه من تزويج البنات من البنين والجمع بين الأختين كان ذلك أخذًا بالإباحة السابقة، لأن الأشياء كانت على الإباحة ولم يكن ذلك شرعًا لآدم ويعقوب عليهما السلام، وإذا لم يكن شرعًا فالنهي عنه لا يكون نسخًا، لأن النسخ هو النهي الذي يتعقب الأمر أو الأمر الذي يتعقب النهي. ألا ترى أن مولى إذا رأى عبده يأكل فنهاه عن ذلك لم يكن نسخًا؟ وإنما يكون نسخًا إذا أمره بالأكل في وقتٍ ثم نهاه عنه؟ قيل له: إن معنى النسخ موجود في الحالين جميعًا، لأنه يكون تحريمًا لأمثال ما كان مباحًا في الابتداء وإباحةً لما كان محرمًا في الابتداء، وهو معنى النسخ.

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17 فأما من قال من اليهود: إن النسخ إنما لم يجز[56] سمعًا فقد احتج بما رووا عن[57] موسى عليه السلام أنه قال: تمسكوا بالسبت ما حييتم، [116ب] ورووا: ما دمتم، ورووا أنه قال: ما دامت السموات والأرض، ورووا أنه قال: شريعتي لا تنسخ أبدًا.

18 وقد افترقت[58] أصحابنا في الجواب عن ذلك فرقتين[59]، طائفة قالوا: إن هذا من أخبار الآحاد ومن شرط قبول الخبر في الديانات أن يكون متواترًا أو جاريًا مجرى التواتر، وشرط التواتر أن يرويه جماعة يؤمن منهم التواطؤ على الكذب عن جماعة مثلهم إلى أن ينتهي وأن يستوي طرفاه ووسطه، ولم يوجد هذا المعنى في حقهم، لأن بخت نصر خرب بيت المقدس وأفناهم عن آخرهم حتى فات التوراة من أيديهم. فبعث الله عزيرًا عليه السلام بعد ذلك فرد عليهم التوراة وأحيى شريعتهم.

19 فإن قيل: نحن قد علمنا ضرورة أن موسى عليه السلام[60] قال هذا القول كما أنكم ادعيتم الضرورة في أن محمدًا صلى الله عليه قال: لا نبي بعدي. قيل: لو كان العلم بما ذكرتموه ضروريًا لشاركناكم[61] فيه، لأنا نعتقد نبوة موسى عليه السلام، ونقول[62] بصحة جميع ما ثبت عنه.

51. الختان: الاختان.
52. كذلك: ذلك.
53. حال: محل.
54. اقترنت: اقتربت.
55. غير: يكسر (؟).
56. يجز: يخبر.
57. عن: + أمير المؤمنين (مشطوب).
58. افترقت: اقترب.
59. فرقتين: في فئتين.
60. السلام: + بعد ذلك فرد (مشطوب).
61. لشاركناكم: لشاركنار.
62. ونقول: ويقولون.

فلما لم نشارككم[63] فيه دل ذلك على أن ليس بضروري، ولوجب ألا تختلف اليهود في ذلك، وقد اختلفوا إلا أن فيهم من أجاز نسخ شريعته ولكنه يقول: لم يظهر على النبي صلى الله عليه العلَم المعجز.

20 فإن قيل: وكذلك ما رويتم من قوله صلى الله عليه: لا نبي بعدي، لو كان يعلم ضرورة لشاركناكم فيه وفي معرفته، قيل له: قد أشرنا [117أ] إلى ما يُسقِط هذا السؤال، لأنا إذا رجعنا إلى أنفسنا وجدناها قائلين بنبوة موسى صلى الله عليه ونبوة محمد صلى الله عليه وعلى آله، فلو كان هذا الخبر[64] من موسى عليه السلام صحيحًا لما اجتمعنا على نبوة محمد صلى الله عليه وعلى آله. فأما أنتم فلا تقولون بنبوة[65] محمد صلى الله عليه وعلى آله وما[66] يروى عنه ولا تتصفحون عنه ولا تعتقدون صدقه.

21 ومن أصحابنا من قال أن هذا من الأخبار المتواترة لاستحالة أن تجمع طائفة كبيرة على خبر لا يكون متواترًا، واليهود في كل زمان لم ينقصوا عن حد التواتر، فلا بد من أن تؤول هذه الأخبار بتأويلين، أحدهما أن المراد به [أن] تمسكوا بالسبت ما دامت مصالحكم تتعلق به. فإذا جاء محمد فقد اختلفت المصلحة في ذلك فلا يبقى حكم ذلك النص. يوضح ذلك أنه يستحيل أن يقول[67] موسى عليه السلام: تمسكوا به ولو جاء نبي آخر مع المعجزة ونبوة لأن هذا يكون تنفيرًا للناس[68] عنه، لأنه قد ثبت نبوته بهذه الطريق.

22 وتأويل آخر، وهو أن يكون المراد به: تمسكوا بشريعتي إلى أن يظهر هاهنا نبي آخر ويظهر على يده العلَم المعجز، ويجوز أن يطلق التأبيد في مثل هذا، وإن لم يكن المراد به حقيقة، كما يقال لازم غريمك، ولا تفارقه أبدًا، وإن كان هذا يقتضى أن لا يفارقه، ما بقي[69] الحق عليه، فإذا وفاه حقه فإنه لا يلازمه بعد ذلك، [كذلك] هاهنا.

فصل

23 وأما الدليل على من قال: إن النبي صلى الله عليه [117ب] لم يظهر عليه العلَم المعجز، فقد تقدم، لأنا بينّا كون القرآن معجزًا وأوضحنا القول فيه. والدليل عليه أن في القرآن[70] جملة[71] أخبار الغيب نحو قوله تعالى ﴿هُمُ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا وَصَدُّوكُمْ عَنِ الْمَسْجِدِ الْحَرَامِ﴾[72] إلى قوله تعالى ﴿لَتَدْخُلُنَّ الْمَسْجِدَ الْحَرَامَ إِن شَاءَ اللهُ آمِنِينَ مُحَلِّقِينَ رُؤُسَكُمْ وَمُقَصِّرِينَ لاَ تَخَافُونَ فَعَلِمَ مَا لَمْ تَعْلَمُوْا﴾[73]، وكذلك قوله تعالى ﴿آلم غُلِبَتْ الرُّومُ فِي أَدْنَى الأَرْضِ وَهُم مِنْ بَعْدِ غَلَبِهِمْ سَيَغْلِبُونَ﴾[74]. وانشقاق القمر أيضًا يدل على نبوة نبينا صلى الله عليه، فلا معنى لقولهم ومنعهم هذا، لأن قوله تعالى ﴿اقْتَرَبَتِ السَّاعَةُ وَانشَقَّ الْقَمَرُ﴾[75]، يدل على ذلك، لأن النبي صلى الله عليه كان يكرر ذلك في أسماعهم ويقرأه عليهم مرة بعد[76] أخرى، فلو لم يكن من ذلك شيء لا يكرره، فلما سكتوا ولم يظهروا النكير دل على صحته، وهذا كله مع غيره من حنين الجذع وكلام الذئب والشاة المسمومة وتسبيح الحصى في يده وانفجار الماء من أصابعه من المعجزات الظاهرات والدلائل الباهرات والحجج القاهرات الدلالات على نبوة محمد صلى الله عليه وعلى آله وسلم، وبالله التوفيق.

63. نشارككم: نشاركم.
64. الخبر: للخبر.
65. بنبوة: نبوة.
66. وما: لما.
67. يقول: + ان.
68. تنفيرًا للناس: تنفير الناس.
69. ما بقي: بان بقا.
70. القرآن: + معجزا.
71. جملة: + واحدة (مشطوب).
72. سورة الفتح (48): 25.
73. سورة الفتح (48): 27.
74. سورة الروم (30): 1–3.
75. سورة القمر (54): 1.
76. بعد: + مرة (مشطوب).

MS British Library Or 8613, ff. 69b–85b

باب الكلام على اليهود في امتناعهم من نسخ الشرائع

1 [قال رحمه الله:] اعلم أن اليهود يطعنون في نبوة نبيّنا ويقولون أنه أتى بشرع نسخ شرائع من تقدّمه من الأنبياء ونسخ الشرائع لا يجوز، لأنه يدل على البداء على الله تعالى إلى قوله وإنما قلنا أن الله تعالى لا يجوز أن يأمر أحدًا بالشيء في وقت وينهاه عنه في وقت آخر، لأن أفعال العباد تتقدر بأوقات لا يتأتى فيها التقديم والتأخير.

2 اعلم أن النهي إذا ورد بعد الأمر أو الأمر إذا ورد بعد النهي فإنه لا يخلو إما أن يدل على البداء أو لا يدل على البداء. فإذا لم يدل على البداء فلا يخلو إما أن يكون قبيحًا أو حسنًا. فما يدل على البداء لا بد أن يعتبر فيه خمس شرائط وهي أن يكون الفعل المأمور به والمنهي عنه واحدًا وأن يكون المكلَّف واحدًا والوقت واحدًا والوجه واحدًا وأن يكون الأمر متأخرًا عن النهي أو النهي متأخرًا عن الأمر. فإذا حصلت هذه الشرائط فالثاني يدل على البداء دون الأول، لأن الذي يدل على البداء هو ما يدل على تغير حاله فيما أمر به أو نهي عنه. وذلك إنما يحصل إذا حصل الأمر بعد النهي أو النهي بعد الأمر، لأنه لو حصل كل واحد منهما على الانفراد فإنه لا يدل على البداء، وكذلك لو حصلا معًا فإنه لا يدل على البداء لأجل أنه لا يدل على تغير حاله. وإذا حصل أحدهما بعد الآخر دل على البداء، لأنه يدل على تغير حاله فيكون الثاني هو الذي يدل على البداء بشرط تقدم الأول.

3 [70ب] فإن قيل: فلم قلتم أن الفعل إذا حصلت فيه هذه الشرائط فإنه يدل على البداء؟ قيل له: لأن العالم الغني لا يجوز أن يأمر بالفعل وينهى عنه وللفعل صفة واحدة، لأن الذي يدعوه إلى الأمر به إنما هو علمه بحسنه وتعلّق المصلحة به، والذي يصرفه عن ذلك إنما هو علمه بقبحه وتعلّق المفسدة به، فالفعل الواحد لا يجوز أن يكون حسنًا قبيحًا مصلحةً مفسدةً في حالة واحدة. ولا اعتبار بالجاهل، لأن الجاهل يجوز أن يأمر بما لا يكون حسنًا وينهى عما لا يكون قبيحًا لجهله بحسن الفعل وقبحه. وكذلك لا اعتبار بالمحتاج، لأن المحتاج يجوز أن يأمر بما يكون قبيحًا وينهى عما يكون حسنًا لأجل المنافع والمضارّ. وإنما المعتبر بالعالم الغني فالعالم الغني لا يجوز أن يأمر به وينهى عنه مع أن صفته واحدة. وهذه الطريقة في باب الصحة بمنـزلة ما نقول أن العالم الغني لا يجوز أن يختار القبيح، لأن علمه بقبحه وبغنائه عنه يصرفه عن فعله. فإذا ثبتت هذه الجملة فلو قلنا أنه يأمر به وينهى عنه والحال ما ذكرنا يجب أن يكون قد ظهر له ما كان خافيًا عليه أو خفي عليه ما كان ظاهرًا له والبداء هو الظهور. قال الله تعالى ﴿وَبَدَا لَهُم مِن اللهِ مَا لَمْ يَكُونُوا يَحْتَسِبُونَ﴾[77]، ويقال: بدا لنا سور المدينة، أي ظهر. وإن شئت قلت: إن القادر على الشيء العالم به المميّز بينه وبين غيره لا يجوز أن يفعل فعلًا إلّا لغرض، وغرضه لا يخلو إما [71أ] أن يكون لأمر يرجع إليه أو لأمر يرجع إلى غيره. فإذا كان هو غنيًا لم يجز عليه المنافع والمضارّ فوجب أن يكون غرضه لأمر يرجع إلى الغير وهو علمه بحسن ذلك الفعل وتعلّق المصلحة به، والذي يصرفه هو علمه بقبح ذلك الفعل وتعلّق المفسدة به. فإذا كان كذلك فلا يجوز أن يأمر به وينهى عنه، لأن ذلك يدل على ما ذكرنا من البداء.

4 فإن قيل: لم لا يجوز أن يقال أن الفعل إذا حصل فيه هذه الشرائط فإنه يدل على حاجته؟ قيل له: دلالته على حاجته لا يمنع من دلالته على البداء، لأنا قد بينّا أن الفعل في الجملة يدل على أحد الأمرين إذا حصلت فيه هذه الشرائط. فإذا كان يدل على أحدهما على سبيل الجملة فالقول بأنه يدل على هذا لا يمنع من دلالته على الآخر، على أنا قد ذكرنا ما يكون احترازًا عن هذا، لأنا قلنا: العالم الغني.

5 فإن قيل: فلم قلتم أن الفعل إذا لم تتكامل فيه هذه الشرائط فإنه لا يدل على البداء؟ قيل له: لأن الذي يدل على البداء هو ما يدل على تغيّر حاله فيما أمر به أو نهي عنه. فإذا تغاير الفعلان أو المكلَّف أو الوقت لا يمكن أن يقال أن ذلك يدل على تغيّر حاله، فلا يدل على البداء، وإن كان قبيحًا لجواز أن يأمر زيدًا[78] بعين ما ينهى عنه أو يأمر زيدًا بعين ما ينهى عنه عمرًا[79]. ولهذا لو جاز في أفعالنا التقديم والتأخير لما امتنع حسن ذلك، لأنه لا يمتنع أن يقبح من [71ب] أحدنا تقديم فعل في وقت ويحسن منه إيجاده في وقت آخر. وكذلك لو صح مقدور واحد بين قادرين فإنه لا يمتنع أن يحسن الأمر به لأحدهما والنهي عنه للآخر.

6 فأما الفعلان إذا كانا من جنس واحد بحيث لا يقع الفصل بينهما فإنه لا يحسن الأمر بأحدهما والنهي عن الآخر لوجهين اثنين، أحدهما لفقد التمييز فيؤدّي ذلك إلى تكليف ما لا يطاق، والثاني أنه يبعد في الفعلين إذا كان حالهما ما ذكرنا أن يتعلق الصلاح بأحدهما والفساد

77. سورة الزمر (39): 47.
78. زيدًا: زيد.
79. عمرًا: عمرو.

بالآخر. وأما إذا كان الفعلان مختلفين أو مثلين يمكن الفصل بينهما فإنه[80] لا يمتنع أن يتعلق الصلاح بأحدهما فيؤمر به، والفساد بالآخر فينهى عنه، وإن كان وقت وجودهما واحدًا، إذ لا شبهة في أنه إذا تغاير الفاعلان والفعلان فإنه يصح أن يأمر أحدهما بأحد الفعلين والآخر بالفعل الآخر. وكذلك يصح أن يؤمر أحدنا بالفعل من وجه وينهى عنه من وجه آخر، وعلى هذا ورد أكثر التكاليف، وذلك كأن يؤمر بالصلاة على وجه الإخلاص وينهى على وجه الرياء.

7 فإذا ثبتت هذه الجملة بان الفرق بين ما يدل على البداء وبين ما يدل على النسخ، لأن ما يدل على النسخ لا يكون سبيله هذا، وذلك لأنه إما أن يكون المكلّف متغايرًا فيؤمر أحدهما بغير ما نهي عنه الآخر أو ينهى[81] أحدهما عن غير ما أمر به الأول، أو يكون المكلف واحدًا فيؤمر بغير ما نهي عنه أو ينهى بغير ما أمر به، وما هذا سبيله لا يدل على البداء. يبين ذلك [72أ] أن ما له ولأجله حكمنا في العقل إذا حصل فيه شرائط خمسة أنه يدل على البداء غير حاصل في النسخ. وحقيقة الفرق بينهما أنه إذا جمع بين الأمر والنهي في البداء تناقض الكلام. وإذا جمع بين الأمر والنهي في النسخ لم يتناقض الكلام.

8 فإن قيل: ما أنكرتم أن الأمر يدل على التكرار؟ فإذا لم يكن في اللفظ ذكر الغاية وجب أن تكون الأوقات كلها على سواء في تعلّق الأمر به، فمتى ورد النهي بعد ذلك وجب أن يكون النهي متعلقًا بعين[82] ما تعلّق الأمر به، فوجب أن يدل على البداء. فإن قلتم: نحن لا نقول بأن الأمر بمجرّده يدل على التكرار وإنما يدل على التكرار إذا اقترن به قرينة، قيل لكم: هب أن الأمر كذلك، أليس أنه إذا اقترن به قرينة ولم يكن هناك ذكر الغاية وجب أن يدل على التأبيد؟ يبين ذلك أن ذكر الغاية بمنـزلة ذكر الشرط والصفة، فكما أن الشرط والصفة لا بدّ من ذكرهما إذا كان الفعل مشروطًا موصوفًا وأنه إذا لم يُذكرَا وجب نفيهما، فكذلك الغاية لو كان الأمر منتهيًا إلى غاية وجب ذكر الغاية، فمتى لم تذكر الغاية وجب نفيها وأن يكون الأمر على التأبيد.

9 وبعد، فإن المكلَّف إذا سمع الأمر المطلق وجب أن يعتقد ما تناوله الأمر على الوجه الذي تناوله وأن يعزم على ذلك. وإن الاعتقاد والعزم إنما يكونان في المستقبل، فلو جوّزنا ورود النهي بعد الأمر أدّى ذلك إلى إعتقاد [72ب] الجهل، لأنه يكون معتقدًا وجوب ما ليس بواجب بل يكون معتقدًا وجوب ما هو قبيح، ويكون العزم أيضًا عزمًا على الفساد. ولأن ورود النهي بعد الأمر يؤدّي إلى جواز تأخير البيان، وذلك لا يجوز. ولأن ورود النهي بعد الأمر يرفع حكم الأمر في كونه دلالةً على الوجوب.

10 أما الجواب عما قالوه أولًا بأن ترك ذكر الغاية بمنـزلة ترك الشرط والصفة، فكما أن الشرط والصفة إذا لم يكونا مذكورين وجب نفيهما فكذلك الغاية إذا لم تكن مذكورة وجب نفيها. فإن هذه التسوية بين انتفاء ذكر الغاية وانتفاء الشرط والصفة لا يصح، لأن انتفاء ذكر الغاية لا يجري مجرى انتفاء الشرط والصفة، لأن مع انتفاء [ذكر] الغاية يتمكن المكلَّف من اداء ما كلف على الوجه الذي كلف، وليس كذلك مع انتفاء ذكر الشرط والصفة، فإنه لا يتمكن من اداء ما كلف على الوجه الذي كلف إذا كان الفعل مشروطًا أو موصوفًا، فلذلك لا يجوز ترك ذكرهما ويجوز ترك ذكر الغاية.

11 وأما ما قالوه ثانيًا بأن أحدنا لا بدّ من أن يكون معتقدًا ما تناوله الأمر، فلو قلنا أنه يجوز ورود النهي بعد الأمر لأدّى إلى أن يكون معتقدًا للجهل، فإن ذلك لا يصح، لأنا نقول أنه يعتقد ما تناوله الأمر بشرط أن يكون الصلاح متعلقًا به، فإذا كان كذلك فلا يكون ذلك اعتقاد جهل. وأما العزم فإنه يكون تابعًا للاعتقاد، فكما أن الاعتقاد يجب أن يكون مشروطًا بالصلاح فكذلك العزم يجب أن يكون كذلك.

12 وأما ما [73أ] قالوه من أن هذا يجري مجرى تأخير البيان، فكما أن تأخير البيان لا يجوز فكذلك هذا، فإن هذا أيضًا لا يصح، لأنا إنما لا نجوّز تأخير البيان لأن مع تأخير البيان لا يتمكن المكلف من أداء ما كلف على الوجه الذي كلف، فيؤدّي ذلك إلى تكليف ما لا يطاق. وليس كذلك ورود النهي بعد الأمر، فإن المكلف يتمكن من أداء المأمور به على الوجه الذي كلف، وإن ورد النهي بعد ذلك.

13 وأما ما قالوه من أن ورود النهي بعد الأمر يرفع حكم الأمر في باب الوجوب، فإنا نقول: إن الأمر يدل على الوجوب بشرط الصلاح، فإذا ورد النهي علمنا أن الصلاح إنما كان إلى هذه الغاية. فإن قيل: فما الذي لا يجوز أن يتغير الصلاح فيه من الأفعال، وما الذي يجوز أن يتغير الصلاح فيه؟ قيل له: أما المعارف فإنه لا تختلف ولا تتغير في كونها لطفًا وصلاحًا لها، فكما أن وجوبها لا يتخصص بوقت دون وقت فكذلك لا يختلف بالمكلفين ولا يسقطها إلّا السهو والنوم، فما دام التكليف فإنه يجب القيام بها. وكذلك العزم على أداء ما كلف على الوجه الذي كلف فإنه لا يسقط ولا يتغير في حال من الأحوال مع بقاء التكليف، وإنما يسقط في حال السهو والنوم. وأما شكر المنعم منا فإنه يجوز أن يسقط منا مع التمكن بالندم والانتباه.

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80. فإنه: وانه.
81. ينهى: نهى.
82. بعين: بغير.

14 اعلم أن هذه العبادات العقلية لا تخلو إما أن لا تتغير أصلًا وذلك كالمعارف على ما بينّا وإما أن تتغير، [73ب] فما تغير فلا يخلو إما أن يتغير ويسقط إلى خلافه وإما أن يتغير ويسقط لا إلى خلافه. فالذي يتغير ويسقط لا إلى خلافه كشكر المنعم منا فإنه يسقط مع بقاء التكليف بالندم والانتباه، ولكن لا يسقط إلى خلافه، لأن الله تعالى لا يجوز أن يتعبد بكفران النعمة. وأما ما يسقط إلى خلافه فكما نقول في ردّ الوديعة، فإنه يجوز أن يرِد الشرع بترك ردّه بل بقبح ردّه، ونُجري ذلك مجرى الأمر أو الملك، وهذا إذا خيف على الوديعة أو المودِع أو المودَع. وأما من جهة العقل فإنه لا يسقط وجوب ردّه أصلًا وإنما يتأخر الوجوب. ألا ترى أنه لا يجوز له أن يعزم على أن لا يردّها بل يجب عليه أن يعزم على ردّها، ولو كان ردّها يسقط لما وجب العزم على ردّها. ألا ترى أن من يسقط الصلاة عنه بالحيض والنفاس فإنه لا يجب عليه أن يعزم على أدائها؟ فكذلك هاهنا، فلما وجب العزم علم أنه لم يسقط ردّه. وجملة الأمر في ذلك أنه يجب أن ننظر إلى ما يقترن بما يسأل عنه السائل من الصفة أنها هل تتغير أم لا، حتى يكون الجواب في تغيره وثبوته على حسب تغير ما وقع السؤال عنه. فإن سألَنا عن قبح الضرر فإنا لا نطلق الجواب له بلا أو نعم، بل نقول: إن كان الضرر فيه نفع أو دفع ضرر أعظم منه أو كان مستحقًّا أو ظنّ فيه أحد الوجهين المتقدمين كان حسنًا، وإن لم يكن فيه شيء مما ذكرنا كان قبيحًا. وليس كذلك إذا سئلنا عن قبح الظلم وغيره [من القبائح] فإنا نطلق القول بقبحه.

15 فان قيل: فهل [74أ] يجري مجرى المعارف الامتناع من الظلم وغيره من القبائح في لزومه للمكلف في جميع الأحوال؟ قيل له: لا يجري ذلك مجرى المعارف، لأن أحدنا مع كونه مكلفًا قد لا يتمكن من الظلم وغيره من القبائح، فإذا لم يتمكن كيف يصح أن يقال أنه يلزمه الامتناع منه، لأن ما لا يتمكن منه لا يصح التحنّث منه والاحتراز عنه، وليس كذلك المعارف، لأن المكلف مع بقاء التكليف متمكن منها فلا جرم لا يسقط عنه بحال. فإن قيل: المعارف تسقط أيضًا في حال النوم والسهو، قيل له: إنما تسقط في هذه الحالة لسقوط التكليف، وكلامنا مع بقاء التكليف، وليس كذلك الامتناع من الظلم وغيره من القبائح فإنه يسقط مع بقاء التكليف.

16 وأما ما ذكره رحمه الله في الكتاب من أنه إذا جاز أن يتصرف الله سبحانه في عباده بالإغناء والإفقار والإمراض والتصحيح، ولا يدل ذلك على البداء لأن[83] ذلك يتبع مصالحهم، فكذلك لِمَ لا يجوز[84] أن يتعبدهم باختلاف الشرائع، ولا يدلّ على البداء لأن ذلك يتبع مصالحهم؟ فإن هذا ظاهر بيّن. وقد علمنا أن الفعلين يجوز أن يكون أحدهما مصلحة والآخر مفسدة، بل يجوز أن يكون الفعل واقعًا على وجه فيكون حسنًا وصلاحًا، وعلى وجه آخر فيكون قبيحًا مفسدةً، وهذا مثل ما نعلم أن شرب الدواء تارةً يكون حسنًا لتعلّق الصلاح به وتارةً يكون قبيحًا لتعلق المفسدة به. وكذلك الجلوس في مكان مريح فإنه يكون حسنًا إذا لم يلحقه ضرر ولم يعد عليه بفوات واجب أو فوات نفع أعظم منه، ولو كان هناك أسد يقصده قبح ذلك منه، وكذلك دخول الدار يقبح إذا كان بغير إذن [74ب] ويحسن إذا كان بإذن، وكذلك التدبير في الأولاد، تارةً يكون بالعنف وتارةً يكون بالرفق. ثم استعمال هذه الأفعال على ما تقتضيه المصلحة لا يصح أن يقال أنه يدل على البداء، فكذلك اختلاف الشرائع بحسب اختلاف المصالح لا يصح أن يقال أنه يدل على البداء.

17 ثم إنا نقول لهم: أليس أن آدم زوّج بناته من بنيه؟ لأنه يروى أن حواء حملت خمسمائة بطن، في كل بطن اثنان ذكر وانثى، فشرع الله تعالى بأن يزوّج أحدهما من الآخر إذا اختلف بهما البطنان، ولا يجوز أن يزوج أحدهما من الآخر إذا كان البطن فيهما متّفقًا، ثم إن موسى أتى بحظر ذلك. فلا يخلو قولهم في ذلك إما أن يقولوا أنه لا يدلّ على البداء، فكذلك نقول لهم: لِمَ لا يجوز أن تنسخ أيضًا شريعة موسى بشريعة محمد، ولا يدلّ على البداء؟ فإن قالوا: إنه يدل على البداء، قلنا لهم: فكذلك لِمَ لا يجوز أن تنسخ شريعة موسى بشريعة محمد وإن دلّ على البداء؟ فإن قالوا: إن موسى لم يحظر عين ما كان مباحًا على شريعة آدم، وإنما حظر مثله، قلنا لهم: فإن جوابنا بمثل هذا الجواب في مسألتنا، وهو أن محمدًا لم يحظر عين ما كان مباحًا في زمن موسى وإنما حظر مثله.

18 فإن قالوا: إن موسى لم يأت بزيادة ولا نقصان على شريعة آدم بل مثل شريعة آدم سواء سواء ليس بين شرعيهما اختلاف وتناقض، قلنا: فيجب على هذا أن لا تضيفوا ما أتى به موسى إليه، بل يجب أن تضيفوا ذلك إلى آدم، لأن ذلك الشرع شرع آدم وحال موسى في شرعه كحال يوشع بن نون، فكما أن شرع موسى لا يضاف إلى يوشع بن نون فكذلك شرع آدم وجب أن لا يضاف إلى موسى. فإن [75أ] ارتكبوا القول بذلك فقد خرجوا عن اليهود، لأن اليهود مجمعون على أن ما أتى به موسى فإنه مضاف إليه. فإن قالوا: إن ما أتى به موسى وإن كان مثل شرع آدم، لم يكن فيه زيادة ولا نقصان، فإنه يضاف إليه، لأن تلك الشريعة كانت قد اندرست وامّحت، فإتيان موسى عليه السلام بها بمنـزلة إتيانه بشرع مبتدأ، هذا كما أنتم تقولون أن جميع ما أتى به محمد فإنه يضاف إليه وإن كان فيه شرع إبراهيم وغيره ممن تقدمه من الأنبياء لأجل أن تلك الشرائع كانت قد اندرست وامّحت. فإن قالوا هذا، قيل لهم: فيجب أن يكون التكليف بتلك الشريعة قد سقط عن الناس قبل مجيء موسى، وهذا لا بدّ لهم من بلى، لأن التكليف بها والحال ما ذكرنا يؤدّي إلى تكليف ما لا يطاق، وذلك قبيح. وهم لا يجوّزون ذلك، لأنهم

83. لأن: لاحل.

84. يجوز: بجب.

يقولون بالعدل. فإذا كان التكليف زائلًا عن القوم فمتى أتى بها موسى، أعني بتلك الشريعة، فقد أوجب عليهم ما لم يكن واجبًا، فوجب أن يدل على البداء، لأنه أتى بإيجاب بعد حظر أو بحظر بعد إباحة. فإذا لم يدل ذلك على البداء، فكذلك شريعة موسى جائز أن تنسخ ولا يدل على البداء، وهذا فما فصل لهم منه.

19 ثم إنا نقول لهم: ألستم تروون أن يعقوب جمع بين أختين [في النكاح]، وهذا لا يخلو إما أن يكون منتفى على ما يقتضيه العقل أو يكون خاصًّا له، وموسى أتى بحظر ذلك. وكذلك روي أن إبراهيم اختتن[85] في حال الكبر وموسى أوجب ذلك في الصغر إذا مضت سبعة أيام.

20 فإن قالوا: إن ما كان في زمن موسى من الإيجاب أو الحظر لم يكن [75ب] متناولًا لعين ما كان في زمن إبراهيم ويعقوب، وإنما كان متناولًا لمثله، قلنا: فارضوا منا بمثل هذا الجواب في مسألتنا. فإن قالوا: إن ذلك لم يكن وإن ما أتى به موسى من الشرع لم يكن مخالفًا لتلك الشرائع، لا بزيادة ولا بنقصان، فالجواب عنه ما تقدّم. وأما من قال منهم أن نسخ الشرائع لا يجوز، لأن ذلك يؤدّي إلى أن يصير الحق باطلًا والباطل حقًّا، فكما أن هذا لا يجوز فكذلك نسخ الشرائع، فإن هذا من أركّ كلامهم. فإن هذا إنما يلزم إن لو كان الأمر والنهي في زمن نبينا متناولًا لعين ما كان منه في زمن موسى وأما إذا كان ذلك في المثل فلا يمتنع. وقد بيّنا أن مثل الحق يجوز أن يكون باطلًا، ومثل الباطل يجوز أن يكون حقًّا، ومثّلنا ذلك بشرب الدواء والجلوس على سبيل النـزهة والدخول بإذن أو بغير إذن والتدبير للأولاد تارةً بالعنف وتارةً بالرفق، بل بيّنا أن فعلًا واحدًا يجوز أن يقع على وجه فيكون حقًّا، وعلى وجه آخر فيكون باطلًا، على أن موسى أتى بشرع مخالف لشرائع مَن تقدّمه من الأنبياء، فوجب أن يدل ذلك على البداء أو على أن يصير الحقّ باطلًا والباطل حقًّا، فكما أن ذلك لا يدلّ فكذلك في مسألتنا.

21 على أنا نقول لهم: أليس أن يوشع بن نون تنبّأ بعد موسى، فوجب أن يكون معه شرع مجدّد لا يمكن معرفته إلّا من قِبله حتى يكون لبعثته فائدة، لأن كل نبي لا بدّ أن يكون معه شرع مجدّد فإذا كان كذلك فيجب أن تكون شريعة موسى قد نسخت بشريعته فوجب أن يدل على البداء. فكما أن ذلك لا يدل على البداء فكذلك مثله في مسألتنا. [76أ] على أنا نقول لهم: قد ثبت أنه كان في بني إسرائيل كثير من الأنبياء كداود وسليمان وغيرهما، وقد بيّنا أن كل نبي لا بدّ أن يكون معه شرع مجدّد حتى يستفاد ببعثته، فيجب أن تكون شريعة موسى وقد نُسخت بشرائعهم[86] قبل أن تبلغ إلى شرع محمد صلى الله عليه وأن شرع محمد لا يتعلق بذلك في باب النسخ وأنه بمنـزلة شرع مبتدأ كشرع آدم.

فصل

22 ثم قال رحمه الله: وإنما قلنا أن الله تعالى لا يجوز أن يأمرنا بالشيء وينهانا عنه بعينه، لأن أفعال العباد لا يجوز فيها التقديم والتأخير، إلى قوله في فصل آخر: ومنهم من يقول أن نسخ الشرائع جائز من جهة العقل.

23 اعلم أن أبا علي رحمه الله لما ذكر كلام اليهود في نسخ الشرائع وأن النسخ يدلّ على البداء وذكر أن النسخ جائز وأنه لا يدلّ على البداء، احتاج إلى تفرقة بين ما يكون دلالةً على البداء وبين ما لا يكون دلالةً عليه، وأن النسخ لا يدلّ على البداء، وذلك لا يتم إلّا بعد أن يبيّن أن البداء هو أن يكون الأمر متعلقًا بعين ما تعلق به النهي مع كون الوقت واحدًا والوجه واحدًا والمكلَّف واحدًا، وأن النسخ هو أن يكون الأمر متعلقًا بغير ما تعلق به النهي. فلما كان كذلك احتاج إلى أن يبيّن تغاير الأفعال، لأن ذلك لا يتم إلّا بتغاير الأفعال والعلم بذلك.

24 واعلم أن ما له ولأجله يعلم تغاير الأفعال فأحد وجوه سبعة، أوّلها يعلم تغاير الفعلين بتغاير القادرين، والثاني بتغاير القدرتين، والثالث بتغاير المحلين، والرابع بتغاير الوقتين إذا كان الفعل مما لا يجوز عليه [76ب] البقاء أو كان من فعل قادر بقدرة، والخامس يعلم ذلك بتغاير السببين، والسادس يعلم بتغاير الصفتين أو الحكمين إما محققًا أو مقدرًا والحال واحدة، والسابع يعلم بالإدراك فيما يتماثل ويختلف، وكذلك سائر الطرق التي يُتوصل بها إلى اختلاف الأجناس. وإنما قلنا أن تغاير القادرين يدل على تغاير الفعلين، لأنه لو لم يكن كذلك لأدّى إلى أن يكون مقدور واحد بين قادرين. وإنما قلنا أنه يعلم تغايرهما بتغاير القدرتين لما ذكرنا أن ذلك يؤدّي إلى وجود مقدور واحد بين قادرين، إلّا أن في هذه المسألة يعلم بواسطة وفي الأولى يعلم من دون واسطة، لأن في هذه المسألة نقول: لو صحّ في القدرتين أن تتعلقا بمقدور لوجب إذا وجدت إحداهما في واحد منا والأخرى في الآخر كان ما تعلقتا به بين هذين القادرين، ولأن القدرتين إذا كان محلهما متغايرًا فما تتعلقان به لا بدّ أن يكون متغايرًا أيضًا. وإنما قلنا أن تغاير المحلين يدل على تغاير الفعلين، وذلك لأن ما صح وجوده في هذا المحل لا يصح وجوده إلّا فيه، كما أن ما صح وجوده من قادر لا يصح وجوده إلّا منه.

25 فإن قيل: ولم قلتم ذلك؟ قلنا: لأنه لو صح وجوده في غيره من المحالّ لكان لا يخلو إما أن يحلّ مع الوجوب أو يحلّ مع الجواز. لا

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85. اختتن: تزوج اختين.

86. بشرائعهم: شرائعهم.

يجوز أن يحل مع الوجوب، لأنه لو كان كذلك لوجب أن يكون للنفس أو ما تقتضيه النفس إذ ليس هاهنا أمر آخر يصرف هذا الوجوب إليه سوى ما ذكرنا، ولو كان كذلك لوجب أن يحل المحالّ كلها لفقد الاختصاص. فإن قيل: لم لا يجوز أن يقال أنه يحل محلّين وأكثر؟ قيل له: لو كان كذلك لما صح في كل محلين أن يتحرك [77أ] أحدهما ويسكن الآخر. وقد علمنا أنه ما من محلّين إلّا ويصح أن يتحرك أحدهما ويسكن الآخر قبل العلم بهذا الخلاف، فيجب أن لا تكون الحركة حالة في محلّين وأكثر. ولا يجوز أن يحل مع الجواز، لأنه لو كان كذلك لوجب أن يكون بالفاعل أو لمعنى[87]. ولا يجوز أن يحل بالفاعل، لأن ما كان بالفاعل يجب أن يكون موقوفًا على قصده واختياره، فلو كان حلول الحركة بالفاعل لكان يصح من الفاعل أن يوجدها ولا يجعلها في محلّ كما يصح منه أن يجعلها في محل، وكان يصح أن يجعلها في محلين كما يصح أن يوجدها في محلّ واحد، كما أن الكلام في كونه خبرًا أو أمرًا موقوف على قصده واختياره. فإنه يصح منه أن يوجد صيغة الخبر ولا يجعلها خبرًا ويصح أن يوجدها ويجعلها خبرًا، ويصح أن يكون خبرًا وأمرًا كما يصح أن لا يريد واحدًا منهما، لأن ما يكون موقوفًا على الفاعل هذا حاله، وقد علمنا في مسألتنا خلاف ذلك. ولأن قصد القاصد إنما يؤثر في صفة زائدة للفعل أو على وجه يقع عليه دون حلوله. ولا يجوز أن يكون لمعنى من المعاني لوجوه ثلاثة، أحدها أن ذلك المعنى لو صح وجوده في المحالّ أجمع واشتركت المحالّ فيه وجب أن تكون المحال كلها متحركة أو ساكنة، وقد علمنا أنه ما من محلين إلّا ويصح أن يتحرك أحدهما ويسكن الآخر. ولأن ذلك المعنى لو صح أن يوجد في المحالّ أجمع لوجب أن يصح وجوده أيضًا في بعض المحالّ، ولو كان كذلك لأدّى إلى أن يكون موجودًا من وجه معدومًا من وجه، لأنه إذا صح وجوده في محلّين ووجد فيهما وطرأ[88] الضدّ على أحد المحلّين وجب أن ينفيه من [77ب] حيث أن وجوده في محلّين كوجوده في محلّ واحد، ويجب أن لا ينفيه، لأنه في محلّين والضدّ إنما ظهر في أحدهما. ولا يصح أن يقال أن ضدّه أيضًا يطرأ على محلّين، لأن ذلك ليس بواجب، ولأنه لو حلّ لأجل معنى فلا بدّ في ذلك المعنى أن يختصّ، والاختصاص يجب أن يكون بطريقة الحلول في المحلّ الذي يحلّه الحركة، ويجب أن يحلّ مع الجواز، فإذا كان حلوله مع الجواز وجب أن يكون حلوله أيضًا لمعنى آخر. ثم الكلام في ذلك المعنى كالكلام في المعنى الأول، فيؤدّي إلى ما لا يتناهى من المعاني ومعاني المعاني، وذلك باطل.

26 وأما ما له ولأجله قلنا أن تغاير الوقتين يقتضي تغاير الفعلين إذا كان الفعل مما لا يجوز عليه البقاء أو كان من فعل قادر بقدرة، وذلك لأن ما يجوز عليه البقاء من الأفعال فإنه يختص بوقت لا يجوز فيه التقديم والتأخير والإعادة، لأنه لو صح فيها التقديم والتأخير لكان يجب إذا وجدت في الوقت الأول أن يكون الوقت الثاني وقتًا يصح وجوده فيه على سبيل التأخير، وإذا كان الوقت الثاني وقتًا يصح وجوده فيه وجب وجوده فيه إذا لم يكن هناك منع، لأن كل ذات إذا حصل على صفة من الصفات في وقت وصح حصوله عليها في الوقت الثاني وجب حصوله عليها إذا لم يكن هناك منع من طروء ضدّ وما يجري مجراه، ثم كذلك في الوقت الثالث والرابع. وبهذه الطريقة يثبت كون الجوهر باقيًا، لأنه إذا صح وجوده في الوقت الثاني والثالث ولم يكن هناك منع وجب حصوله، وهذا يؤدّي إلى أن يلحق [78أ] ما لا يبقى بما يبقى، وفي هذا قلب الذات، فيجب أن يحكم بفساد القول بأن ما لا يبقى يصح فيه التقديم والتأخير.

27 فإن قيل: إنه إذا وجد في غير ذلك [الوقت] فإنه يكون متجددًا في الوجود لا على وجه الدوام، قيل له: هذا في التحقيق بمنـزلة أن يقال: إنه لا يصح وجوده في الوقت الثاني وقد تقدم وجوده لاستحالة بقائه، أو يقال: إنه لا يصح بقاؤه لاستحالة بقائه، وهذا تعليل الشيء بنفسه وذلك لا يجوز. وأما أفعالنا الباقية فإنه لا يجوز فيها التقديم والتأخير والإعادة، وهي مختصة بأوقات، وذلك لأنه لو صح فيها التقديم والتأخير بوقت لصح[89] بأوقات، لأنه إذا تعدى في الوجود عن وقت واحد إلى ما زاد ولا حاصر وجب أن يتعدى إلى ما لا نهاية، وهذا كما نقول أن الجوهر لما تعدى في كونه كائنًا عن وقت واحد إلى ما زاد ولا حاصر وجب أن يتعدى إلى ما لا نهاية، فكذلك هاهنا.

28 ولو كان كذلك لوجب أن يتأتى من الضعيف ما يتأتى من القوي بأن يؤخر بعض مقدوراته ويقدم بعضها ويجمعها في وقت ويعمل بها ما يعمل القوي، بل لا يمتنع في الضعيف أن يعدّي[90] ما يفعله في ألوف ألوف سنين إن لو عاش إليها إلى هذا الوقت فيتأتى منه حمل الجبال الرواسي بأن تكون تلك الأكوان أكثر مما في الجبل، وقد علمنا خلافه. وأما مقدورات القديم تعالى الباقية فإنه يصح فيها التقديم والتأخير والإعادة، لأن ما له ولأجله لا يجوز في مقدوراتنا التقديم والتأخير والإعادة غير حاصل في مقدورات القديم الباقية، فعلى هذا يحسن من أحدنا إذا علم ذلك [78ب] أن يطلب من الله تعالى تقديم بعض أفعاله ويكره تأخيره أو يكره تقديم بعض أفعاله ويحبّ تأخيره ويسأله ذلك.

29 فإذا ثبتت هذه الجملة سقط ما تعلقوا به من أن النسخ يدل على البداء أو يؤدّي إلى أن يصير الحق باطلًا والباطل حقًّا، لأن ما نسخ

87. لمعنى: المعنى.
88. وطرأ: وطري.
89. لصح: ولصح.
90. يعدي: بعدم.

على لسان محمد غير ما كان ثابتًا في زمن موسى، وإنما هو مثله، ولا فرق في ذلك بين أن يكون المكلف واحدًا أو متغايرًا، لأنه إذا كان واحدًا فما يؤمر به غير ما نهي عنه فيما تقدم أو ما ينهى عنه في وقت غير ما أمر به في وقت متقدم، وإذا كان متغايرًا فما يؤمر به أحدهما غير ما نهي عنه الآخر.

30 وأما ما له ولأجله قلنا: إن الفعلين يتغايران بتغاير السببين هو أن السببين لا يجوز أن يشتركا في توليد مسبّب واحد لوجهين اثنين، أحدهما أنه لا يمتنع أن يوجد أحدهما ويعدم الآخر فيؤدّي إلى أن يكون المسبّب واقعًا غير واقع معدومًا موجودًا، والثاني أنه لا يمتنع أن يفعل أحَدَهما أحدُ الفاعلين والآخرَ يفعله الفاعلُ الآخر، وذلك يؤدي إلى صحة مقدور بين قادرين، لأن فاعل السبب هو فاعل المسبّب ومقدور واحد بين قادرين محال.

31 وأما ما له ولأجله قلنا: بتغاير الفعلين لتغاير الصفتين أو الحكمين، فلأن الاختلاف يدلّ على التغاير والزيادة، لأن كل مختلفين لا بدّ أن يكونا متغايرين وإن لم يجب في كل متغايرين أن يكونا مختلفين، بل يجوز أن يكونا مختلفين ويجوز أن يكونا مثلين. فإذا كانا كذلك فعلى هذا إذا تعلق الأمر بأحدهما والنهي بالآخر فما تعلق به الأمر معلوم أنه غير ما تعلق به النهي للعلم باختلافهما، [79أ] فباختلاف الصفتين أو الحكمين يتوصل إلى اختلاف الفعلين، وهذا إذا لم يدخل عليه شبهة، لأنه لو دخلت عليه شبهة بأن يعتقد أن الشيء يصير بصفة مخالفة أو يصير مخالفة بصفته، فإذا كان كذلك فمع هذا الاعتقاد لا يمكنه أن يعلم تغايرهما إلّا أن العلم بالتغاير سابق للعلم بأن الشيء لا يصير بصفة مخالفة.

32 وأما ما له ولأجله قلنا: أو يُقدّر فيهما الاختلاف، وذلك بأن تكون صورتهما واحدة أو متقاربة والحال واحدة، فيقدّر أنهما لو اختلفا كيف يكونان، وما هذا سبيله يحتاج فيه إلى ضرب من الاستدلال والتأمل.

33 وأما ما له ولأجله قلنا بتغاير الفعلين لأجل الإدراك فلأن الإدراك طريق إلى العلم بالاختلاف والاتّفاق، [و]كما أنه يعلم التغاير بهذه الطريقة فكذلك يعلم بكل ما يتوصل به إلى اختلاف الأجناس من الطرق.

34 فإن قيل: فهل يمكن أن يفصل بين الفعلين إذا حلّا محلًا واحدًا وكانا قد فُعلا بقدرتين؟ قيل له: لا يمكن الفصل بينهما إذا كان أحدهما مبتدأً والآخر مباشرًا. فإن قيل: لم لا يجوز أن يقال: إنه يمكن أن يفصل بينهما إذا كان أحدهما مبتدأً والآخر متولدًا، وإن كان محلّهما واحدًا، وذلك كالحركتين إحداهما بفعل مبتدءة والأخرى متولدة عن الاعتماد؟ قيل له: أول ما في هذا أن الحركة من فعلنا لا تكون إلّا متولدة ولا تكون مبتدأة، ثم لو كان كذلك لما أمكن الفصل بينهما بل تلتبس إحداهما بالأخرى. ولأن سبيلهما إذا كان ما ذكرنا يبعد أن يتعلق الصلاح بأحدهما دون الأخرى.

35 فأما ما ذكره رحمه الله من اختلاف الشرائع فهو ما بيّناه من أن الشرائع [79ب] قد ثبت اختلافها من حيث أن موسى عليه السلام أتى بشريعة مخالفة لشرائع من تقدمه من الأنبياء وأنه كان في بني إسرائيل أنبياء، فيجب أن يكون مع كل نبيّ شرع على ما بيّنا. وجملة ذلك تدل على جواز النسخ وأنه لا يكون فيه دلالة البداء.

36 وأما ما ذكره ثانيًا فإنه آكد وأقوى، وهو أن البعثة لا بدّ أن يكون لها ابتداء. فإذا كان كذلك فالمبعوث يجب اعتقاد نبوته بعد البعثة ويجب أن يحظر اعتقاد نبوته قبل البعثة، وفي هذا ورود إيجاب بعد حظر أو ورود حظر بعد إيجاب، لأنه كان يجب على الخلق قبل البعثة أن لا يعتقدوا نبوته، بل يحظر ذلك عليهم، فإذا بعث وجب عليهم اعتقاد نبوته ويحظر عليهم ترك الاعتقاد، ثم أن هذا لا يدل على البداء، فكذلك لم لا يجوز ما نقوله من نسخ شريعة بشريعة، ولا يدل على البداء، لأن النسخ ليس بأكثر من ورود نهي بعد أمر أو حظر بعد إباحة، وذلك حاصل فيما قلنا. على أن في شرع نبيّ واحد لا بد أن يكون إباحة أشياء في وقتٍ وحظرها في وقتٍ وإيجاب أشياء في وقت وإباحتها أو الندب إليها في وقت، ولا يجوز أن يقال أن ذلك يدل على البداء فكذلك ما ذكرناه. فإن قيل: لأن الاعتقاد الثاني ليس بعين الاعتقاد الأول وإنما هو مثله، قيل لهم: فارضوا منا بمثل هذا الجواب في مسألتنا، وهو أن ما أمر به محمد ليس بعين ما نهى عنه موسى وإنما هو مثله.

37 فإن قيل: هذا الذي [80أ] ذكرتموه ليس بنسخ، وكلامنا إنما يكون في نسخ، بل الذي علم حظره أو إباحته أو وجوبه أولًا، ثم ورد الشرع بخلاف ذلك كان معلومًا عقلًا، ولا يكون كل واحد من الأمرين معلومًا بالسمع، والنسخ إنما يكون إذا كان كل واحد من الأمرين معلومًا بالسمع، قيل له: الاعتبار في هذا الباب بالمعنى لا بالعبارة، وقد علمنا أنكم لا تمتنعون من تجويز النسخ لأجل أن ذلك يسمى نسخًا، وإنما تمتنعون من ذلك لأجل أن فيه نهيًا بعد أمر وإيجابًا بعد حظر وأمرًا بعد نهي وحظرًا بعد إيجاب، وهذا بعينه قائم فيما عارضناكم به، فوجب أن يدل على البداء. فإذا لم يدل هذا على البداء فكذلك النسخ. ولأن ما يرد التعبد به لا يختلف باختلاف الطرق إليه، فسواء كان الطريق إليه

عقليًا أو شرعيًا في جواز ذلك، كما أن ما يجوز أن يرد به التعبد لا تختلف الحال فيها[91] بين أن يكون الطريق إليه عقلًا أو شرعًا. ألا ترى أن المفسدة لما لم يجز أن يرد التعبد به لا تختلف الحال فيها بين أن يكون الطريق إليه عقلًا أو شرعًا؟

فصل

38 قال رحمه الله: فأما من أجاز ذلك من جهة العقل فقال: إن نسخ الشرائع يجوز ولا يدل على البداء ولا أن يصير الحقّ باطلًا ولا الباطل حقًّا، وإنما لا يجوز لمكان السمع، إلى قوله في فصل آخر : ثم يقال لليهود: اخبرونا بأن الله تعالى هل يزيل عنكم هذه التكاليف بالعلل والأمراض؟

39 أما الكلام على هؤلاء القوم في ادعائهم بأن نسخ الشرائع من جهة العقل جائز، [80ب] إلّا أن السمع ورد بالنهي عن ذلك، وهو ما روي عن موسى عليه السلام أنه قال: شريعتي لا تنسخ أبدًا، أو: تمسكوا بشريعتي أبدًا، أو: شريعتي باقية ما دامت السماوات والأرض، على اختلاف ألفاظ في ذلك، فإنه يكون على وجوه ثلاثة، أحدها أن نبين أن هذا الخبر لا أصل له، والثاني أن نبين خطأهم فيه من جهة التأويل إن صحّ الخبر، والثالث أن نبين أن الاشتغال ببيان ما ظهر على نبيّنا محمد صلى الله عليه من المعجزات أولى من الاشتغال بهذا الخبر وأنه صحيح أو ليس بصحيح.

40 أما الكلام في أن هذا الخبر لا أصل له فهو أن هذا الخبر لا يخلو إما أن يكون معلومًا أو لا يكون معلومًا. فإن لم يكن معلومًا فلا يحتج به، وإن كان معلومًا فلا يخلو إما أن يكون معلومًا باضطرار أو باستدلال، ودعوى الضرورة لا يمكن، لأن العلم به لو كان ضروريًا لوجب أن يحصل لنا كما حصل لهم، لأن الطريق إليه تواتر الأخبار، ونحن نخالطهم ونسمع أخبارهم كما أنهم يخالطوننا ويسمعون أخبارنا، فلو حصل لهم العلم اضطرارًا لوجب أن يحصل لنا. فلما لم يحصل لنا العلم بذلك علمنا أنه لا علم لهم به ضرورةً، وإنما يدعون دعوى كاذبة. ولا يجوز أن يكون أيضًا معلومًا بالاستدلال، لأنه لو كان كذلك لوجب أن يكون الطريق إليه أيضًا تواتر الأخبار على مثل ما يقوله البغداديون من أن العلم بمخبر الأخبار استدلالي أو على مثل ما نقول في الأخبار التي نقطع بصحتها على ضرب من التأمّل والاستدلال. فإن كان هكذا وقد علمنا أن [81أ] هذا الخبر لم يحصل فيه شرط التواتر، لأنه في الأصل ينتهي إلى عدد يسير يجوز عليهم التواطؤ[92] والكتمان، لأن بخت نصر قتل منهم جمعًا عظيمًا حتى لم يبق منهم إلّا عدد يسير.

41 ويروى أن بخت نصر، وهو ملك من ملوك المجوس، لما دخل دمشق رأى دمًا يغلي، فقال: ما بال هذا، قالوا: كان نبيًا يقال له يحيى بن زكريا، فقتل في هذا الموضع، ويقال أن قتله كان بسبب زانية، فسئل في بابها وأجاب بالحقّ فقتل نشرًا بالمنشار على ما يقال في الأخبار. ولما أخبر بخت نصر بذلك قتل هناك سبعين ألفًا حتى سكن ذلك الدم. ويقال أنه أحرق جميع ما في أيديهم من التوراة حتى لم يبق لهم توراة. فقال أحدهم: حدثني والدي بأنه جعل التوراة في جرة فأخفاها في كرم فوجدوه فانتسخوا من تلك النسخة، ولم يكن فيهم حفّاظ التوراة كما يكون في أمة نبيّنا حفّاظ على ما يروى فيهم إنجيلهم في صدورهم إلّا عزير فإنه كان يحفظ التوراة. وكان هذا الملك حبسه مع جماعة من العلماء، فلما خرج من السجن لم يثبتوه لطول مدّته في سجنه ولم يكن قد بقي من كان لقيهم إلّا أولادهم وأولاد أولادهم وكانوا قد ساحوا، فقالوا له: إن قرأت القرآن من حفظك فأنت عزير وإلّا فلا، لأن عزيرًا يقال أنه كان يقرأ التوراة من الحفظ، فقرأ التوراة من حفظه فأثبتوه عزيرًا وأثبتوا بأنه ابن الله، وهذا هو الذي كان سببًا في تسميتهم بأنه ابن الله.

42 فإذا كان هذا الخبر ينتهي في الأصل إلى عدد يسير يجوز عليهم التواطؤ والكتمان لم يحصل فيه شرط التواتر، لأن من شرط [81ب] التواتر أن يكون التواتر حاصلًا في الطرفين جميعًا، وهذا الخبر إنما حصل فيه التواتر في الطرف الأخير. فإذا لم يكن متواترًا لم يمكن التعلّق به. وبهذه الطريقة يبطل قول الرافضة في ادعاء النصّ على اثني عشر. ومما يؤكد ما ذكرناه هو أنهم لم يتفقوا أيضًا فيما بينهم على صحة هذا الخبر. فإن العنانية منهم وهم ينكرون صحة هذا الخبر ويجيزون نسخ الشرائع عقلًا وسمعًا، وإنما يمتنعون من جواز نسخ شريعة موسى بشريعة محمد لأجل أنهم يزعمون أنه لم يظهر عليه المعجز.

43 وبعد، فإن هذا الخبر لا يخلو المراد به إن كان إما أن شريعتي لا تنسخ على يدي من معه معجز، أو يكون المراد به أن شريعتي لا تنسخ على يدي من لا معجز معه، ولا يجوز أن يكون المراد به الأول، لأن ذلك يقدح في نبوته لأن نبوته إذا كانت إنما ثبتت بالمعجز، فما الذي يمنع من ثبوت نبوة من يظهر عليه المعجز؟ فالقول بأن نبوة من يأتي بمعجز لا يثبت يقدح في ثبوت معجزته، ولا يجوز أن يقول قولًا

91. فيها: مشطوب في الأصل.

92. التواطؤ: الواطى.

يقدح في معجزته. فإن كان المراد به الثاني فنحن كذلك نقول، لكن نبيّنا قد ظهر عليه المعجز، فيقع الكلام بيننا وبينهم في أن النبيّ صلى الله عليه قد ظهر عليه المعجز.

44 وأما ما قاله في الكتاب من أن هذا الخبر لا يخلو إما أن يكون منقولًا أو لا يكون منقولًا، ولا يجوز أن يكون منقولًا، لأن اليهود جمع عظيم لا يجوز عليهم التواطؤ على افتعال ما هذا سبيله فيجب أن يكون خطاؤهم من جهة التأويل.

45 قال الشيخ أبو رشيد: [82أ] إلّا أن هذا لا يصح، والأولى أن يقال أن هذا الخبر لا أصل له على ما بيّنّا، وكان مشايخنا يعتمدون على هذا وذلك لما بيّنّا أن بخت نصر قد قتل منهم مقتلة عظيمة حتى لم يبق منهم عدد إلّا يسيرًا لا يقع العلم بخبرهم لجواز التواطؤ والكتمان عليهم. وبهذه الطريقة يبطل قولهم أن المسيح قتل وصلب، وبهذه الطريقة يبطل قول الروافض في ادّعاء النص الجلي. قال أصحابنا: وأما ما حكى الله تعالى عنهم من أنهم كانوا يحرفون الكلم عن مواضعة، فإن كان عددهم قد بلغ إلى حد يجوز منهم التواطؤ والكتمان فالتحريف يجوز أن يكون من جهة اللفظ. وإن لم يكونوا كذلك فالتحريف إنما يكون من جهة المعنى كما يقع مثل ذلك في أمة محمد صلى الله عليه.

46 فإن قيل: أليس أنكم تروون عن نبيّكم أنه قال: لا نبيّ بعدي، وهذا لا يخلو إما أن يكون المراد به: إنه لا يكون بعدي نبيّ يكون معه معجز، أو يكون المراد به: لا ينسخ شريعته من لا يكون معه معجز. فإن قلتم بالأول فذاك يقدح في نبوته، وإن قلتم بالثاني فجوّزوا مجيء نبيّ بعده يكون معه معجز على مثال ما ألزمتمونا. فإن قلتم أن المراد به أنه لا يأتي أحد بعده يكون معه معجز، قلنا لكم: فارضوا منا بمثل هذا الجواب فيما سألتمونا. الجواب عن ذلك أنا نقول: إنا لا نعتمد في هذا على خبر أو أخبار، بل اضطررنا في ذلك إلى قصد النبيّ صلى الله عليه وأنه كان يدين بهذا، [82ب] ونذهب إليه حتى أن المخالف والموافق والملحد والموحّد في ذلك سواء.

47 فإن قالوا: نحن نعلم أيضًا أن موسى عليه السلام كان يدين بهذا ويذهب إليه ويقول به، قلنا لكم: لو علمتم ذلك على الحد الذي زعمتم لوجب أن نعلم أيضًا، لأنا نخالطكم ونسمع أخباركم كما تخالطونا وتسمعون أخبارنا فلما لم يحصل لنا العلم على الحد الذي حصل لنا العلم فيما كان يتديّن به نبيّنا صلى الله عليه علمنا أن ما قالوه لا أصل له وأنه منقول مصنوع مفتعل موضوع.

48 وبعد، فإنا نعتقد صدق موسى عليه السلام في جميع ما قاله لاعتقادنا بنبوته، فلو علمنا بأن دينه أن شرعه لا ينسخ لم يمكنا مع هذا الاعتقاد أن نعتقد نبوة محمد صلى الله عليه وقد جاء بنسخ شريعة موسى، لأن ذلك يؤدّي إلى الجمع بين اعتقادين ضدّين، وهما اعتقاد أن شرعه لا ينسخ واعتقاد أنه ينسخ. ولا يمكنهم أن يعاقبوا علينا فيقولوا: لو كان العلم بأن محمدًا كان يتديّن بأن دينه لا ينسخ ضروريًا لوجب أن يحصل لنا كما حصل لكم، ولو حصل لنا العلم بذلك لما أمكننا مع ذلك الاعتقاد أن نعتقد كونه مبطلًا في دعواه وكاذبًا فيما قاله حاشاه عن ذلك، لأن ذلك ممكن ولا يؤدّي إلى الجمع بين اعتقادين ضدّين، إذ قد يجوز أن يعتقد أنه قال ذلك وتديّن، ثم لا يعتقد نبوته بل يعتقد كونه كاذبًا. ألا ترى أن الملحدة يعتقدون أن هذا دينه وهو أنه قال: لا نبيّ بعده، ومع ذلك فإنهم لا يعتقدون نبوته بل يعتقدون كونه وكون كل [83أ] نبيّ كاذبين؟

49 ثم إنا نقول لهم: ما أنكرتم أن هذا الخبر لو كان له أصل فإنكم قد أخطأتم فيه من جهة التأويل؟ والخطأ من جهة التأويل يكون على وجوه ثلاثة، إما الأمر يرجع إلى موضوع اللغة أو لأجل أن المتأول عليه لا يجوز عليه ما تأوّل، وهذا كما نقول في تأويل المجبرة والمشبّهة للآيات المتشابهة، وإما لأجل أن يذهب عن قرينة كان المراد معلقًا بها أو تضاف إلى اللفظ قرينة لم يحتج إليها، وذلك بأن يكون اللفظ خاصًا بقرينة، فيذهب عن القرينة ويجعل اللفظ عامًا أو يكون اللفظ عامًا فتضاف إليه قرينة فيجعل خاصًا، وتأويلهم يقرب من هذا الجنس وهو أن اللفظ كان خاصًا بقرينة فحذفوا القرينة وجعلوه عامًا.

50 وهاهنا أصل آخر يجب مراعاته، وهو أن الله تعالى لا يجوز أن يأمر بأمر إلّا بشرط أن يكون التمكين قائمًا فيه، فكذلك لا يجوز أن يأمرنا به إلّا بشرط قيام الصلاح به، والأمر مع فقد الصلاح كالأمر مع فقد التمكين، وقوله: تمسكوا بشريعتي أبدًا، كما أنه مشروط بالتمكين، فكذلك يجب أن يكون مشروطًا بالصلاح.

51 وهاهنا أصل آخر أيضًا يجب مراعاته، وهو أن الله تعالى إذا خاطبنا بخطاب أو رسول من رسله فإنه يجب علينا أن نحمله على وجه يكون أقرب إلى الحقّ والفهم ويكون أقلّ مؤنة ومشقّة، وعلى هذا الوجه نتأول الآيات التي تتعلق بها المجبرة والمشبهة فنقول: إن ما حملوا عليه لا يجوز على القديم تعالى ونشتغل ببيان ذلك، لأنا إذا بيّنا ذلك سقط ما تعلقوا به وتبيّن خطاؤهم [83ب] من جهة اللغة. فكذلك في مسألتنا ننقل الكلام معهم إلى وجه يكون أقرب إلى الحقّ وأذهب إلى الفهم، فنقول: إن من أتى بنسخ الشريعة قد ظهر عليه المعجز، فيجب أن يكون ما قاله حقًّا وصوابًا. وهذا أولى، لأن الاشتغال ببيان ما تعلقوا به من الخبر في صحته وفساده، لأن ذلك عبراني ونحن لا نعلم حقيقة تلك اللغة ومجازها كيف يكونان، وهذا الذي ننقل الكلام إليه فإنه مما لا يقع فيه نزاع، لأنهم وافقونا على أنه لو ظهر عليه المعجز لكان الأمر كما قاله، ونحن نوافقهم في أنه لو لم يظهر عليه لكان الأمر على ما قالوه، فإذًا الاشتغال بهذا أولى وأحسم للشغب، لأن المعجز متى ثبت كان دلالة قاطعة، واللفظ الذي تعلقوا به كان معرضًا للاحتمال، والواجب أن يترك المحتمل إلى ما لا يحتمل، وقد أقمنا الدلالة عند الكلام على البراهمة على أن النبيّ صلى الله عليه كان قد ظهر عليه المعجز واستقصينا الكلام في ذلك، فلا معنى لإعادته.

52 فإن قيل: هل في مقدور الله تعالى أن يعرّف أحدًا بأن شريعة من الشرائع لا تنسخ؟ فإن قلتم: ليس ذلك في مقدور أحد فقد عجزتم، وإن قلتم أن ذلك في مقدوره، قيل لكم: كيف يعرف ذلك؟ فإن قلتم بأن يضطر إلى قصد النبيّ صلى الله عليه بأنه كان يتديّن بأن شرعه لا ينسخ، قيل لكم: فالنبيّ بماذا يعلم؟ فإن قلتم: بأن يضطر إلى قصد جبريل، قيل لكم: جبريل بماذا يعلم؟ فإن قلتم: بأن يضطر إلى قصد الله تعالى، قيل لكم: كيف يكون ذلك والله تعالى [84أ] معلوم بالاستدلال، والعلم بخطابه فرع على العلم بذاته؟ فإذا لم يعلم ذاته بالاضطرار، كيف يمكن أن يقال أنه يعلم خطابه بالاضطرار؟ فلم يبق إذًا إلّا أن تقولوا: إنما يعرف أحدنا بأن شرعًا من الشرائع لا ينسخ بالخبر الوارد من قبل الرسول بأن شرعه لا ينسخ. فمتى قلتم هذا وقد ورد الخبر من جهة موسى بأن شرعه لا ينسخ فوجب القول بأنه لا ينسخ وأن من أتى بعده وادّعى أنه نبيّ وأنه أتى بنسخ الشرائع لم يكن محقًّا. فالجواب: إنما يمكن أن يعلم بأن شرعًا من الشرائع لا ينسخ بأن يعرف الرسول المبعوث بأن الصلاح في أمته لا يتغير ويعرّف هو ذلك لأمته، فيحصل لهم العلم بأن شرعه لا ينسخ.

53 فإن قيل: نحن نعلم أن شرع موسى لا ينسخ من هذا الوجه، قيل لهم: لا يمكنكم أن تدعوا هذا، لأن اعتمادكم إنما هو الخبر الذي فيه ذكر التأبيد، وهو قوله: تمسكوا بشريعتي أبدًا، وشريعتي لا تزول أبدًا، وذكر الأبد يجوز أن يذكر في الكلام ويكون المراد به التأكيد كما يقال: لازم الغريم أبدًا، فالمراد به التأكيد. وكذلك يقال: لازم التعلم أبدًا، فالمراد به التأكيد وأنه يجب أن يلازمه حتى يقضي[93] دينه وأن يلازم التعلّم بشرط التمكّن، فكذلك قوله: تمسكوا بشريعتي أبدًا، لا يمتنع أن يكون المراد به: تمسكوا إلى أن يجئ من معه معجز بنسخه. وبعد، فإن التكليف إذا جاز أن ينقطع بالعلل والأعذار مع لفظ التأبيد فكذلك لم لا يجوز أن يزول بالنسخ مع ذكر التأبيد؟

54 ثم يقال لهم: ومن حقّ المترجِم لغةً بلغة [84ب] أن يكون عالمًا باللغتين وحقيقتهما ومجازهما، ثم يعبر عن المعنى الذي علمه باللغة المترجَم عنها بما يصح في اللغة المترجَم بها، وإلّا وقع الغلط في الترجمة، لأنه لا يمتنع أن يتجوز في إحدى اللغتين ما لا يتجوز في اللغة الأخرى. ألا ترى أن لفظ القتل بالفارسية يستعمل في إطفاء السراج وذبح البهائم وقتل الإنسان وقتل البهائم؟ فيقال في الجميع بكشتم، وفي العربية لا يستعمل لفظ القتل في الذبح والإطفاء. ونحن لا نعلم حال من ترجم التوراة إلى لغة أنه هل كان بهذه المنـزلة أم لا؟ فإذا كان كذلك لا نشتغل بكيفية هذا الخبر وبيان صحته وفساده، بل نشتغل ببيان ما ظهر من المعجزات على النبيّ صلى الله عليه، لأن في ذلك الكشف عن هذا.

55 ثم إنا نقول لهم: إن موسى عليه السلام لم يدّع أنه خاتم الأنبياء، بل بشر بأنبياء بعده، وأنتم تقولون بنبوة كثير من الأنبياء في بني إسرائيل، وقد بيّنا أن كل نبيّ لا بدّ أن يكون معه شرع جديد لا يمكن معرفته إلّا من قبله حتى تفيد بعثته فيجب أن تكون شريعة موسى منسوخة بشريعتهم، ولأن يوشع بن نون تنبأ بعد موسى، وأنتم تقولون بنبوته، فلا بدّ أن يكون معه شرع مجدّد حتى يكون في بعثته فائدة. فإذا كان كذلك فيجب أن تكون شريعة موسى منسوخة بشرعه قبل أن يبلغ إلى نبوة نبيّنا صلى الله عليه وعلى آله وسلم.

فصل

56 قال رحمه الله ثم يقال لليهود: خبرونا، أليس الله تعالى قد يزيل الفرض عنكم بالعلل والأمراض [85أ] والعجز والموت؟ إلى آخر الباب.

57 اعلم أنا نقول لليهود: إنا كما نعلم من جهة العقل بأن الله تعالى لا يجوز أن يكلف أحدًا من عباده أمرًا من الأمور إلّا بشرط أن يكون متمكنًا من فعله، كذلك نعلم من جهة العقل أنه لا يجوز أن يكلف أمرًا من الأمور إلّا بشرط أن يكون فيه لطفه وصلاحه، لأن التكليف بالأمر مع فقد المصلحة كالتكليف مع فقد التمكين في قضية العقل، لا فصل بينهما، هذه الجملة نعلمها [من جهة العقل]، ثم تفاصيل ذلك يجوز أن تُعلم بالسمع فكما أن بطروء العجز والعلة يعلم أن بقاء التكليف إنما كان إلى هذه الغاية فكذلك بورود النسخ من قبل من ظهر عليه المعجز يُعلم أن الصلاح إنما كان في الفعل إلى هذه الغاية، فكما أن حصول العجز بعد الإمكان يكون كاشفًا عن الصلاح إنما كان في المأمور به أو المنهى عنه إلى هذه الغاية.

58 فلما قلنا لهم ذلك، قالوا: نحن نقول بأن قوله: تمسكوا بشريعتي أبدًا، يقتضي التمسك بها أبدًا وتُحَصّ أوقات العجز، لأنه موضوع عنه من جهة العقل وما في العقل يكون آكد من الدلالة اللفظية، لأن دلالة العقل لا يدخلها الاحتمال ودلالة اللفظ يدخلها الاحتمال. وليس كذلك نسخ الشريعة، لأنا نعلم ذلك من جهة العقل، واللفظ لا يدل عليه، لأنه عام، فقلنا أنه لا يجوز النسخ. فمتى قالوا هذا، قلنا لهم: إن أوقات العجز وإن كانت مستثناة من العقل فإن قوله: تمسكوا بشريعتي أبدًا، كما لا يقتضي أن لا يرتفع التكليف بحصول العوارض الموجبة رفعه كذلك [لا] يقتضي أن لا يرتفع بحصول النسخ [85ب] وتغير المصلحة، وكما أنه يجوز أن يرتفع بحصول العارض من العجز والموت والجنون، ونحو ذلك، كذلك يجوز أن يتغير ويزول بحصول النسخ وتغير المصلحة، والحمد لله ربّ العالمين.

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93. يقضي: يقصى.

Chapter Fourteen
Biblical Predictions of the Prophet Muḥammad among the Zaydīs of Iran

Sabine Schmidtke

I.

Biblical predictions of the advent of the Prophet Muḥammad are rarely adduced in the theological writings of Muʿtazilite authors, and those who referred to them clearly considered this to be a secondary strategy at best.[1] Zaydī Muʿtazilites were less hesitant than their Sunnī counterparts to employ scriptural materials. This was possibly due to the influence of the Imām al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Rassī (ca. 169/785–246/860), who was intimately familiar with Christian theological notions and with the Bible, from which he quoted freely in some of his writings.[2] Among the Zaydīs of Iran, scriptural passages allegedly foretelling the advent of Muḥammad have been adduced by Imām al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 411/1020), by his companion, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿil al-Ḥasanī al-Ǧurǧānī, the later Imām al-Muwaffaq bi-llāh (d. after 420/1029), and by their contemporary Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sammān.

II.

Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hārūn b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hārūnī al-Buṭḥānī ("al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh"; b. 333/944, d. 411/1020),[3] who rose up in 380/990 in Eastern Gīlān

1. Among the few Muʿtazilite authors who adduced scriptural materials is Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1045), who incorporated extensive biblical quotations in his *Kitāb Ġurar al-adilla* that he had gleaned from Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī's (d. ca. 251/865) *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*; see Adang, "Rare Case" [chapter 12 in the present volume].

2. Cf. Madelung, "Al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm and Christian Theology"; Madelung, "Al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm."

3. On al-Imām al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh, see Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm*, 177ff. and passim; Ansari, "al-Imām al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh." The most important source for his biography is his *sīra* from

to claim the Zaydī imamate, had studied the doctrines of the Muʿtazilite "School of Baghdad" and Qāsimite *fiqh* in Baghdad with his maternal uncle Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan al-Ḥasanī (d. after 350/961–62),[4] as well as Basran Muʿtazilite *kalām* with Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī (d. 367/977). Later on he joined the circle of the latter's successor as head of the Bahšamiyya, *qāḍī l-quḍāt* ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamaḏānī (d. 415/1025), who from 367/977 onward resided in Rayy.[5] In this city, al-Muʾayyad also belonged to the circle of the Buyid vizier al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād (d. 385/995).

Al-Muʾayyad composed a *Kitāb Iṯbāt nubuwwat al-nabī* that belongs to the genre of *dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*.[6] The text is preserved in five manuscripts (see below, Part III), and a commentary on the introduction and first chapter of the work was composed by a certain ʿAbbās b. ʿAlī b. Abī ʿAmr al-Ṣanʿānī.[7] In his introduction al-Muʾayyad attacks the Bāṭinīs, denouncing them as the most dangerous critics of the Prophet Muḥammad's miracles and stating that he has elsewhere outlined the contents of their *al-Balāġ al-sābiʿ* or *al-Balāġ al-akbar wa-l-nāmūs al-aʿẓam*, an allegedly Ismāʿīlī work that served their opponents as the principal source for the secret doctrines of the Bāṭinīs.[8] None of al-Muʾayyad's other work(s) criticizing the Bāṭiniyya has been preserved. An Ismaʿīlī refutation of al-Muʾayyad's critique of the Ismāʿīliyya was composed by Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī (d. ca. 411/1020).[9] Following the introduction, al-Muʾayyad's work consists of four chapters, chapter 1 clarifying the miraculous inimitability of the Qurʾān ("*Bāb al-bayān ʿan iʿǧāz al-Qurʾān*"),[10] chapter 2 containing a catalogue of miracles of the Prophet Muḥammad ("*Bāb*

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the pen of Imām al-Muršad bi-llāh Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl al-Ǧurǧānī al-Šaǧarī (b. 412/1021, d. 479/1086–87 or 499/1105–6), which has been published twice, in the respective editions of Ṣāliḥ ʿAbd Allāh Qurbān and Muḥammad Kāẓim Raḥmatī.

4. Al-Ḥasanī is mostly renowned for his *al-Maṣābīḥ*, a work on the biographies of the former Zaydī imams. See al-Ḥusaynī, *Muʾallafāt al-Zaydiyya*, 1/246, no. 675; 3/22, no. 2899; Sayyid, *Sources de l'histoire du Yémen*, 84, no. 4; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, suppl., 1/556, no. 1a. A partial edition of the *Maṣābīḥ* as well as of its continuation, *Tatimmat al-Maṣābīḥ* by Aḥmad al-Ḥasanī's student Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Bilāl al-Āmulī, is included in Madelung (ed.), *Arabic Texts*, 53–75. Both works have been published as al-Ḥasanī, *al-Maṣābīḥ fī l-sīra wa-l-tārīḫ*. On the author of the *Maṣābīḥ*, see also *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. "Ḥasanī, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Ebrāhīm," 12/41 (W. Madelung).

5. See the biographical account of ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār in Reynolds, "Rise and Fall"; Reynolds, *Muslim Theologian*, 44ff.

6. For the work, see now also Lika, *Proofs of Prophecy*.

7. Al-Ṣanʿānī, *al-Risāla al-ʿasǧadiyya*. On this work, see van Ess, "Some Fragments."

8. Al-Muʾayyad, *Iṯbāt*, ed. Ǧadbān, 52ff.; ed. al-Ḥāǧǧ, 11ff. On this treatise, see Madelung, "Fatimids and Qarmaṭīs," 43ff.

9. See Madelung, "Fatimids and Qarmaṭīs," 67f., n. 230; Walker, *Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī*, 38; cf. also van Ess, "Biobibliographische Notizen" (1). See also Ansari, "al-Imām al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh," 63ff. for a reconstruction of al-Muʾayyad's anti-Ismāʿīlī statements on the basis of al-Kirmānī's counterrefutation.

10. This chapter, by far the longest as compared with the other three chapters of the work, contains the following sections: *al-Kalām ʿalā* [*fī*] *anna al-taḥaddī qad waqaʿa*; *al-Kalām fī anna muʿāraḍat al-Qurʾān lam taqaʿ*; *al-Kalām fī bayān al-iʿrāḍ ʿan al-muʿāraḍa innamā kāna li-l-taʿaḏḏur*; *al-Kalām fī anna al-Qurʾān yaǧibu*

fī ḏikr ǧumla min al-muʿǧizāt allatī waradat bihā l-āṯār al-mašhūra al-ẓāhira"), chapter 3 offering a list of biblical annunciations of the Prophet ("*Bāb ḏikr mā wuǧida fī l-kutub al-mutaqaddima min al-bišārāt bi-l-nabī ṣalʿam*"), and chapter 4 discussing additional material for Muḥammad's biography ("*Bāb ḏikr mā qīla fī amrihi ṣalʿam wa-ʿalā ālihi ʿalā sabīl al-taʾkīd*").

In the course of chapter 3, of which an edition is given below (see Part III), the author adduces seventeen scriptural quotations from the Hebrew Bible and the Gospels. The comparison between these quotations and earlier collections of biblical testimonies, which follows below, shows that al-Muʾayyad gleaned his materials from two, possibly three different translation traditions.

The principal sources for the reconstruction of the various translation traditions are the two earliest extant works containing comprehensive lists of biblical predictions of the Prophet Muḥammad from the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament, viz. the *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* by the Christian convert to Islam ʿAlī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī (ca. 194/810–251/865)[11] and the *Aʿlām* (or *Dalāʾil*) *al-nubuwwa* (or *al-nabī* or *rasūl Allāh*) by Ibn Rabban's younger contemporary Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Muslim b. Qutayba (213/828–276/889).[12] Most of the scriptural material included in Ibn Qutayba's work is also found in Ibn Rabban's otherwise much richer *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*. However, despite occasional similarities, the discrepancies in the majority of the translated biblical passages indicate that the two authors relied on partly different translation traditions and sources that still need to be identified in detail.

In the majority of cases, the translations offered by al-Muʾayyad agree verbatim with Ibn Qutayba's renderings in his *Aʿlām*, as against those of Ibn Rabban. This is the case with sections [1] and [2], containing translations and discussions of Deut. 33:2[13] and Gen.

an yakūna muʿǧizan iḏa taʿaḏḏarat muʿāraḍatuhu; *al-Kalām fī bayān mā lahu l-Qurʾān kāna muʿǧizan*; *al-Kalām fī* [+ *bayān*] *anna al-Qurʾān fī aʿlā ṭabaqāt al-faṣāḥa*; *al-Kalām fī ḏikr mā fī l-Qurʾān min al-aḫbār ʿan al-ġuyūb.*

11. The work has been edited and translated by Alphonse Mingana as *The Book of Religion and Empire*, and more recently by Rifaat Ebied and David Thomas in *The Polemical Works of ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī.* In the present chapter, references are given to Mingana's edition only. On the *K. al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, see also chapters 7 and 12 in the present volume.

12. See my "Muslim Reception of Biblical Materials" [chapter 4 in the present volume]. Prior to Ibn Rabban and Ibn Qutayba, the epistle written by Abū l-Rabīʿ Muḥammad b. al-Layṯ to the Byzantine emperor Constantine VI (r. 780–797 CE) on behalf of Hārūn al-Rašīd (r. 170/786–193/809) inviting the emperor to embrace Islam already contains numerous scriptural quotations allegedly predicting the prophecy of Muḥammad. The text of the epistle is preserved through transmission by Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr (d. 280/893) in his *K. al-Manṯūr wa-l-manẓūm* and has been published repeatedly. I have used the edition of Aḥmad Zakī Ṣafwat. On the epistle, see Dunlop, "Letter of Harūn ar-Rashīd; van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, 3/24ff.; Adang, *Muslim Writers*, passim; Roggema, "Ibn al-Layth."

13. See Schmidtke, "Muslim Reception," section IV, § 3:

ومن أعلامه في التوراة، قال: «جاء الله من سيناء وأشرق من ساعير واستعلن من جبال فاران»

Compare, by contrast, Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, ed. Mingana, 74:16–19:

21:21,[14] a verse not included in Ibn Rabban's *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*. The sequence of these scriptural passages agrees with Ibn Qutayba's arrangement. Al-Muʾayyad differs from Ibn Qutayba only in that he identifies the location of Deut. 33:2 (*fī l-sifr al-aḫīr min al-faṣl al-ʿišrīn*), information that is not provided by the earlier author. Al-Muʾayyad's discussion of the two verses also runs parallel to that of Ibn Qutayba, although the wording is clearly independent.[15]

Each segment of al-Muʾayyad's truncated translation of Gen. 16:8–12 (section [3]) has an exact equivalent in Ibn Qutayba's translation.[16] The same scriptural passage is also included in Ibn Rabban's *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* with only marginal differences as against Ibn Qutayba's translation.[17] However, whereas the last word in al-Muʾayyad's translation, *bi-l-ḫuḍūʿ*, is also found in Ibn Qutayba's, it is not included in Ibn Rabban's otherwise more comprehensive rendering of the verse. Al-Muʾayyad's argument following the scriptural passage again runs parallel to that of Ibn Qutayba,[18] while there is no resemblance to the entirely different argumentation offered by Ibn Rabban on this passage.[19]

Al-Muʾayyad's translation of Hab. 3:3f. (section [5]) is in full verbal agreement with Ibn Qutayba's rendering of the verses as against Ibn Rabban's different translation,[20] but

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وقال موسى في هذا السفر في الفصل العشرين: إن الرب جاء من طور سينين وطلع لنا من ساعير وظهر من جبل فاران ومعه عن يمينه ربوات القدّيسين فمنحهم العز وحبّبهم إلى الشعوب ودعا بجميع قدّيسيه بالبركة.

Ibn Qutayba's translation largely agrees with Ibn al-Layṭ's; *Risāla*, ed. Ṣafwat, 265:

ومن ذلك في آخر التوراة: «جاء الله تبارك وتعالى من سيناء وأشرق من ساعير واستبان واستعلن من جبال فاران وجاء من يمينه ربوات القديسين».

14. See Schmidtke, "Muslim Reception," section IV, § 4:

«إن إبراهيم أسكن هاجر وإسماعيل فاران»

15. See Schmidtke, "Muslim Reception," section IV, § 3–4.

16. See Schmidtke, "Muslim Reception," section IV, § 2 (the parallels with al-Muʾayyad's rendering are underlined):

ثم أخبر موسى بمثل ذلك في هذا السفر وزاد شيئًا، قال: «لما هربت هاجر من سارة تراءى لها ملك الله وقال: يا هاجر، أمة سارة، ارجعي إلى سيدتك فاخضعي لها فإني سأكثّر ذريتك وزرعك حتى لا يحصوا كثرةً، وها أنت تحبلين وتلدين ابنًا وتسمّينه إسماعيل، لأن الله قد سمع خشوعك، وتكون يده فوق الجميع، ويد الجميع مبسوطة إليه بالخضوع»

17. Cf. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, ed. Mingana, 67:12–19 (the parallels with Ibn Qutayba's rendering are underlined):

وقال أنه لما هربت هاجر من سارة ترآءى لها ملك الله وقال: يا هاجر أمة سارة من أين أقبلتِ وأين تريدين؟ قالت هاجر مجيبةً له: أهرب من سيدتي سارة. قال لها ملك الرب: ارجعي إلى سيدتك واخضعي لها فإني سأكثر ذريتك وزرعك حتى لا يحصون كثرةً. وها أنت تحبلين وتلدين ابناً وتسميه إسماعيل، لأن الله قد سمع تبتّلك وخشوعك وهو يكون عير الناس وتكون يده فوق الجميع ويد الجميع مبسوطةً إليه ويكون مسكنه على تخوم جميع إخوته.

18. Cf. Schmidtke, "Muslim Reception," section IV, § 2.

19. Cf. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, ed. Mingana, 67:19–68:4.

20. Cf. Schmidtke, "Muslim Reception," section IV, § 6:

قال حبقوق: «جاء الله من التيمن والقديس من جبال فاران، وامتلأت الأرض من تحميد أحمد وتقديسه، وملك الأرض بيمينه ورقاب الأمم»

A nearly identical translation is included in Ibn al-Layṭ's epistle, ed. Ṣafwat, 263:

ومن ذلك قول حبقوق المتنبي في زمان دانيال: «جاء الله من السماء والقديس من جبال فاران، وامتلأت السماء من تحميد أحمد وتقديسه، ومسح الأرض بيمينه وملك رقاب الأمم»

Cf., by contrast, Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, ed. Mingana, 103:5–10:

the brief explanation of the biblical passage has no equivalent in either Ibn Qutayba's *Aʿlām* or Ibn Rabban's *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*.

Al-Muʾayyad's translation of Ps. 45:3–5 (section [7]) is a slightly abbreviated version of the translation given by Ibn Qutayba.[21] Both renderings agree almost verbatim with the corresponding segments in Ibn Rabban's translation of the two verses, except that the latter is more elaborate.[22] Al-Muʾayyad's explanation of the passage runs largely parallel to that of Ibn Qutayba[23] as against that of Ibn Rabban.[24]

Al-Muʾayyad's translation of Ps. 149:4–8 (section [8]) agrees verbatim with Ibn Qutayba's, except that the latter also includes in his translation the first three verses of Ps. 149, which are left out by al-Muʾayyad.[25] By contrast, Ibn Rabban has a completely different translation of this passage in his *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*.[26] Al-Muʾayyad's explanation of these verses agrees in content with both Ibn Qutayba[27] and Ibn Rabban,[28] but his wording is closer to Ibn Qutayba's.

Al-Muʾayyad's rendering of Deut. 18:18 (section [10]) once again agrees completely with Ibn Qutayba's as against Ibn Rabban's entirely different translation.[29] The gist

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قال حبقوق النبي عليه السلام: إن الله جاء من التيمن والقدوس من جبل فاران. لقد انكسفت السماء من بهاء محمد وامتلأت الأرض من حمده. يكون شعاع منظره مثل النور ويحوط بلده بعزه. تسير المنايا أمامه وتصحب سباع الطير أجناده. قام فمسح الأرض ثم تأمل الأمم وبحث عنها. فتضعضعت الجبال القديمة واتضعت الروابي الدهرية.

21. Cf. Schmidtke, "Muslim Reception," section IV, § 13 (the parallels to al-Muʾayyad are underlined):
وفي مزمور آخر: «تقلد أيها الجبّار بالسيف فإن ناموسك وشرائعك مقرونة بهيبة يمينك وسهامك مسنونة والأمم يخرّون تحتك».

22. Cf. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, ed. Mingana, 75:10–14 (the parallels to Ibn Qutayba are underlined):
وقال داوود النبي عليه السلام في المزمور الخامس والأربعين: «من أجل هذا بارك الله عليك إلى الأبد فتقلد السيف أيها الجبّار لأن بهاءك وحمدك البهاء والحمد الغالب اركب كلمة الحق وسمت التأله فإن ناموسك وشرائعك مقرونة بهيبة يمينك وسهامك مسنونة والأمم يخرّون تحتك».
Ibn al-Layṯ's rendering of these verses (*Risāla*, ed. Ṣafwat, 265) differs from both Ibn Rabban's and Ibn Qutayba's.

23. Cf. Schmidtke, "Muslim Reception," section IV, § 13.

24. Cf. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, ed. Mingana, 75:14–17.

25. Cf. Schmidtke, "Muslim Reception," section IV, § 12 (the parallels to al-Muʾayyad are underlined):
وفي الزبور: «سبّحوا الربّ تسبيحًا حديثًا، سبّحوا الذي هيكله الصالحون ليفرح إسرائيل بخالقه وبيوت صهيون من أجل أن الله اصطفى له أمته وأعطاه النصر وشدّد الصالحين منهم بالكرامة، يسبّحونه على مضاجعهم ويكبّرون الله بأصواتٍ مرتفعةٍ، بأيديهم سيوف ذوات شفرتين لينتقموا لله من الأمم الذين لا يعبدونه، يوثقون ملوكهم بالقيود وأشرافهم بالأغلال».
Ibn Qutayba's rendering of these verses is nearly identical with Ibn al-Layṯ's (*Risāla*, ed. Ṣafwat, 264).

26. Cf. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, ed. Mingana, 78:3–8:
وقال في المزمور المائة والتاسع والأربعين: من أجل أن الرب ارتاح لشعبه وتطول على المساكين بالخلاص فليتعزز الأبرار بالكرامة ويسبحونه على مضاجعهم ويكرموا الله بحناجرهم، لأن في أيديهم السيف ذا الشفرتين للانتقام من الشعوب وتوبيخ الأمم وإثقال ملوكهم بالقيود وعليتهم ومكرمهم بالسلاسل ليحملهم على القدر المكتوب المبرم لجميع أبراره.
For a discussion and close comparison of Ibn Qutayba's and Ibn Rabban's renderings of Ps. 149, see also Peters, "Psalm 149."

27. Cf. Schmidtke, "Muslim Reception," section IV, § 12.

28. Cf. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, ed. Mingana, 78:8–13.

29. Cf. Schmidtke, "Muslim Reception," section IV, § 5:

of al-Muʾayyad's comment that follows the translation agrees with both Ibn Qutayba's and Ibn Rabban's lines of argumentation in that the announced prophet cannot be but Muḥammad. However, al-Muʾayyad neither adduces the example of Bakr and Taġlib, the sons of Wāʾil, nor quotes Deut. 34:10 as Ibn Qutayba does,[30] and his wording, too, has little in common with Ibn Rabban's.[31]

Al-Muʾayyad's combination of Isa. 42:11–13 with Isa. 5:26–30 in section [15] and the wording of the translation of the two passages is also in full agreement with Ibn Qutayba's *Aʿlām*.[32] By contrast, Ibn Rabban adduces the two passages in separate locations and his translation clearly differs from that of Ibn Qutayba and al-Muʾayyad.[33] Despite some differences in wording and al-Muʾayyad's more concise style (he also omits to quote Qurʾān 22:27), his explanation following the biblical passage resembles that of Ibn Qutayba.[34]

ومن أعلامه في ا لتوراة: قال الله سبحانه في التوراة لموسى في السفر الخامس: «إني أقيم لبني إسرائيل نبيًّا من إخوتهم مثلك، وأجعل كلامي على فمه».

Cf. the translation of Ibn Rabban, who also combines this verse with Deut. 18:15; *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, ed. Mingana, 73:13–74:1:

فالنبوة الخامسة الدالة عليه المشيرة إلى نبوته وحقه قول موسى عليه السلام في الفصل الحادي عشر من التوراة من السفر الخامس وهو الأخير لبني إسرائيل: إن الرب الهكم يقيم نبياً مثلي من بينكم ومن إخوتكم فاسمعوا له. وقالت التوراة في هذا الفصل بعينه مؤكداً لهذا القول وموضحاً له أنه قال الرب لموسى عليه السلام: إني مقيم لهم نبياً مثلك من بين إخوتهم وأيما رجل لم يسمع كلماتي التي يؤديها ذلك الرجل باسمي أنا انتقم منه.

Ibn Qutayba's and Ibn Rabban's translations differ from that given by Ibn al-Layṯ (*Risāla*, ed. Ṣafwat, 266).

30. Cf. Schmidtke, "Muslim Reception," section IV, § 5.
31. Cf. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, ed. Mingana, 74:1–15.
32. Cf. Schmidtke, "Muslim Reception," section IV, § 24:

في كتاب شعيا: «إنه ستمتلئ البادية والمدن قصور آل قيذار يسبّحون ومن رؤوس الجبال ينادون، هم الذين يجعلون لله الكرامة ويبثّون تسبيحه في البرّ والبحر». وقال: «ارفع علمًا لجميع الأمم من بعيد فيُصفر بهم من أقاصي الأرض، فإذا هم سراع يأتون»

33. Cf. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, ed. Mingana, 78:14–79:1 [Isa. 42:11–13], 80:1–9 [Isa. 5:26–30]:

وقال عليه السلام في المزمور المائة والثاني والخمسين: فسمّى البلد والأهل فلم يدع موضع مقال ولا اعتدال. وهو مزمور ينسب إلى اشعيا النبي عليه السلام لترتاح البوادي وقراها ولتصر أرض قيذار مروجاً وليسبح سكّان الكهوف ويهتفوا من قلل الجبال بحمد الرب ويذيعوا تسابيحه في الجزائر، لأن الرب يجئ كالجبال وكالرجل المحرب المتلظي للتكبُّر فهو يزجر ويتجبر ويقتل أعداءه.

...

إني رافع آيةً للأمم من بلد بعيد وأصفر لهم من أقاصي الأرض صفيراً فيأتون سراعاً عجالاً لا يملون ولا يعثرون ولا ينعسون ولا ينامون ولا يحلون مناطقهم ولا ينقطع خفافهم سهامهم مسنونة وقسيهم موترة وحوافر خيلهم كالجلاميد صلابةً وعجلهم مسرعة مثل الزوابع وزئيرهم كنهيم الليوث وكشبل الأسد الذي يزأر وينهم للفريسة فلا ينجو منه ناج ويرهقهم يومئذ مثل دوي البحر واصطكاكه ويرمون بأبصارهم إلى الأرض فلا يرون إلا النكبات والظلمات وينكشف النور على عجاج جموعهم.

34. Cf. Schmidtke, "Muslim Reception," section IV, § 24.

Al-Muʾayyad's rendering of John 15:26f. with John 16:7 (section [16]) followed by John 16:7f., 13 (section [17]) again agrees verbatim with Ibn Qutayba's *Aʿlām*,[35] whereas only the second passage has an exact equivalent in Ibn Rabban's *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*.[36]

Al-Muʾayyad's translations included in sections [4], [13], and [14] mostly agree with those adduced by Ibn Rabban, as against Ibn Qutayba's.[37] His translation of Isa. 35:1f. in section [4] essentially agrees with Ibn Rabban's otherwise more comprehensive rendering.[38] However, al-Muʾayyad's argument following the scriptural passage runs parallel to that of Ibn Qutayba, whereas there is no resemblance to Ibn Rabban's entirely different line of argumentation.[39]

The translation of Isa. 21:1 in Section [13] agrees verbatim with that adduced by Ibn Rabban, who offers a full translation of Isa. 21:1–10 in his *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*;[40] by contrast, the verse is not included in Ibn Qutayba's *Aʿlām*. It should be noted, however, that al-Muʾayyad included a translation of Isa. 21:6f. and 9 in section [11]. Here his translation of Isa. 21:6f. agrees verbatim with Ibn Qutayba's rendering as against Ibn Rabban's different

35. Cf. Schmidtke, "Muslim Reception," section IV, § 18f.:

[18] قال المسيح للحواريين: «أنا أذهب وسيأتيكم البارقليط، روح الحقّ، الذي لا يتكلم من قِبل نفسه، إنما هو كما يقال له، وهو يشهد عليَّ وأنتم تشهدون، لأنكم معي من قبل الناس، وكل شيء أعدَّه الله لكم يخبركم به».

[19] وفي حكاية يوحنا عن المسيح أنه قال: «البارقليط لا يجيئكم ما لم أذهب، فإذا جاء وبّخ العالَم على الخطيئة، ولا يقول من تلقاء نفسه شيئًا ولكنه مما يسمع به يكلِّمكم ويسوسكم بالحقّ ويخبركم بالحوادث والغيوب».

36. Cf. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, ed. Mingana, 119:3–5.

37. Cf. Schmidtke, "Muslim Reception," section IV, § 34:

وفي شعيا عن الله: «إني أعطي البادية كرامة لبنان وبهاء الكرمال»، وكرمال ولبنان الشام وبيت المقدس، يريد: «أجعل الكرامة التي كانت هناك بالوحي وظهور الأنبياء للبادية بالحجّ وبالنبي عليه السلام، ثم قال: «ويشق في البادية مياهًا وسواقي في أرض الفلاة، ويكون الفيافي والأماكن العطاش ينابيع ومياها، ويصير هناك محجّةً وطريق الحرام لا يمرّ به أنجاس الأمم، والجاهل به لا يصل هناك، ولا يكون به سباع ولا أسد، ويكون هناك ممرّ المخلصين».

38. Cf. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, ed. Mingana, 85:3–10 (the parallels with al-Muʾayyad's translation are underlined):

وقال في الفصل السادس عشر مفسراً لما تقدم في النبوات ومبكتاً لأهل المحك والغوايات: لتفرح أهل البادية العطشى ولتبتهج البراري والفلوات ولتخرج نوراً كنور الشسليذ ولتستر وتزه مثل الوعل لأنها ستعطى بأحمد محاسن لبنان وكمثل حسن الدساكر والرياض. وسيرون جلال الله عز وجل وبهاء إلهنا. أما ترون يهديكم الله ماذا كشف لكم النبي عليه السلام ونطق به الوحي من ذكر البوادي والقفار وما بشرها الله تعالى به من الجدة والنضرة والكرامات المعدة لها بأحمد عليه السلام. فهل يختلج شك بعد التسمية ووصف البادية المعطشة.

39. Cf. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, ed. Mingana, 67:19–68:4.

40. Cf. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, ed. Mingana, 81:17–82:1 (the parallels with al-Muʾayyad are underlined):

وقال في الفصل العاشر كاشفاً لما اشتبه ومبيناً لما اغتاص من نبواته: هكذا يقول الرب: إنك ستأتي من جهة التيمن من بلد بعيد ومن أرض البادية مسرعاً مقّداً مثل الزوابع والزعازع من الرياح ...

translation,[41] whereas his translation of Isa. 21:9 is again more similar to Ibn Rabban's than to Ibn Qutayba's.[42]

Al-Muʾayyad's translation of Isa. 60:1–7 in section [14] agrees again verbatim with the corresponding segments of Ibn Rabban's otherwise more comprehensive translation, as against the different translation of only Isa. 60:1, 4f., and 7 included by Ibn Qutayba in his *Aʿlām*.[43]

Al-Muʾayyad's translation of Ps. 72:8–13, 15, and 17 (section [6]) agrees with both Ibn Qutayba's identical translation and with Ibn Rabban's otherwise more elaborate translation, with the single exception of al-Muʾayyad's last sentence, which has no parallel in Ibn Qutayba's *Aʿlām* but is included in Ibn Rabban's translation.[44] Al-Muʾayyad's brief comment following the scriptural quotation agrees in content with both Ibn Qutayba's

41. Cf. Schmidtke, "Muslim Reception," section IV, § 17 (the parallels with al-Muʾayyad are underlined):

وفي شعيا: «قيل لي: قم نظارًا فانظر ماذا ترى تخبر به، قلت: أرى راكبين مقبلين، أحدهما على حمار والآخر على جمل، يقول أحدهما لصاحبه: سقطت بابل وأصنامها المنجّرة.»

42. Cf. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, ed. Mingana, 81:17–82:16 (the parallels with al-Muʾayyad are underlined):

... لأن الرب قال لي هكذا امض فأقم الربيئة على المنظرة ليخبر بما يرى. فكان الذي رأى راكبين أحدهما راكب حمار والآخر راكب جمل وسمع مقالاً كثيراً جمًا وأسر صاحب المنظرة إليّ وقال لي في أذني: أنا الرب القيوم وأنا بالمرصاد والمنظر الأعلى ليلاً ونهاراً. فبينما أنا كذلك إذ أقبل أحد الراكبين وهو يقول هوت هوت بابل وتكسّر جميع آلهتها المنجورة على الأرض. فهذا الذي سمعت من الرب إله إسرائيل العزيز قد أنبأتكم.

43. Cf. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, ed. Mingana, 94:14–95:6 (the parallels with al-Muʾayyad's translation are underlined):

وتنبأ في هذا الفصل بما لا يرده إلا الخاسرون ولا يجهله إلا الأجهلون الأعمون فإنه ذكر أيضاً هاجر مخاطباً لها ولبلاد ولدها مكة وقال: قومي وازهري مصباحك فقد دنا وقتك وكرامة الله طالعه عليك فقد تخللت الأرض الظلام وغطى على الأمم الضباب. فالرب يشرق عليك إشراقاً وتظهر كرامته عليك. وتسير الأمم إلى نورك والملوك إلى ضوء طلوعك. ارفعي بصرك إلى ما حولك وتأملي. فإنهم سيجتمعون كلهم إليك ويحجونك ويأتيك ولدك من بلد بعيد وتتربى بناتك على الأرائك والسرر. ويستروح قلبك من أجل أنه يميل إليك البحر وتحج إليك عساكر الأمم حتى تعمرك الأبل المربلة وتضيق أرضك عن القطرات التي تجتمع إليك. ويساق إليك كباش مدين وكباش أعفا وتأتيك أهل سبا ويحدثون بنعم الله ويمجدونه وتسير إليك أغنام قيذار كلها وتخدمك رخلات نباوت ويرفع إلى مذبحي ما يرضيني وأحدث حينئذ لبيت محمدتي حمداً.

For Ibn Qutayba's rendering of Isa. 60:1, 4, 5, 7, see Schmidtke, "Muslim Reception," section IV, § 31:

«فقومي فأشرقي، فإنه قد دنا نورك ووقار الله عليك: انظري بعينك حولك، فإنهم مجتمعون، يأتيك بنوك وبناتك عَدْوًا فحينئذ تسرّين وتزهرين ويخاف عدوّك ويتّسع قلبك، وكل غنم قيذار تجمع إليك، وسادات نباوث يخدمونك».

44. Cf. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, ed. Mingana, 76:9–77:3 (the parallels with al-Muʾayyad's translation are underlined):

وقال أيضاً في المزمور الثاني والسبعين ما أكد به وشدد النبوات المتقدمة: إنه يجوز من البحر إلى البحر ومن لدن الأنهار إلى منقطع الأرض وأنه يخرّ أهل الجزائر بين يديه على ركبهم وتلحس أعداءه التراب تأتيه ملوك تارسيس والجزائر بالقرابين وتقرّب إليه ملوك سبأ وملوك سابا القرابين وتسجد له الملوك كلهم وتدين له الأمم كلها بالطاعة والانقياد لأنه يخلص المضطهد البائس ممن هو أقوى منه ويفقذ الضعيف الذي لا ناصر له ويرأف بالضعفاء والمساكين وينجي أنفسهم من الضرّ والضيم وتعزّ عليه دماؤهم وأنه يبقى ويعطى من ذهب بلاد سبأ ويصلى عليه في كل وقت ويبارك عليه كل يوم مثل الزروع الكثيرة على وجه الأرض ويطلع ثماره على رؤوس الجبال كالتي تطلع من لبنان وينبت في مدينته مثل عشب الأرض ويدوم ذكره إلى الأبد وإن اسمه لموجود قبل الشمس فالأمم كلهم يتبركون به وكلهم يحمدونه.

For Ibn Qutayba's rendering of Ps. 72:8–17, see Schmidtke, "Muslim Reception," section IV, § 15:

وفي مزمور آخر من صفته: «إنه يجوز من البحر إلى البحر ومن لدن الأنهار إلى منقطع الأرض، وإنه تخرّ أهل الجزائر بين يديه على ركبهم ويلحس

and Ibn Rabban's[45] more elaborate explanations but was clearly formulated independently from both.

Al-Muʾayyad's translation of Isa. 9:6 (section [9]) is again similar to but not completely identical with both Ibn Rabban's and Ibn Qutayba's parallel renderings of this verse according to the Syriac and Hebrew versions of the Bible.[46]

Given the comparatively few instances of verbal agreement with Ibn Rabban's translations, the possibility that al-Muʾayyad had the latter's *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* at his disposal is unlikely. It is likewise not plausible that he had Ibn Qutayba's *Aʿlām*, in view of the additions that are not included in the latter (see section [1]) and al-Muʾayyad's selective approach to the biblical material contained in the *Aʿlām*. This suggests that al-Muʾayyad was drawing on sources or translation traditions preceding or parallel to those of Ibn Rabban's *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* and Ibn Qutayba's *Aʿlām*. The existence of various translation traditions independent of these two authors and their prominent works is corroborated by other lists of biblical annunciations circulating between the second/eighth and sixth/twelfth centuries, such as Ibn al-Layṭ's epistle,[47] al-Māwardī's (d. 450/1058) *Kitāb Aʿlām al-nubuwwa*,[48] and Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī's (d. 573/1177–78) *al-Ḫarāʾiǧ wa-l-ǧarāʾiḥ*.[49]

In addition to sources linking him with the translation traditions that are attested in the works of Ibn Rabban and Ibn Qutayba, al-Muʾayyad had source(s) for an additional tradition at his disposal. Apart from his partial rendering of Ps. 149 in section [8] that runs largely parallel to Ibn Qutayba's translation (see above), al-Muʾayyad adduces another partial translation of Ps. 149:1–3 and 6f. in section [12] that clearly differs from the one given in section [8] and contains an opening phrase possibly referring to Isa. 21:7 ("following the rider of the camel"). Neither the translation nor the opening phrase is found in the works of Ibn Qutayba or Ibn Rabban. The alternative rendering of Ps. 149, together with the addition at its beginning, clearly originated in a different source/trans-

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أعداؤه التراب، تأتيه الملوك بالقرابين وتسجد له وتدين له الملوك بالطاعة والانقياد، لأنه يخلّص المضطهد البائس ممن هو أقوى منه وينقذ الضعيف الذي لا ناصر له ويرأف بالضعفاء والمساكين، وإنه يعطى من ذهب بلاد سبأ ويصلى عليه في كل وقت ويبارك في كل يوم، ويدوم ذكره إلى الأبد».

For the use of Ps. 72:8ff. in Ibn Rabban's *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* and other texts, see also Peters, "Psalm 149," 149–151.

45. Cf. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, ed. Mingana, 77:3–12.

46. Cf. Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, ed. Mingana, 80:12–16; Schmidtke, "Muslim Reception," section IV, § 11.

47. See above, n. 14.

48. The first scholar to study al-Māwardī's list of biblical passages was Martin Schreiner, who was still unaware of Ibn Rabban's *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* ("Beiträge zur Geschichte der Bibel"). Franz Taeschner has shown that although al-Māwardī's translations often agree with those adduced by Ibn Rabban, the latter cannot possibly have been al-Māwardī's source; see his "Die alttestamentlichen Bibelzitate," 33–34. Thomas' interpretation of Taeschner's statements as confirming that al-Māwardī's biblical quotations were derived from Ibn Rabban ("Muslim Regard," 23, n. 34) is mistaken. For al-Māwardī and his *Kitāb Aʿlām al-nubuwwa*, see chapter 9 in the present volume.

49. Al-Rāwandī, *al-Ḫarāʾiǧ wa-l-ǧarāʾiḥ*, 1/72–80.

lation tradition. The same version circulated widely among Twelver Šīʿite writers and is ascribed to the authority of the Imam ʿAlī al-Riḍā (151 or 153/768 or 770–203/818) by Abū Ǧaʿfar b. Bābawayh (d. 381/991) in his *ʿUyūn aḫbār al-Riḍā*, which is apparently the earliest attestation of it.[50]

III.

The following edition of chapter 3 of *Iṯbāt nubuwwat al-nabī* is based on the following manuscripts of the text:

(a) MS Cairo, Dār al-kutub al-miṣriyya, *ʿilm al-kalām* 1567 (ا), 91 ff., 24 × 17 cm, completed on 10 Šawwāl 551/November 26, 1156. A microfilm of this manuscript is preserved in the Maʿhad iḥyāʾ al-maḫṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya.[51] The relevant section is to be found on ff. 72a–75b. On the basis of this manuscript, the text has been published twice: (1) ed. Ḫalīl Aḥmad Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāǧǧ, Cairo: Dār al-turāṯ al-ʿarabī, 1399/1979 (repr. Beirut, s.n., n.d.) (مطق); (2) ed. ʿAbd al-Karīm Aḥmad Ǧadbān, Ṣaʿda: Maktabat al-turāṯ al-islāmī, 1424/2003 (مطص).

(b) MS Vatican Arabic 1019/2, ff. 72b–169a (ف), completed in Ǧumādā II 691/May 1292.[52] The relevant section is to be found on ff. 159b–163b.

(c) MS Tehran, Maǧlis 4247/1, pp. 1–151 (م). At the beginning of the text one folio is missing; the tract begins on f. 1b (= p. 2), corresponding to ed. al-Ḥāǧǧ, 11:14 / ed. Ǧadbān, 51:15 (*wa-stadrakū*). The relevant section is on pp. 145–148. Although the copy of al-Muʾayyad's *Iṯbāt* is undated, the second text in the *maǧmūʿ* is dated Šawwāl 993/Sep-

50. Cf. Ibn Bābawayh, *ʿUyūn aḫbār al-Riḍā*, 1/161; Ibn Bābawayh, *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd*, 412:11–16 (the parallels to al-Muʾayyad are underlined):

ثم التفت عليه السلام إلى رأس الجالوت فقال: يا يهودي أقبل علي أسألك بالعشر الآيات التي أنزلت على موسى بن عمران هل تجد في التوراة مكتوباً نبأ محمد وأمته: إذا جاءت الأمة الأخيرة أتباع راكب البعير يسبحون الرب جداً جداً تسبيحاً جديداً في الكنائس الجدد فليفرغ بنوا إسرائيل إليهم وإلى ملكهم لتطمئن قلوبهم فإن بأيديهم سيوفاً ينتقمون بها من الأمم الكافرة في أقطار الأرض هكذا هو في التوراة مكتوب.

This version circulated later on widely among Twelver Šīʿites; see Abū l-Fatḥ al-Karāǧakī (d. 449/1057–58), *Kanz al-fawāʾid*, 204; al-Ṭabarsī (d. 548/1153), *al-Iḥtiǧāǧ*, 2/206; al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī (d. 1104/1693), *al-Ǧawāhir al-sunniyya*, 54; al-Maǧlisī (d. 1110/1699 or 1111/1700), *Biḥār al-anwār*, ed. al-ʿAlawī [et al.], 10/305, 13/347; al-Ǧazāʾirī (d. 1112/1700), *Nūr al-barāhīn*, 2/457; *Musnad al-Imām Riḍā*, 2/80. See also Thomas, "Two Muslim-Christian Debates," esp. 76f. On the heavily embellished report of the alleged debate of the Imam al-Riḍā with a Christian patriarch and a Jewish exilarch in which the passage is found, see also Wasserstrom, *Between Muslim and Jew*, 113–116; Wasserstein, "'Majlis of al-Riḍā.'"

51. For a description of this manuscript, see Sayyid, *Fihris al-maḫṭūṭāt al-muṣawwara*, 1/114, no. 4; see also Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, 1/570, no. 14; *Muʿǧam al-turāṯ al-kalāmī*, 5/357, no. 11977. I thank Eva-Maria Lika for help in obtaining a copy of this manuscript.

52. For a description of the manuscript, see Levi della Vida, *Elenco dei manoscritti*, 118. See also Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, suppl., 1/317; Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, 1/570, no. 14. A copy of this manuscript is held at the Markaz-i iḥyāʾ-i mīrāṯ-i islāmī in Qum; see Ḥusaynī Iškawarī and Ḥusaynī Iškawarī, *Fihrist-i nusḫa-hā-yi ʿaksī*, 4/296–298.

tember–October 1585.[53] The manuscript originally belonged to the collection of Sayyid Naṣr Allāh Taqawī (1242š/1863–1326š/1947).[54]

(d) MS Tehran, Dānišgāh Miškāt 927, 197 pp. (د); the relevant section is found on pp. 182–190. The manuscript, which is incomplete in the beginning, was copied from (c), as it is mentioned on f. 1b that it was transcribed from a copy of the text in the Taqawī collection.[55]

[(e) Another incomplete copy of the text, which does not include chapter 3 of al-Muʾayyad's *Iṯbāt*, is contained in a collective manuscript in the Landberg collection. The original codex is divided between two manuscripts: (e1) Landberg 437 (= Berlin, Ahlwardt 10280),[56] containing most of chapter 1 (ff. 1b–31b = ed. al-Ḥāǧǧ, 11–101:8 [*ḥasana*]), Abū l-Qāsim al-Bustī's (fl. late fourth/tenth and early fifth/eleventh century) *Kitāb al-Baḥṯ ʿan adillat al-takfīr wa-l-tafsīq* (ff. 1a:1–1b:8, 33a:1–41b:25, 50b:13–22),[57] and parts of an anonymous work on *al-Nāsiḫ wa-l-mansūḫ* (ff. 42a–50b:13); and (e2) Amin (formerly Landberg) 613 (= Leiden Or. 2973 [= Ar. 2331]), 49 ff., containing additional portions of al-Bustī's *al-Baḥṯ* (ff. 18–49) and of the anonymous *al-Nāsiḫ wa-l-mansūḫ* (ff. 1–17).[58] Additional fragments of the original codex may have survived and may still come to light. The manuscript is written in *nasḫī* handwriting, 27 × 18 cm, and has between 24 and 29 lines to the page. MS Landberg 437 has a colophon at the end of al-Bustī's *al-Baḥṯ* dated Ḏū l-ḥiǧǧa 684/January–February 1286.]

باب ذكر[59] ما وجد في الكتب المتقدّمة من البشارات بالنبيّ صلى الله عليه وعلى آله[60]

هذه فصول يعرفها أهل الكتاب في كتبهم وليسوا[61] ينكرونها وقد جاريت فيها منهم من كان يرجع إلى حفظ كثير[62] وضبطها غير أنهم يتأوّلونها تأويلات فاسدة[63].

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53. For a description of the manuscript, see al-Ḥāʾirī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābḫāna-yi Mağlis-i šūrā-yi millī*, 11/262f., no. 4247 [*iʿǧāz al-Qurʾān*].

54. On him, see Rasūlī, "Taqawī, Sayyid Naṣr Allāh."

55. For a description of the manuscript, see Munzawī, *Fihrist-i kitābḫāna-yi Muḥammad Miškāt*, 1/7f. [*iʿǧāz al-Qurʾān*]; Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra-yi dast-i nawišta-hā-yi Īrān*, 2/35, no. 29857. A microfilm of this manuscript is preserved by the Maʿhad al-maḫṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya in Cairo; see ʿAlī, "Maḫṭūṭ farīd." I thank Ahmad Reza Rahimi Riseh for help in obtaining copies of the two Tehran manuscripts.

56. Cf. Ahlwardt, *Kurzes Verzeichnis der Landberg'schen Sammlung*, 42; Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften*, 9/588–590, no. 10280/3. See also Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, suppl., 1/317; Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, 1/570, no. 14.

57. See al-Bustī, *al-Baḥṯ*.

58. Cf. Landberg, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes*, 169; Voorhoeve, *Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts*, 450; Witkam, *Inventory of Oriental Manuscripts*, 238.

59. باب ذكر: في ذكر، م د؛ ذكر، مطص؛ الباب الثالث ذكر، مطق.

60. وعلى آله: وآله وسلم، مطص؛ صلى الله عليه وعلى آله: ص، م د.

61. وليسوا: وليس، م د.

62. كثير: كتبهم، م د.

63. تأويلات فاسدة: تأويلًا فاسدًا، ف.

[1] فمن ذلك ما وجد في التوراة وقيل هو في السفر[64] الأخير[65] من الفصل العشرين[66]: «قد جاء الله من سيناء وأشرق[67] من ساعير واستعلن من جبال[68] فاران» [cf. Deut. 33:2].

فقوله «جاء الله من سيناء» أراد به[69] ابتعاثه[70] موسى صلى الله عليه[71] من قبل طور سيناء، وقوله «وأشرق من ساعير» أراد[72] [به] ابتعاثه المسيح صلى الله عليه[73]، وساعير الناحية التي كان فيها عيسى صلى الله عليه[74]. وقوله[75] «واستعلن[76] من جبال[77] فاران» أراد به ابتعاثه محمدًا صلى الله عليه وعلى آله[78] من جبال مكة، لأن جبال مكة تسمى في التوراة جبال[79] فاران، لا ينكر ذلك أحد ممن عرف التوراة.

[2] وفي التوراة «إن إبراهيم[80] صلى الله عليه[81] أسكن هاجر وإسماعيل[82] صلى الله عليه[83] فاران» [cf. Gen. 21:21]، يعنى مكة، ولم يُبعث أحد من الأنبياء[84] ابتعاثًا ظاهرًا، فشا أمره في مشارق الأرض ومغاربها كما اقتضى قوله «استعلن»، لأن استعلن هو[85] بمعنى علن إذا ظهر وانكشف[86] غير محمد صلى الله عليه وعلى آله وسلم[87]، فلم يبق ريب في أنه هو المراد بهذه اللفظة.

[3] وفي التوراة «[7]إن هاجر تراءى لها ملك[88] [8]وقال[89]: يا هاجر، [10]إني سأكثر[90] ذريتك وزرعك حتى لا يحصوا كثرةً، [11]وها أنت[91] تحبلين

64. السفر: + الاولى (مشطوب)، أ.
65. الأخير: الاحر، أ م د.
66. من الفصل العشرين: من العشرين، ف؛ في الفصل العشرين، م د؛ في الفصل الثالث والثلاثين، مطق مطص.
67. وأشرق: أشرف، مطق.
68. جبال: جبل، مطق مطص.
69. به: -، أ مطق مطص.
70. ابتعاثه: + تعالى، م د.
71. صلى الله عليه: -، ف؛ ص، م د.
72. أراد: -، ف.
73. صلى الله عليه: -، ف؛ ع، م د.
74. صلى الله عليه: ع، م د.
75. وقوله: -، ف.
76. واستعلن: استعلن، م د.
77. جبال: جبل، مطق مطص.
78. وعلى آله: وآله، ف؛ وآله وسلم، مطص؛ صلى الله عليه وعلى آله: ص، م د.
79. جبال: جبل، مطق مطص.
80. إبراهيم: ابرهيم، ف م د.
81. صلى الله عليه: ع، م د.
82. وإسماعيل: واسمعيل، أ م.
83. صلى الله عليه: ص، م؛ + جبال، م د.
84. الأنبياء: + صلوات الله عليهم، ف؛ + ص، م.
85. هو: إضافة في الهامش، م.
86. انكشف: + ولم يستعلن، مطق مطص.
87. وسلم: -، ف؛ صلى الله عليه وعلى آله وسلم: ص، م د.
88. ملك: ملاك، مطق مطص.
89. وقال: فقال، م د.
90. سأكثر: + ولدك (مشطوب)، أ.
91. وها أنت: وهانت، ف.

وتلدين ابنًا وتسمّينه[92] إسماعيل[93]، لأن الله عزّ وجلّ[94] قد سمع خشوعك، [12]وتكون يده فوق يد الجميع، ويد الجميع مبسوطة إليه بالخضوع» [cf. Gen. 16:7–8, 10–12].

وقد علمنا أن المراد بهذا[95] ولد إسماعيل[96] وهو رسول الله صلى الله عليه وعلى آله[97] لأن إسماعيل[98] نفسه لم تكن يده فوق يد إسحاق[99] ولا يد ولديه[100] يعقوب صلى الله عليه[101] وعيص[102] مبسوطة إليه بالخضوع، ولم يكن في ولد إسماعيل[103] مَن كانت أيدي أولاد إسرائيل وعيص[104] وسائر الناس مبسوطةً إليه[105] غير رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله[106]، إنه[107] هو الذي دانت له الملوك من آل إبراهيم[108] وغيرهم وخشعت له[109] رقابهم وخضعت له الأمم وصارت الإمامة والملك في أهله، وصارت أيديهم فوق أيدي الجميع وأيدي الجميع مبسوطةً إليهم[110] كما وُعِدت هاجر، فوضح[111] أنه بشارة برسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله[112].

[4] وفي فصلٍ من كتاب شعيا[113] النبيّ صلى الله عليه وعلى آله[114] «لتفرح أرض[115] البادية العطشى[116] ولتبتهج البراري والفلوات ولتخرج نور[117] كنور الشسلبذ[118] ولتزه، لأنها ستعطى بأحمد محاسن لبنان وكمال حسن الدساكر والرياض» [cf. Isa. 35:1–2].

ومن المعلوم أن البادية لم يحصل لها ولفلواتها المحاسن إلّا بالإسلام والمسلمين فبان أنه بشارة بالنبيّ صلى الله عليه وعلى آله[119]. إن[120] هذا الفصل فيه اسمه صريحًا صلى الله عليه وآله[121] وإن كان في أهل الكتاب من ينكر الاسم على عادتهم في التحريف.

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92. وتسمينه: وىسمنّه، ف.
93. إسماعيل: اسمعيل، م د.
94. عزّ وجلّ: تعالى، م د.
95. بهذا: بهذه، ف م د مطق.
96. إسماعيل: اسمعيل، أ ف م د.
97. وعلى آله: وآله، ف؛ وآله وسلم، مطص؛ صلى الله عليه وعلى آله: ص، م د.
98. إسماعيل: اسمعيل، أ ف م د.
99. إسحاق: اسحق، أ ف م د مطق.
100. ولا يد ولديه: ولا كانت يد اسحق ولا يد ولد، م د.
101. صلى الله عليه: ص، م د.
102. وعيص: وعيسو، مطق؛ وعيسى، مطص.
103. إسماعيل: اسمعيل، أ ف م.
104. وعيص: وعيسو، مطق؛ وعيسى، مطص.
105. إليه: إضافة في هامش ف.
106. وآله: + وسلم، مطص؛ صلى الله عليه وآله: ص، م د.
107. إنه: وانه، ف؛ اذ، م د.
108. إبراهيم: ابرهيم، أ ف م د؛ + صلى الله عليه، أ مطق مطص.
109. له: لها (مع تصحيح)، ف.
110. إليهم: اليه، م د.
111. فوضح: + بها، م د.
112. وآله: + وسلم، مطص؛ صلى الله عليه وآله: ص، م.
113. شعياء: أشعياء، مطق مطص.
114. وعلى آله: -، ف مطق مطص؛ صلى الله عليه وعلى آله: ص، م د.
115. أرض: الأرض، أ ف م د.
116. العطشى: العطش، ف.
117. نور: نورا، أ م د.
118. ولتخرج نور كنور الشسلبذ: -، مطق مطص.
119. وعلى آله: وآله، ف؛ وآله وسلم، مطص؛ صلى الله عليه وعلى آله: ص، م د.
120. إن: على ان، م د.
121. وإن ... وآله: -، أ مطق مطص؛ صلى الله عليه وآله: ص، م.

[5] وعن حبقوق النبيّ صلى الله عليه[122] «جاء الله من التيمن والقدوس[123] من جبال[124] فاران، وامتلأت الأرض من تحميد[125] أحمد وتقديسه، وملك الأرض ورقاب[126] الأمم» [cf. Hab. 3:3, 4].

وقد بيّنّا أن جبال مكة تسمى في التوراة جبال[127] فاران[128].

[6] وقال داوود[129] في مزموره في صفة النبيّ صلى الله عليه وآله[130]: «[8]إنه يجوز من البحر إلى البحر[131] ومن لدن الأنهار إلى منقطع الأرض[132] [9]وأنه تخر[133] أهل الجزائر بين[134] يديه على ركبهم ويلحس أعداؤه التراب[135]، [10]تأتيه الملوك بالقرابين[136] وتسجد[137] له [11]وتدين له الأمم بالطاعة والانقياد، [12]لأنه يخلّص المضطهد البائس[138] ممن هو أقوى منه وينقذ الضعيف الذي لا ناصر له [13]ويرأف[139] بالضعفاء والمساكين [15]وأنه يعطى من ذهب[140] بلاد سبأ ويصلىّ عليه في كل[141] وقتٍ ويبارَك عليه في كل يومٍ [17]ويدوم ذكره إلى الأبد، وإن[142] اسمه لموجودٍ[143] قبل الشمس والأمم[144] كلها يتبركون[145] به وكلهم[146] يحمدونه[147]» [cf. Ps. 72:8–13, 15, 17].

وقد[148] قيل: معناه يسمّونه محمدًا.

122. صلى الله عليه: ص، م؛ -، د.
123. والقدوس: والقديس، ف م د.
124. من جبال: وجبال، أ ف.
125. تحميد: تمجيد، أ مطق مطص.
126. ورقاب: وبعارض، ف.
127. جبال: -، م د.
128. في التوراة جبال فاران: جبال فاران في التورات ، ف.
129. داوود: داوو، مطص؛ + صلى الله عليه، أ (إضافة فوق السطر)، مطق مطص؛ + ع، م د.
130. وآله: -، أ مطق؛ + وسلم، مطص؛ صلى الله عليه وآله: ص، م د.
131. إلى البحر: الى اليمن، أ ف؛ -، مطق.
132. الأرض: الأنهار، مطق مطص.
133. تخر: تجثو، مطق مطص.
134. بين: من، م د.
135. التراب: بالتراب، م د.
136. بالفرابين: بالقراسن، ف، مع تصحيح فوق السطر: كالفراش.
137. وتسجد: وتسجد، مكرر مشطوب، أ؛ تسجد، مطق مطص.
138. البائس: الناس، ف.
139. ويرأف: وبروف، أ ف؛ ويرؤف، م مطق مطص؛ ويرءف، د.
140. ذهب: + من، ف.
141. كل: -، أ.
142. وإن: فان، ف.
143. لموجود: الموجود، ف.
144. والأمم: فالامم، م د.
145. يتبركون: ويتبركون، ف.
146. وكلهم: كلهم، ف.
147. يحمدونه: ويحمدونه، ف.
148. وقد: -، م د.

[7] ومن مزمور آخر لداوود[149] صلى الله عليه وعلى آله[150]: «[3]تقلّد[151] السيف [4]فإن ناموسك[152] وشريعتك مقرونة بهيبة يمينك[153] [5]وسهامك[154] مسنونة والأمم يخرون تحتك» [cf. Ps. 45:3–5].

وليس في الأنبياء بعد داوود[155] صلى الله عليه[156] من تقلّد[157] السيف وخرَّت[158] الأمم تحته ومن قُرِنت شريعته بالهيبة غير نبيّنا صلى الله عليه[159].

[8] وأيضًا في الزبور: «[4]إن الله[160] اصطفى أمته وأعطاه النصر، [5]وسدّد الصالحين منهم بالكرامة، ويسبحونه[161] على مضاجعهم [6]ويكبّرون الله[162] بأصوات مرتفعة، بأيديهم سيوف ذوات شفرتين [7]لينتقموا[163] الله عزّ وجلّ[164] من الأمم الذين لا يعبدونه، [8]يوثقون ملوكهم بالقيود وأشرافهم بالأغلال[165]» [cf. Ps. 149:4–8].

ومن الظاهر[166] أن هذه صفة أمة نبيّنا صلى الله عليه وعلى آله[167]، لأنه ليس في غيرهم من الأمم من يكبّر[168] الله بأصوات مرتفعة ومعهم سيوف ذوات شفرتين يقاتلون بها من لا يعبد الله.

[9] وعن شعيا[169] النبي صلى الله عليه[170] وقيل إنه[171] في الفصل الخامس[172]: «لنا ابن[173] سلطانه على[174] كتفه وسلطانه هو حجته» [cf. Isa. 9:6]. وقيل: إن هذا في النقل السرياني، وأما النقل العبراني فقيل: إن فيه[175] «على كتفه علامة النبوة»، وهذان التفسيران متقاربان.

149. لداوود: لداود، أ ف م د.
150. وعلى آله: -، ف مطص.
151. تقلّد: بقلد، ف.
152. ناموسك: قاموسك، أ؛ موشك، ف.
153. يمينك: -، أ ف مطق مطص.
154. وسهامك: وشها، ف، مع إضافة في الهامش: مك.
155. داوود: داود، أ ف م د.
156. صلى الله عليه: ع، م د.
157. تقلّد: بقلد، ف.
158. وخرّت: وحارب، مطق مطص.
159. عليه: + وآله، ف؛ + وآله وسلم، مطص؛ صلى الله عليه: ص، م د.
160. الله: -، أ.
161. ويسبحونه: يسبحونه، م د.
162. الله: + تعالى، م د.
163. لينتقموا: لينتقم، أ ف م د مطق مطص.
164. عز وجل: -، م د.
165. بالأغلال: بالاعلام، ف.
166. الظاهر: الظا، ف، مع إضافة في الهامش: هر.
167. وعلى آله: وآله، ف؛ وآله وسلم، مطص؛ صلى الله عليه وعلى آله: -، م؛ ص، د.
168. يكبّر: يكبرون، م د.
169. شعيا: أشعياء، مطق مطص.
170. عليه: + [وآله وسلم]، مطص؛ صلى الله عليه: ص، م د.
171. أنه: + في هذا في النقل السرياني واما (مشطوب)، أ.
172. الخامس: التاسع، مطق مطص.
173. ابن: بن، أ.
174. على: -، أ ف مطق مطص.
175. فيه: -، م د.

ومن المعلوم المستفيض أن نبيّنا صلى الله عليه وآله[176] كان على كتفه خاتم النبوة ولم ينقل أن[177] ذلك كان لأحدٍ من الأنبياء صلوات الله عليهم[178] سواه.

[10] وفي[179] التوراة[180]، وقيل إنه في السفر الخامس: «قال الله عزّ وجلّ[181]: إني أقيم لبني إسرائيل نبيًّا من إخوتهم[182] مثلك، أجعل كلامي على فمه» [cf. Deut. 18:18].

وهذا يجب أن يكون المراد به نبيّنا صلى الله عليه وآله[183]، لأن إخوة بني إسرائيل يجب أن تكون[184] غيرهم، فيجب[185] أن يكونوا[186] أولاد إسماعيل[187] صلى الله عليه[188]، أو أولاد[189] عيص[190] أو أولاد[191] إسحاق[192]. ولم يكن في أولاد عيص[193] بن إسحاق[194] نبيّ غير أيوب صلى الله عليه[195] وكان هو قبل موسى صلى الله عليه[196]، فلا يصحّ أن يكون هو المراد. فيجب أن يكون المراد[197] نبيّنا صلى الله عليه وآله[198] من ولد إسماعيل[199]. يبيّنّ ذلك[200] أن بني إسرائيل لم يُبعث فيهم نبيّ مثل[201] موسى له شريعة ظاهرة غير[202] المسيح، ولا يصحّ أن يقال: إن[203] المراد به هو المسيح صلى الله عليه[204]، لأن القائل به إما أن يكون يهوديًا منكرًا لنبوته أو نصرانيًا لا يقول إنه كان مثل موسى صلى الله

176. وآله: وعلى آله، أ مطق؛ + وسلم، مطص؛ صلى الله عليه وآله: ص، م د.
177. ينقل أن: ننقل، م.
178. صلوات الله عليهم: د، م د.
179. وفي: في، ف.
180. التوراة: التوارة، مطص.
181. عز وجل: تعالى، ف؛ -، م د.
182. إخوتهم: اخوانهم، ف.
183. وآله: + وسلم، مطص؛ صلى الله عليه وآله: ص، م د.
184. تكون: يكون، م د.
185. فيجب: ويجب، أ ف م مطق مطص.
186. يكونوا: يكون، ف.
187. إسماعيل: اسمعيل، أ ف م د.
188. صلى الله عليه: -، ف م د.
189. أو اولاد: وأولاد، أ مطق مطص؛ اولاد، ف؛ + اسمعيل بن (مشطوب)، م.
190. عيص: عيسو، مطق؛ عيسى، مطص.
191. أو أولاد: بن، م د.
192. إسحاق: اسحق، أ ف م د مطق.
193. عيص: عيسو، مطق؛ عيسى، مطص.
194. إسحاق: اسحق، أ ف مطق؛ بن اسحاق: -، م د.
195. عليه: + وآله، ف؛ صلى الله عليه: ص، م د.
196. صلى الله عليه: ص، م د.
197. المراد: + هو، م د.
198. وآله: -، أ مطق؛ + وسلم، مطص؛ صلى الله عليه وآله: ص، م د.
199. إسماعيل: اسمعيل، أ ف م د.
200. ذلك: ذالك، ف.
201. مثل: قبل، ف.
202. غير: قبل، مطق مطص.
203. إن: -، ف.
204. صلى الله عليه: -، ف م د.

عليه[205]، لأن النصارى يقولون إن المسيح ابن الله فلا[206] يصحّ أن يكون مثل موسى صلى الله عليه[207]. فلم يبق إلّا أن يكون المراد به[208] نبيّنا صلى الله عليه وآله[209]، على أن عيسى صلى الله عليه[210] لم يكن مثل موسى صلى الله عليه[211]، لأن شريعته مبنية على شريعة موسى[212] ولم تنسخ[213] من شريعة موسى إلاّ اليسير[214] وشريعة[215] نبيّنا مثل شريعة موسى صلى الله عليه[216] فإنها لم تبن على شريعة غيره.

[11] وعن شعيا[217] صلى الله عليه[218]: «[6]قيل لي: قم نظارًا فانظر ما ترى تخبر به. [7]قلت: أرى[219] راكبين مقبلين، أحدهما على حمار والآخر على جمل، [9]يقول أحدهما: هَوَتْ آلهة بابل وتكسّرت عليه[220] أصنامها المنجورة» [cf. Isa. 21:6–7, 9].

فكان راكب الحمار عيسى صلى الله عليه[221] وراكب الجمل نبيّنا صلى الله عليه وآله[222]، وآلهة بابل لم تزل تُعبد من لدن إبراهيم[223] صلى الله عليه[224] إلى أن بعث الله نبيّه[225] صلى الله عليه[226]، فعندها هَوَتْ وتكسّرت، واشتهار[227] ركوب النبيّ[228] صلى الله عليه وعلى آله[229] الجمل كاشتهار ركوب[230] عيسى[231] صلى الله عليه[232] الحمار.

[12] وفي التوراة[233]: «إذا جاءت الأمة الآخرة، أتباع راكب البعير، [1]يسبحون الله تسبيحًا جديدًا في الكنائس الجدد [2]فليفرح بنو إسرائيل

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205. صلى الله عليه: ص، م د.
206. فلا: ولا، ف.
207. صلى الله عليه: -، ف م؛ إضافة فوق السطر، أ.
208. به: -، ف.
209. وآله: + وسلم، مطص.
210. صلى الله عليه: -، ف.
211. صلى الله عليه: -، ف.
212. موسى: + ع، م د.
213. تنسخ: ينسخ، م د.
214. ولم ... اليسير: -، مطق مطص.
215. موسى ولم تنسخ من شريعة موسى إلا اليسير وشريعة: -، أ.
216. صلى الله عليه: ص، م د.
217. شعيا: أشعياء، مطق مطص.
218. صلى الله عليه: -، ف؛ ص، م د.
219. أرى: ارا، ف.
220. عليه: -، م د.
221. صلى الله عليه: ص، م د.
222. وآله: + وسلم، مطص؛ صلى الله عليه وآله: ص، م د.
223. إبراهيم: ابرهيم، أ ف م د.
224. صلى الله عليه: ص، م د.
225. نبيه: نبيه محمد، م د؛ نبينا، ف.
226. عليه: + وآله، ف؛ وآله وسلم، مطص؛ صلى الله عليه: ص، م د.
227. واشتهار: فاشتهار، ف.
228. النبيّ: عيسى (مع تصحيح فوق السطر)، أ.
229. وعلى آله: وآله وسلم، مطص؛ وآله، ف؛ صلى الله عليه وعلى آله: ص، م د.
230. ركوب: -، ف.
231. عيسى: المسيح، م د.
232. صلى الله عليه: ص، م د.
233. التوراة: التوارة، مطص.

ويسيرون[234] إلى صهيون ولتطمئن[235] قلوبهم، [3]لأنه[236] اصطفى منهم في الأيام الآخرة أمة جديدة [6]يسبحون الله بأصوات عالية، بأيديهم سيوف ذات[237] شفرتين [7]فينتقمون[238] له[239] من الأمم الكافرة في جميع الأقطار» [cf. Ps. 149].

[13] وعن شعيا[240] النبي صلى الله عليه[241]: «هكذا يقول الرب: إنك ستأتي من جهة[242] التيمن من بلد بعيد[243] ومن أرض البادية مسرعًا قدامك الزوابع والزعازع[244] والرياح[245]» [cf. Isa. 21:1].

والتيمن هو ناحية الجنوب.

[14] وعنه من[246] فصل[247] ذكر[248] هاجر وقال مخاطبًا لها ولبلاد ولدها[249]، مكة: «[1]قومي وأنيري[250] مصباحك[251]، فقد دنا وقتك وكرامة الله[252] طالعة عليك [2]فقد تخللت[253] الأرض الظلام وغطى[254] على الأمم الضباب فالرب يشرق عليك إشراقًا ويظهر كرامته عليك [3]وتسير الأمم إلى نورك والملوك[255] إلى ضوء طلوعك، [4]ارفعي[256] بصرك إلى ما حولك وتأملي، فإنهم سيجتمعون كلّهم إليك ويحجونك ويأتيك ولدك من بلد بعيد، [5]وسترين ذلك فتبتهجين وتفرحين ويستروح قلبك من أجل أنه يميل إليك ذخائر البحر [6]وتحج إليك عساكر الأمم حتى تعمرك الإبل المأبلة[257] وتضيق أرضك عن القطرات التي تجتمع إليك ويساق[258] إليك[259] كباش مدين [7]وتسير إليك أغنام قيدار وتخدمك رخلات[260] نبايوت[261]» [cf. Isa. 60:1–7].

234. ويسيرون: ويسيروا، أ م د.
235. ولتطمئن: فلتطمئن، ف.
236. لأنه: لان الله، م د.
237. ذات: ذوات، ف.
238. فينتقمون: وينتقمون، م د.
239. له: لله، م د.
240. شعيا: أشعياء، مطق مطص.
241. صلى الله عليه: ص، م د.
242. جهة: -، ف.
243. بعيد: بعيده، ف.
244. والزعازع: والرارع، ف؛ والرعارع، مطق مطص.
245. والرياح: من الرياح، م د.
246. من: في، م د.
247. الفصل: + (حاشية) هو الفصل الثاني والعشرين منه، م د.
248. ذكر: + فيه، م د.
249. ولبلاد ولدها: ولبلادها وولدها، أ (مع تصحيح) مطق مطص.
250. وأنيري: واردى، أ؛ فانيري، ف؛ وازهري، م د.
251. مصباحك: مصباحا، ف.
252. الله: + تعالى، م د.
253. تخللت: تخلل، مطق مطص.
254. وغطى: وعطا، أ.
255. والملزك: فالملوك، ف.
256. ارفعي: ارفع، ف.
257. المأبلة: الموبلة، م د.
258. ويساق: وتساق، م د.
259. إليك: -، ف.
260. رخلات: رجالات، أ ف م د.
261. نبايوت: ساوت، أ ف؛ ساوث، م د.

وقيدار هو ابن إسماعيل[262] صلى الله عليه[263] وهو جدّ النبيّ صلى الله عليه[264] ونبايوت[265] هو أخو قيدار وأولاده شديد القلب[266].

[15] ومن[267] كتاب شعيا[268]: « ستمتلي[269] البادية والمدن وقصور[270] آل قيدار يسبحون ومن رؤوس[271] الجبال ينادون هم الذين يجعلون لله الكرامة وينهون[272] تسبيحه في البر والبحر» [cf. Isa. 42:11–13]، «ارفع[273] علمًا لجميع الأمم من بعيد[274] فيصفر[275] بهم[276] من أقاصي الأرض فإذا هم[277] سراع يأتون» [cf. Isa. 5:26–30].

وقيدار ابن[278] إسماعيل[279] هو جدّ النبيّ صلى الله عليه وعلى آله[280] ونداؤهم[281] بالتلبية من رؤوس[282] الجبال وتسبيحهم لله جلّ وعزّ[283] هو الذي ظهر من[284] المسلمين والنبيّ صلى الله عليه[285] هو الذي[286] صفر[287] بالأمم[288] أي نادى[289] فأتوه مسرعين.

[16] وفي الإنجيل قال المسيح صلى الله عليه[290] للحواريين: «أنا ذاهب[291] وسيأتيكم الفارقليط[292]، روح الحقّ، الذي لا يتكلم من قبل نفسه، إنما هو كما يقال له، وهو يشهد عليّ به[293]» [cf. John 15:26–27 with John 16:7, 13].

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262. إسماعيل: اسمعيل، ف م د.
263. صلى الله عليه: ص، م د.
264. عليه: + وآله وسلم، مطص؛ صلى الله عليه: ص، م د.
265. ونبايوت: وساوت، أ ف؛ ساوث، م د.
266. شديد القلب: شدده الست، ف؛ سدته البيت، م د.
267. ومن: وفي، م د.
268. شعيا: أشعياء، مطق مطص.
269. ستمتلي: سماى، ف؛ سكان، مطق مطص.
270. وقصور: من قصور، م د.
271. رؤوس: روس، أ ف م د.
272. وينهون: وسون، م د.
273. ارفع: ارتفع، أ ف؛ يرفع، مطق مطص.
274. من بعيد: -، أ ف مطق مطص.
275. فيصفر: فيصعق، ف.
276. بهم: لهم، مطق مطص.
277. هم: -، م د.
278. ابن: بن، أ ف م مطق مطص.
279. إسماعيل: اسمعيل، ف م د.
280. وعلى آله: وآله وسلم، مطص؛ وآله، ف؛ صلى الله عليه وعلى آله: ص، م د.
281. ونداؤهم: ونداهم، م د.
282. رؤوس: روس، أ ف م د.
283. جل وعز: عز وجل، ف مطص؛ تعالى، م د.
284. من: إضافة من تحت السطر، م.
285. صلى الله عليه: -، ف؛ + وآله وسلم، مطص.
286. الذي: -، أ ف مطق مطص.
287. صفر: صعق، ف.
288. بالأمم: بالاسم، أ ف؛ لمواسم، مطق مطص.
289. نادى: ناداه، ف.
290. صلى الله عليه: -، ف م د.
291. ذاهب: اذهب، ف م د.
292. الفارقليط: العارفليط، ف؛ الفيرقليط، مطق مطص.
293. به: -، م د.

[17] وفي حكاية يوحنا[294] عن المسيح صلى الله عليه[295]: «الفارقليط[296] لا يجيئكم ما لم أذهب فإذا جاء وبخ[297] العالم على[298] الخطيئة ولا يقول من تلقاء نفسه شيئًا ولكنه[299] مما يسمع به يكلمكم ويسوسكم بالحقّ ويخبركم بالحوادث[300] والغيوب» [cf. John 16:7–8, 13].

[18] وفصول كثيرة في التوراة والزبور والإنجيل، وعن شعيا[301] وغيره من الأنبياء صلوات الله عليهم أجمعين[302] غير ما ذكرنا[303] لكنا اقتصرنا على هذا القدر، لأن فيه كفاية. وهذه الفصول يقرّ بها حفّاظ أهل الكتاب وليسوا[304] ينكرون منها إلاّ اسم نبيّنا صلوات الله عليه[305] ويتأوّلون الفصول[306] تأويلات ظاهرة الفساد[307].

ومن المعلوم أن النبيّ صلى الله عليه وعلى آله[308] تلا عليهم[309]: ﴿الذين يتبعون الرسول[310] النبي الأمي الذي يجدونه مكتوبًا عندهم في التوراة والإنجيل﴾ [سورة الأعراف (7) :157]، وتلا[311] حكايةً عن المسيح صلى الله عليه[312] ﴿إني رسول الله[313] إليكم مصدقًا لما بين يدي من التوراة ومبشرًا برسولٍ يأتي[314] من بعدي اسمه أحمد﴾ [سورة الصف (61) :6] و﴿يا[315] أهل الكتاب لم تكفرون بآيات الله وأنتم تشهدون يا أهل[316] الكتاب لم تلبسون الحقّ بالباطل وتكتمون الحقّ وأنتم تعلمون[317]﴾ [سورة آل عمران (3) :71–70]، وتلا ﴿الذين آتيناهم الكتاب يعرفونه كما يعرفون[318] أبناءهم﴾ [سورة البقرة (2) :146]. فلو لم تكن هذه الآيات من عند الله عزّ وجلّ[319] ولم يكن اسمه مكتوبًا في كتبهم ولم يكن[320] أحبارهم عالمين بذلك لم يكن صلى الله عليه وعلى آله[321] يورد عليهم ذلك، لأنه لا يزيدهم إلّا نفارًا عنه وتحقّقًا[322] بتقوله حاشاه من ذلك.

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294. يوحنا: بوحا، أ.
295. صلى الله عليه: ص، م د.
296. الفارقليط: الفيرقليط، مطق مطص.
297. وبخ: الح، م د.
298. على: -، أ ف.
299. ولكنه: ولاكنه، أ؛ ولكن، مطق مطص.
300. ويخبركم بالحوادث: إضافة في هامش ف.
301. شعيا: أشعياء، مطق مطص.
302. صلوات الله عليهم أجمعين: ص، م د.
303. ذكرنا: ذكرناه، م د.
304. وليسوا: وليس، م د.
305. صلوات الله عليه: صلى الله عليه وآله، ف؛ ص، م د.
306. الفصول: النبءات، مطق مطص.
307. تأويلات ظاهرة الفساد: تاويلا طاهر الفساد، ف.
308. وعلى آله: وآله، ف؛ وآله وسام، مطص؛ صلى الله عليه وعلى آله: ص، م د.
309. عليهم: + ان، ف م د.
310. الرسول: -، ف.
311. وتلا: وتلى، ف.
312. صلى الله عليه: ص، م د.
313. الله: + صلى (مشطوب)، أ؛ + صلى الله (مشطوب)، ف.
314. يأتي: إضافة فوق السطر، ف.
315. ويا: وتلا يا، مطق.
316. يا أهل: ياهل، أ ف.
317. يا أهل الكتاب لم تلبسون الحقّ بالباطل وتكتمون الحقّ وأنتم تعلمون: -، مطص.
318. يعرفون: يعرفونه، م د.
319. عزّ وجلّ: تعالى، م د.
320. يكن: + احما (مشطوب)، أ.
321. وعلى آله: واله، ف؛ وعلى آله وسلم، مطص؛ صلى الله عليه وعلى آله: ص، م د.
322. تخففاً: تحققاً، ف، مع تصحيح في الهامش.

فإن قيل[323]: هذا الذي حكيتم من[324] كتب الأنبياء صلوات الله عليهم[325] صحيح وهذه الصفات موجودة في تلك الكتب، إلّا أن الموصوف بها[326] بعد لم يجيء بتّةً[327]. قيل له[328]: أرأيتم[329] إن جاء مَن تدّعونه ثم أنكره منكر، ما يكون برهانكم عليه[330]؟

فإن قيل[331]: إذا جاء[332] أتى بالمعجزات[333] فمهما قالوا[334] في ذلك[335] فهو جوابنا. ثم يقال لهم: إذا أتى مَن توجد[336] فيه الأوصاف المذكورة فيجب أن نعلم[337] أنه هو الذي بشرّ[338] به[339] الأنبياء صلوات[340] الله عليهم[341]، لأنه لا يجوز أن[342] يعرّفنا نبيّ من الأنبياء[343] أنه يأتيكم رجل حاله كذا[344] وصفته كذا[345]، فإذا أتاكم[346] فافعلوا[347] به كذا[348] من تصديق أو تكذيب أو حكم من الأحكام[349]، ثم يأتينا رجل بتلك الصفة ولا[350] يكون هو[351] مرادًا بذلك الخبر، بل يكون المراد غيره والمقصود سواه، لأنه لو كان ذلك[352] كذلك كان[353] ضربًا من التلبيس[354]

323. قيل: قال، ف.
324. من: عن، م د.
325. صلوات الله عليهم: ص، م د.
326. بها: إضافة فوق السطر، ف.
327. بتة: إضافة فوق السطر، أ؛ -، ف؛ بعد لم يجيء بتّةً: لم يجئ بعد بتة، مطق مطص؛ بعد لم يجيء، م د.
328. له: لهم، م د.
329. أرأيتم: لقد رايتم، ف.
330. عليه: عليكم، م د.
331. قيل: + فانه، م د.
332. جاء: -، ف.
333. بالمعجزات: بالمعجزة، ف؛ + قيل له وقد اتى نبينا من بالايات المعجزة، م د.
334. قالوا: وقالوا، م د.
335. ذلك: ذالك، ف.
336. توجد: يوجد، م د.
337. نعلم: يعلم، ف م د.
338. بشر: بشرت، مطق مطص.
339. بشر به: شرت به، مطق.
340. صلوات: صلى، ف.
341. صلوات الله عليهم: ص، م د.
342. أن: إضافة فوق السطر، أ.
343. الأنبياء: + ص، م د.
344. كذا: كذى، ف.
345. كذا: كذى، ف.
346. فإذا أتاكم: -، ف.
347. فافعلوا: فافعلوه، ف.
348. كذا: كذى، ف.
349. حكم من الأحكام: -، مطق/مطص؛ اولكم من الامام، ف.
350. ولا: لا، ف.
351. هو: -، ف.
352. ذلك: ذالك، ف؛ -، م د.
353. كان: لكان، ف.
354. التلبيس: الدلس، ف.

ويجب[355] أن يمنع الله عزّ وجلّ[356] منه. وفي هذا[357] إبطال هذا السؤال[358].

فإن قيل[359]: بيّنوا أن تلك[360] الأوصاف حاصلة لنبيّكم صلى الله عليه وعلى آله[361]، قيل له: ما وُجِد[362] في التوراة «جاء الله من سيناء وأشرق من ساعير واستعلن من جبال[363] فاران» لا التباس في أن المراد بقوله «واستعلن من جبال[364] فاران[365]»، هو ابتعاثه[366] رسول الله صلى الله عليه وعلى آله[367]، لأن جبال فاران لا إشكال في أنها جبال مكة، ولم تظهر[368] عبادة الله عزّ وجلّ[369] وتسبيحه وتهليله وخلع الأصنام والأنداد بمكة ظهورًا انتشر في الآفاق[370] وتحمله[371] الركبان إلّا برسول[372] الله صلى الله عليه[373] كما أن ظهور ذلك بطور[374] سيناء لم يكن إلّا بموسى صلى الله عليه وعلى آله وسلم[375] وظهوره بساعير[376] لم يكن إلّا بعيسى صلى الله عليه[377]، وفي ذلك[378] ثبوت أن هذه البشارة كانت بشارة بالنبيّ صلى الله عليه[379]، لأنه لو جاز أن يقال ذلك[380] في موسى وعيسى صلى الله عليهما[381] لجاز في محمد صلى الله عليه[382].

وأنت إذا تأملتَ الأوصاف التي ذكرنا[383] وبيّناها[384] وجدتَ جميعها في رسول الله صلى الله عليه[385] وصفًا وصفًا[386]، فيتبين لك أنه[387]

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355. ويجب: ومثله يجب، م د.
356. عز وجل: إضافة فوق السطر، أ؛ تعالى، م د.
357. وفي هذا: وهذا، م د.
358. السؤال: -، ف.
359. قيل: قال، ف.
360. تلك: ذالك، ف.
361. وعلى آله: وآله وسلم، مطص؛ صلى الله عليه وعلى آله: ص، م د.
362. وجد: وجدنا، ف؛ جاء، مطق مطص.
363. جبال: جبل، مطق مطص.
364. جبال: جبل، مطق مطص.
365. لا التباس في أن المراد بقوله واستعلن من جبال فاران: -، ف.
366. هو ابتعاثه: وهو ابتعاث، ف؛ هو ابتعاث، م د.
367. وعلى آله: واله، ف؛ وآله وسلم، مطص؛ صلى الله عليه وعلى آله: ص، م د.
368. تظهر: يظهر، م د.
369. عزّ وجلّ: تعالى، م د.
370. الآفاق: الاوفاق، ف مع تصحيح.
371. وتحمله: مكرر مشطوب، ف.
372. برسول: رسول، م د.
373. عليه: + اله، ف؛ وآله وسلم، مطص؛ صلى الله عليه: ص.
374. بطور: بطهور، أ؛ بظهور، مطق مطص.
375. وعلى آله وسلم: -، ف مطص؛ صلى الله عليه وعلى آله وسلم: ص، م د.
376. وظهوره بساعير: وظهور ساعير، ف؛ بساعر: ساعر، مطق.
377. صلى الله عليه: ص، م د.
378. ذلك: ذالك، ف.
379. عليه: + اله، ف مطص؛ صلى الله عليه: ص، م د.
380. ذلك: ذالك، ف.
381. ذلك في موسى وعيسى صلى الله عليهما: ان المبشر بهذا بعد لم يظهر جاز ان يقال ذلك في موسى وعيسى ص، م د.
382. لجاز في محمد صلى الله عليه: -، أ ف؛ + وسلم، مطص.
383. ذكرنا: ذكرناها، م د مطق.
384. وبيناها: وبينا (مع تصحيح فوق السطر)، أ.
385. عليه: + اله، ف؛ + وآله وسلم، مطص؛ صلى الله عليه: ص، م د.
386. وصفًا: -، ف.
387. أنه: ان، ف.

الموصوف بها[388]. فإذا[389] ثبت ذلك[390] ثبت[391] أنه المشير[392] بها، لأن خلاف ذلك[393] لا يجوز في حكمة الله[394] الحكيم[395] عزّ وجلّ[396].

IV.

Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl b. Zayd al-Ḥusaynī al-Šağarī al-Ǧurǧānī ("al-Muwaffaq bi-llāh," d. after 420/1029), a former student of *qāḍī l-quḍāt* ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamaḏānī and one of the companions of the Imām al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh, composed a *Kitāb al-Iḥāṭa*, a comprehensive theological *summa* in the Bahšamite Muʿtazilite tradition.[397] In his discussion of prophecy, al-Muwaffaq includes a chapter devoted to Judaism ("Bāb al-kalām ʿalā l-Yahūd"), discussing and refuting the reservations of the Jews on the veracity of Muḥammad's prophethood. The chapter concludes with a section devoted to biblical annunciations of the Prophet Muḥammad (*faṣl fīmā wuǧida fī l-kutub al-sālifa min al-bišāra bi-l-nabī Muḥammad ṣallā llāh ʿalayhi wa-ʿalā ālihi*). In it, the author adduces the same scriptural testimonies that are found in al-Muʾayyad's *Iṯbāt nubuwwat al-nabī*, invariably in identical translation. Al-Muwaffaq was no doubt familiar with al-Muʾayyad's *Iṯbāt* and the latter work had clearly served him as a primary source. However, al-Muwaffaq's comments on the respective scriptural passages are entirely independent from al-Muʾayyad's and are, as a rule, more detailed. He also slightly rearranged the scriptural passages (see below, Table and he concludes the section with a pseudoscriptural passage (section [18]) that has no parallel in al-Muʾayyad's *Iṯbāt*.

388. الموصوف بها: مكرر في ف.
389. فإذا: واذا، م د.
390. ذلك: ذالك، ف.
391. ثبت: -، ف.
392. المشير: المشتهر، ف.
393. ذلك: ذالك، ف؛ + مما، مطق.
394. الله: إضافة فوق السطر، أ.
395. الحكيم: -، ف.
396. عزّ وجلّ: تعالى، م د.

397. For al-Muwaffaq bi-llāh and his writings, see the editor's introduction to al-Muwaffaq's *al-Iʿtibār wa-salwat al-ʿārifīn*, 7–38 (with further references).

Iṯbāt nubuwwat al-nabī	*al-Iḥāṭa*
[1] Deut. 33:2	[1] Deut. 33:2
[2] Gen. 21:21	[2] Gen. 21:21
[3] Gen. 16:8–12	[3] Gen. 16:8–12
[4] Isa. 35:1f. (= *Iḥāṭa* [6])	[4] Ps. 149 (= *Iṯbāt* [12])
[5] Hab. 3:3	[5] Deut. 18:18 (= *Iṯbāt* [10])
[6] Ps. 72:8–13, 15, 17	[6] Isa. 35:1f. (= *Iṯbāt* [4])
[7] Ps. 45:3–6	[7] Hab. 3:3
[8] Ps. 149	[8] Ps. 72:8–13, 15, 17
[9] Isa. 9:6	[9] Ps. 45:3–6
[10] Deut. 18:18 (= *Iḥāṭa* [5])	[10] Ps. 149
[11] Isa. 21:6-8	[11] Isa. 9, 6
[12] Ps. 149 (= *Iḥāṭa* [4])	[12] Isa. 21, 6, 7, 8
[13] Isa. 21, 1f.	[13] Isa. 21, 1f.
[14] Isa. 60, 1-7	[14] Isa. 60, 1-7
[15] Isa. 42, 11-13; Isa 5, 26-30	[15] Isa. 42, 11-13; Isa 5, 26-30
[16] John 14, 26-27	[16] John 14, 26-27
[17] John 16, 7-13	[17] John 16, 7-13
	[18] "Daniel"

The following edition is based on MS Leiden Or. 8409, ff. 32b:14–36a:3, an apparently unique copy of the text that contains volume 2 only. The transcription of the codex for the library (*ḫizāna*) of the Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza (r. 583/1187–88–614/1217)[398] was completed in Šaʿbān 605/February–March 1209 and the copy was collated by Muḥyī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Walīd.[399] In addition, volume 1 of a paraphrastic recension of the work by an anonymous author, *Taʿlīq al-Iḥāṭa*, has been preserved in a unique manuscript (dated 18 Ḏū l-ḥiǧǧa 607/June 2, 1211; MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-awqāf, 2317),[400] which also includes the relevant section (ff. 251b:8–254b:15, abbreviated in the following as ت). As the *Taʿlīq* mostly agrees with the original *Kitāb al-Iḥāṭa*, variations from the latter are indicated in the annotation.

398. The title page is only partly legible. It has the following (incomplete) note:

[...] / لخزانة مولانا ومالكنا الإمام الأجل المنصور بالله عز وجل / أمير المؤمنين عبد الله بن حمزة بن سليمان بن رسول الله / صلى الله عليه وعلى آله جدد الله نصره وأعلى قدره

399. For a description of the manuscript, see Voorhoeve, *Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts*, 124. For Ibn al-Walīd, see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies*, chapter 1.

400. For a description of the manuscript, see al-Ruqayḫī, ʿAbd al-Allāh al-Ḥibšī, and ʿAlī Wahhāb al-Ānsī, *Fihrist*, 2/571. Microfilm copies of the manuscript are also preserved in the Dār al-maḫṭūṭāt in Sanaa and in the Āstān-i quds Library in Mashhad (as well as other Iranian libraries); see Murādī, "Fihrist," 143; al-Mašriqī and al-Qāḍī, *Ṭāwūs-i yamānī*, 413 (here, for no obvious reason, Ibn Mattawayh is mentioned as a possible author of the commentary).

فصل فيما وُجد في الكتب السالفة من البشارة بالنبي محمد صلى الله عليه وعلى آله

اعلم أن ذلك[401] في الكتب والروايات كثير ونحن نشير إلى جملةً منه مما لا ينكره[402] أهل المعرفة والحفاظ منهم أنه كذلك[403] وإنما يخالفوننا في تأويله.

[1] فمن ذلك المشهور الظاهر في التورات وكَتب كثيرٌ من أصحاب التأريخ والرواية أنه[404] في السفر الأخير في الفصل العشرين: «قد جاء الله من سيناء وأشرق من ساعير[405] واستعلن[406] من جبال فاران» [cf. Deut. 33:2]. فأراد بقوله[407] «جاء الله[408] من سيناء» أي بعث الله تعالى[409] موسى بن عمران عليه السلام من جبل طور سيناء وقيل أن مراد الله تعالى في القرآن بقوله ﴿وَشَجَرَةً تَخْرُجُ مِن طُورِ سَيْنَاءَ﴾ [سورة المؤمنون (23): 20] هو هذا الجبل وهو الذي يقال أنه تعالى ناجى موسى فيه وصار [33أ] كليمه وسمى عند ذلك كليم الله تعالى[410]. وأراد عزّ وجلّ بقوله[411] «وأشرق من ساعير» عيسى بن مريم المسيح[412] عليه السلام من ساعير وهي الناحية[413] التي كان منها عيسى صلى الله عليه ولا يمتنع أن يكون قوله «وأشرق» بمعنى[414] الإشراق وهما لآثاره أي آثار ببعثة المسيح عليه السلام من ساعير الذي بعث هو عليه السلام إليهم. وأراد بقوله[415] «واستعلن[416] من جبال فاران» بعثة[417] نبيّنا محمد[418] صلى الله عليه وآله[419] من جبال مكة لأنها تسمى في التورات جبال فاران لا يدفعه أحد ممن يعرف التورات[420].

[2] وفي التورات[421] «أن إبراهيم صلى الله عليه[422] أسكن هاجر وإسماعيل جبال فاران» [cf. Gen. 21:21]، يعنى مكة ولم يبعث أحدًا من الرسل عليهم السلام بعثة ظاهرة فشا أمره وشاع[423] شرعه في مشارق الأرض ومغاربها وأدانيها وأقاصيها على موجب قوله «واستعلن[424]

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401. ذلك: البشارة، ت.
402. تنكره: ننكر، ت.
403. والحفاظ منهم أنه كذلك: -، ت.
404. أنه: أن، الأصل.
405. ساعير: ساعيرف، ت.
406. واستعلن: واستعلى، ت.
407. فأراد بقوله: فاراد قوله، الأصل؛ اراد بقوله، ت.
408. الله: اليه، ت.
409. تعالى: -، ت.
410. وقيل أن مراد الله تعالى في القرآن بقوله ... وسمى عند ذلك كليم الله تعالى: -، ت.
411. عزّ وجلّ بقوله: بقوله عز وجل، ت.
412. لمسيح: -، ت.
413. من ساعير وهي الناحية: والساعير الناحية، ت.
414. عيسى بن مريم المسيح عليه السلام من ساعير وهي الناحية التي كان منها عيسى صلى الله عليه ولا يمتنع أن يكون قوله وأشرق بمعنى: إضافة في هامش الأصل.
415. ولا يمتنع أن يكون قوله ... من ساعير الذي بعث هو عليه السلام إليهم وأراد بقوله: -، ت.
416. واستعلن: واستعلى، ت.
417. وأراد بقوله «واستعلن من جبال فاران» بعثة: واستعلى من جبال فاران اراد به، ت.
418. محمد: -، ت.
419. وآله: -، ت.
420. من جبال مكة لأنها تسمى في التورات جبال فاران لا يدفعه أحد ممن يعرف التورات: لان جبال فاران انما هو جبال مكة لان جبال مكة في التورات يسما جبال فاران، ت.
421. التورات: + أيضا، ت.
422. صلى الله عليه: عليه السلام، ت.
423. وشاع: + امره (مشطوب)، الأصل.
424. واستعلن: واستعلى، ت.

من جبال فاران» إلا نبيّنا عليه السلام[425] لأن استعلن بمعنى «على» و«أظهر» و«جلى»[426]، وليس لأحد أن يقول أن[427] قوله «استعلن[428]» فعل ماضٍ يقتضي أنه تعالى قد أعلن[429]، لا أنه يستعلن[430]، لأنه لا قبله نبيّ أعلى دينه وفشا [ت252أ] شرعه من مكة إلا نبيّنا عليه السلام[431]، ولأنه أراد بذلك الاستقبال وإن ذكر لفظ الماضي كما أراد بقوله «جاء الله من سينا وأشرق من ساعير[432]».

[3] وفي التورات أيضًا «إن هاجر تراءى لها ملك وقال: يا هاجر أني سأكثر ذريتك وزرعك حتى لا يحصوا كثرة وها أنت تحبلين وتلدين ابنًا وتسمينه إسماعيل، لأن الله عزّ وجلّ قد سمع خشوعك وتكون يده فوق الجميع ويد الجميع مبسوطة إليه بالخضوع» [cf. Gen. 16:8–12]. وقد علمنا أن المراد به ولد إسماعيل وهو رسول الله صلى الله عليه وعلى آله[433] لأن إسماعيل عليه السلام لم يكن فوق إسحاق ولا كانت يد إسحاق ولا يد[434] ولديه يعقوب وعيص مبسوطة إليه بالخضوع، ولم يكن في ولد إسماعيل من كانت أيدي أولاد إسرائيل وعيص وسائر الناس ممتدّة إليه ومبسوطة غير محمد صلى الله عليه وعلى آله[435] إذ هو الذي دانت رقاب الملوك من آل إبراهيم وغيرهم وخضعت الأمم له[436] وانقادت وصارت الإمامة [33ب] والملك في أهله وصارت أيديهم فوق أيدي الجميع وأيدي الجميع مبسوطة إليهم كما وُعدت هاجر فانكشفت أنه[437] بشارة لجدّنا محمد صلى الله عليه.

[4] وفي التورات «إذا جاءت الأمة الآخرة اتباع راكب البعير يسبّحون الله تسبيحًا جديدًا في الكنائس الجدد فليفرح بنو إسرائيل ويسيروا إلى صهيون فلتطمئن[438] قلوبهم لأن الله اصطفى منهم في الأيام[439] الآخرة أمة جديدة يسبحون[440] الله بأصوات عالية بأيديهم سيوف ذات شفرتين فينتقمون لله من الأمم الكافرة في جميع الأقطار» [cf. Ps. 149].

[5] وفي التورات وقيل أنه[441] في السفر الخامس «قال الله: إني أقيم لبني إسرائيل نبيًا من إخوتهم مثلك أجعل كلامي على فمه» [cf. Deut. 18:18].

وهذا يجب أن يكون المراد به[442] نبيّنا عليه السلام[443] لأن[444] أخوة بني إسرائيل يجب أن يكونوا أولاد إسماعيل أو أولاد[445] عيص بن

425. إلا نبيّنا عليه السلام: الانبيا صلى الله عليهم، ت.
426. لأن استعلن بمعنى على وأظهر وجلى: -، ت.
427. أن: -، ت.
428. استعلن: استعلى، ت.
429. أعلن: اعلى، ت.
430. يستعلن: دستعلى، ت.
431. عليه السلام: صلى الله عليه، ت.
432. ساعير: + فلفظه لفظ الماضي وأراد به الاستقبال، ت.
433. وعلى آله: وآله، ت.
434. يد: إضافة فوق السطر، الأصل.
435. وعلى آله: -، ت.
436. الأمم له: له الأمم، ت.
437. أنه: -، الأصل؛ والإضافة عن ت
438. فلتطمئن: ولتطمئن، ت.
439. الأيام: إضافة فوق السطر، الأصل.
440. يسبحون: ويسبحون، ت.
441. وقيل أنه: -، ت.
442. به: -، ت.
443. عليه السلام: صلى الله عليه، ت.
444. لأن: ان، الأصل؛ والتصحيح عن ت.
445. أو أولاد: واولاد، ت.

إسحاق، ولم يكن في أولاد عيص نبيّ غير أيوب وكان هو عليه السلام[446] قبل موسى صلى الله عليه[447] فيجب [ت252ب] أن يكون «مثله»[448] هو نبيّنا عليه السلام[449] لأنه كان[450] من ولد إسماعيل. يوضح ذلك أن بني إسرائيل لم يبعث فيهم نبيّ بعد[451] موسى له شريعة[452] ظاهرة غير المسيح[453]، لأن القائل[454] إما أن يكون يهوديًا منكرًا لنبوته[455] أو نصرانيًا لا يقول أنه كان مثل موسى عليه السلام، لأن النصارى يقولون أن المسيح ابن الله فلا يصحّ أن يكون مثل موسى، فلم يبق إلا أن يكون المراد به نبيّنا عليه السلام[456]. وقيل: إن عيسى[457] لم يكن مثل موسى[458] لأن شريعته مبنية[459] على شريعة موسى[460] ولم يُنسخ من شريعة موسى إلا اليسير[461]، وشريعة نبيّنا هي مثل شريعة موسى فإنها لم تبن على شريعة غيره[462]، ولا نبيّ جعل كتابه[463] من أوله إلى آخره كله كلامه[464] تعالى إلا رسولنا عليه السلام[465]، لأن الإنجيل وغيره ليس من أوله إلى آخره كله كلامه تعالى[466] وكلامه تعالى تلاوته صلى الله عليه بكلامه تعالى يأمن الخلق[467] وادّعى لأجله النبوة على ما بيّنّاه من وجه دلالته ويسمى صاحب التلاوة والهراوه في بعض الكتب إلا وهو[468].

[6] وفي كتاب شعياء النبي عليه السلام «لتفرح أرض [34أ] البادية العطشى ولتبتهج البرارى والفلوات ولتخرج نور كنور الشسلبذ ولتزه لأنها ستعطى بأحمد محاسن لبنان وما أحسن الدساكر والرياض» [cf. Isa 35:1–2]. ومعلوم أن البادية لم يحصل لها ولفلواتها المحاسن إلا بالإسلام والمسلمين فبان أنه بشارة به عليه السلام فكيف وصريح اسمه فيه وهو أحمد، وفي أهل الكتاب من ينكر هذا الاسم على عادتهم في التحريف.

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446. وكان هو عليه السلام: وهو عليه السلام كان، ت.
447. صلى الله عليه: عليه السلام، ت.
448. مثله: -، الأصل؛ والإضافة عن ت.
449. عليه السلام: صلى الله عليه، ت.
450. لأنه كان: -، الأصل؛ والإضافة من ت.
451. بعد: مثل، الأصل، والتصحيح عن ت.
452. له شريعة: عليه السلام شريعته، ت.
453. المسيح: + عليه السلام، ت.
454. القائل: + به، الأصل، والتصحيح عن ت.
455. منكرًا لنبوته: -، ت.
456. لا يقول أنه كان مثل موسى عليه السلام لأن النصارى ... فلم يبق إلا أن يكون المراد به نبيّنا عليه السلام: فان كان يهوديا فلا يقولون بنبوة عيسى عليه السلام وان كان نصرانيا فهم يقولون ان المراد بهذا المثل يجب ان يكون نبينا صلى الله عليه، ت.
457. عيسى: + عليه السلام، ت.
458. مثل موسى: شريعته مخالفة لشريعة موسى عليه السلام إلا اليسير، ت.
459. شريعته مبنية: شريعة عيسى عليه السلام اكثرها كان مبنيا، ت.
460. موسى: + عليه السلام وشريعة نبينا صلى الله عليه انما كانت بخلاف ذلك، ت.
461. ولم تُنسخ من شريعة موسى إلا اليسير: ولان شريعة موسى عليه السلام انما نسخت شريعة الانبيا الذين تقدموا ولم تنسخ شريعة عيسى عليه السلام بتلك الشرائع كما نسخت شريعة موسى عليه السلام، ت.
462. وشريعة نبيّنا هي مثل شريعة موسى فإنها لم تبن على شريعة غيره: -، ت.
463. ولا نبيّ جعل كتابه: ولانه لم يكن احد من الانبيا عليهم السلام بعد موسى عليه السلام اظهر عليه كتابا، ت.
464. كلامه: كلام الله، ت.
465. رسولنا عليه السلام: نبينا صلى الله عليه، ت.
466. تعالى: + الا رسولنا (مشطوب).
467. الخلق: الحلى، الأصل، والتصحيح عن ت.
468. لأن الإنجيل وغيره ليس من أوله إلى آخره كله كلامه تعالى وكلامه تعالى تلاوته صلى الله عليه بكلامه تعالى يأمن الخلق وادّعى لأجله النبوة على ما بيّنّاه من وجه دلالته ويسمى صاحب التلاوة والهراوه في بعض الكت إلا وهو: ولذلك سمي له صاحب التلاوة والهراوة وبهذا الكتاب يأمن الخلق وادعى النبوة فإذا كان كذلك ثبت ان المراد بقوله أني أقيم لبني إسرائيل نبيا من أخوتكم مثلك اجعل كلامي على فمه اراد به نبينا صلى الله عليه، ت.

[7] وعن حبقوق النبي عليه السلام «جاء الله من التيمن والمقدس من جبال فاران وامتلأت الأرض من تمجيد[469] أحمد وتقديسه وملك الأرض ورقاب الأمم» [cf. Hab. 3:3–4]، وجبال فاران هي جبال مكة، فهل ذلك إلا النبي عليه السلام وهل ملك رقاب الأمم والأرض[470] من جبال [ت253أ] فاران غيره[471] عليه السلام؟

[8] وقال داوود في مزموره في صفة النبي صلى الله عليه وعلى آله[472] «أنه يجوز من البحر إلى البحر ومن لدن الأنهار إلى منقطع الأرض وأنه تخرّ[473] أهل الجزائر بين يديه على ركبهم ويلحس[474] أعداؤه التراب تأتيه الملوك بالقرابين وتسجد له وتدين له الأمم بالطاعة والانقياد لأنه يخلص المضطهد البائس ممن هو[475] أقوى منه وينقذ الضعيف الذي لا ناصر له ويرؤف بالضعفاء والمساكين وأنه يعطى من ذهب بلاد سبا ويصلى عليه في كل[476] وقت ويبارك عليه في كل يوم ويدوم ذكره إلى الأبد وإن اسمه لموجودٍ قبل الشمس والأمم كلها يتبركون به وكلهم يحمدونه» [cf. Ps. 72:8–13, 15, 17]. قيل: معناه يسمونه[477] محمدًا.

[9] وفي مزمور آخر لداوود صلى الله عليه «تقلد السيف فإن ناموسك وشريعتك مقرونة بهيبة يمينك وسهامك مسنونة والأمم يخرون تحتك» [cf. Ps. 45:3–5]. وليس في الأنبياء عليهم السلام بعد داوود من تقلد السيف وخرّت الأمم تحته ومن قرنت شريعته بالهيبة غير نبيّنا عليه السلام.

[10] وأيضًا في الزبور «إن الله اصطفى أمته وأعطاه النصر وسدّد الصالحين منهم بالكرامة يسبحونه على مضاجعهم ويكبّرون الله بأصوات مرتفعة بأيديهم سيوف ذوات[478] شفرتين[479] [34ب] لينتقم الله عزّ وجلّ من الأمم الذين لا يعبدونه يوثقون ملوكهم بالقيود وأشرافهم بالأغلال» [cf. Ps. 149]. وذلك صفة أمة[480] نبيّنا عليه السلام[481] لأنه ليس في غيرهم من الأمم أمة يكبّرون الله بأصوات مرتفعة وبأيديهم[482] سيوف ذوات[483] شفرتين يقاتلون بها من لا يعبد الله تعالى إلا أمة نبيّنا عليه السلام[484].

[11] وعن شعياء النبي عليه السلام وقيل أنه في الفصل الخامس «لنا ابن[485] سلطانه على كتفه هو حجته» [cf. Isa. 9:6] وقيل إن هذا في النقل السرياني وأما في الرواية العبرانية «على كتفه علامة النبوة» وكلاهما يتفاوتان في المعنى، ومن المستفيض الظاهر أنه كان على كتفه صلى الله عليه وعلى آله[486] خاتم النبوة ولم يرو أنه كان لأحد من الأنبياء عليهم السلام سواه. [ت253ب] ومن الظاهر حديث سيف ذي تزن لما ورد مكة ورأى تحيّة عبد المطلب جدّ النبي عليه السلام إياه فاقتصّ آثار النبوة وشمها منه، فقال إنه سيولد لكم غلام وجهه كالقمر وأعداؤه اليهود وعلى كتفه علامة النبوة أو ما معناه هذا فاحفظه عن اليهود، فقال عبد المطلب: إنه قد ولد لنا غلام كذلك، فقال: لولا إني أخشى أن لا

469. تمجيد: بحمد، ت.
470. والأرض: -، ت.
471. غيره: غير نبينا، ت.
472. وعلى آله: -، ت.
473. تخرّ: بجثو، الأصل ت، والتصحيح عن المؤيد.
474. ويلحس: ولبجشن، الأصل؛ ولبحس، ت.
475. ممن هو: وهو، ت.
476. كل: -، الأصل؛ والإضافة عن ت.
477. يسمونه: سمونه، ت.
478. ذوات: ذات، ت.
479. شفرتين: مكرر في الأصل.
480. أمة: -، الأصل؛ والإضافة عن ت.
481. عليه السلام: صلى الله عليه، ت.
482. وبأيديهم: ومعهم، الأصل، والتصحيح عن ت.
483. ذوات: ذات، ت.
484. عليه السلام: صلى الله عليه، ت.
485. ابن: قى ان، الأصل؛ بى امر، ت؛ والتصحيح عن المؤيد وعن ابن قتيبة.
486. وعلى آله: -، ت.

نبقى إلى مبعثه[487] لسرت إليه بخيلى وأظهرته فأكرمه وأعظمه[488] وأسنى بإبله، وقال: كذا وجدناه في الكتب أو العلوم المخزونة وقد كان[489] عمر[490] بن الخطاب يروى أنه كان على كتف رسول الله[491] شامة مكتوب عليها محمد رسول الله وفي أصحابه[492] عليه السلام من توصّل إلى أن كشف له[493] عليه السلام فقبلها وهو ظاهر عند أهل الرواية والتأريخ مطابق لما في الكتب المتقدمة.

[12] وروى عن شعياء[494] عليه السلام «قيل لي قم نظارًا فانظر ما ترى تخبر به. قلت: أرى راكبين مقبلين أحدهما على حمار والآخر على جمل، يقول أحدهما: هوت آلهة بابل وتكسرت أصنامها المنجورة» [cf. Isa. 21:6, 7, 9]. فكان راكب الحمار عيسى عليه السلام وراكب الجمل نبيّنا صلى الله عليه[495] وآلهة بابل لم تزل تعبد من لدن إبراهيم عليه السلام إلى أن بعث الله تعالى[496] نبيّه محمد صلى الله عليه وعلى آله[497] فعندها هوت [35أ] وتكسرت واشتهاره صلى الله عليه وعلى آله[498] بركوب الجمل كاشتهار المسيح عليه السلام بركوب الحمار. ويسئل شعياء[499] عليه السلام عن القيامة فقال: إذا خرج راكبان راكب حمار وراكب جمل فمثل أمته مثل[500] المرأة الحبلى لا يدرى متى تضع أي لا يدرى متى تهج القيامة وتثور فيهم.

[13] وعن[501] شعياء النبيّ صلى الله عليه[502]: «هكذا يقول الربّ: إنك ستأتى من جهة التيمن من بلد بعيد ومن أرض البادية مسرعًا قدامك الزوابع وزعازع من الرياح» [cf. Isa. 21:1f]، والتيمن هو ناحية الجنوب.

[14] وعنه عليه السلام في فصل آخر ذكر هاجر وقال مخاطبًا لها ولبلاد ولدها مكة: «قومي وأزهري مصباحك فقد دنا وقتك وكرامة الله طالعة عليك فقد تخلّلت الأرض الظلام وغطى على الأمم الضباب فالرب يشرق عليك إشراقًا ويظهر كرامته عليك[503] وتسير الأمم إلى نورك والملوك إلى ضوء طلوعك[504]، ارفعي بصرك إلى ما حولك [ت254أ] وتأمّلي، فإنهم سيجتمعون كلهم إليك ويحجونك ويأتيك ولدك من بعيد، وسترين ذلك[505] فتبتهجين وتفرحين ويستروح قلبك من أجل أنه يميل إليك ذخائر البحر وتحج إليك عساكر الأمم حتى تعمرك الإبل المؤبلة وتضيق أرضك عن القطرات التي تجتمع إليك ويساق إليك كباش مدين وتسير إليك أغنام[506] قيدار وتخدمك[507] رخلات[508] نبايوت»

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487. مبعثه: بعثته، ت.
488. وأعظمه: وعظمه، الأصل، والتصحيح عن ت.
489. كان: + بن، الأصل، والتصحيح عن ت.
490. عمر: عمرو، ت.
491. الله: + صلى الله عليه، ت.
492. أصحابه: صحابة، ت.
493. له: + رسول الله، ت.
494. شعياء: + النبي، ت.
495. نبينا صلى الله عليه: عليه السلام، الأصل، والتصحيح عن ت.
496. تعالى: -، ت.
497. وعلى آله: -، ت.
498. وعلى آله: -، ت.
499. شعياء: + النبي، ت.
500. مثل: كمثل، ت.
501. وعن: ومن، ت.
502. صلى الله عليه: عليه السلام، ت.
503. عليك: لعله مشطوب في الأصل.
504. طلوعك: طوعك، ت.
505. وسترين ذلك: -، ت.
506. أغنام: اعماق، ت.
507. وتخدمك: وبحلفك، ت.
508. رخلات: رجالات علام: الأصل؛ رجالات، ت.

[cf. Isa. 60:1–7]. وقيدار هو ابن[509] إسماعيل عليه السلام وهو جدّ النبي عليه السلام[510] ونبايوت هو أخو قيدار وأولاده شديد البيت.

[15] وفي كتاب شعياء[511] «ستمتلى البادية والمدن من قصور آل قيدار يسبحون ومن[512] رؤوس الجبال ينادون هم الذين يجعلون لله الكرامة ويلبون تسبيحه في البر والبحر» [cf. Isa. 42:11–13] «ارفع علمًا لجميع من يعبد فيصفر لهم من أقاصي الأرض فإذا سراع يأتون» [cf. Isa. 5:26–30]. وقيدار[513] بن إسماعيل هو جدّ النبيّ عليه السلام وقولهم بالتلبية من رؤوس الجبال وتسبيحهم لله جلّ وعزّ[514] هو الذي ظهر من المسلمين والنبي عليه السلام هو الذي ظفر بالأمم إذ نادى فأتوه مسرعين.

[16] وفي الإنجيل قال [35ب] المسيح للحواريين: «أنا أذهب وسيأتيكم الفارقليط روح الحقّ الذي لا[515] يتكلّم من قبل نفسه إنما هو كما يقال له وهو يشهد عليّ» [cf. John 15:26–27 with John 16:7, 13].

[17] وفي حكاية يوحنا الديلمي عن المسيح عليه السلام: «الفارقليط لا يجيئكم ما لم أذهب فإذا جاء وبخ[516] العالم على الخطية ولا يقول من تلقاء نفسه شيئًا ولكنه مما يسمع به يكلمهم[517] ويسوسكم بالحقّ ويخبركم بالحوادث والغيوب» [cf. John 16:7–8, 13]. ومعروف بشارة يوحنا الديلمي بالنبيّ عليه السلام هذا[518] والمجوس كانوا يظهرون خروجه عليه السلام ويعدون أوقات خروجه.

[18] وفي كتاب دينيال النبيّ عليه السلام «ذلك[519] حين رأى أنو شروان رؤياه[520] وأبلغ خمود نار فارس سأل سطحا ابن أخيه عنه وقال ظهر على سياحة الأرض صاحب الهراوة والتلاوة». وذلك مما لا يعد ولا يحصى في الكتب فأوردنا جملةً منه تأكيدًا لما قدمناه من الأدلة وإلا فسواء أوردناه ولم نورده فما[521] ذكرناه كافٍ في إقامة الحجة[522] [ت254ب] والدلالة على نبوته صلى الله عليه ومما[523] نبه القرآن عليه هو قوله تعالى ﴿الَّذِينَ يَتَّبِعُونَ الرَّسُولَ[524] النَّبِيَّ الْأُمِّيَّ الَّذِي يَجِدُونَهُ مَكْتُوبًا عِنْدَهُم فِي التَّوْرَاةِ وَالإِنْجِيلِ﴾ [سورة الأعراف (7): 157] وقوله ﴿يَعْرِفُونَهُ كَمَا يَعْرِفُونَ أَبْنَاءَهُم﴾ [سورة البقرة (2): 146]، أي صفته يعلمون ضرورةً على حدّ ما في التورات، وقوله ﴿يَا أَهْلَ[525] الكِتَابِ لِمَ تَلْبِسُونَ الحَقَّ بِالبَاطِلِ وَتَكْتُمُونَ الحَقَّ وَأَنْتُم تَعْلَمُونَ﴾ [سورة آل عمران (3): 71] وقوله تعالى[526] ﴿مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللهِ وَالَّذِينَ مَعَهُ أَشِدَّاءُ عَلَى الْكُفَّارِ رُحَمَاءُ بَيْنَهُم تَرَاهُمْ رُكَّعًا سُجَّدًا يَبْتَغُونَ فَضْلًا مِن اللهِ وَرِضْوَانًا سِيمَاهُم فِي وُجُوهِهِم مِن أَثَرِ السُّجُودِ ذَلِكَ مَثَلُهُم فِي التَّورَاة وَمَثَلُهُم فِي الإِنْجِيلِ﴾ [سورة الفتح (48): 29] ولا معنى لقول من قال منهم إن هذه الصفات في التورات والإنجيل وهذه الكتب إلا أن[527] مَن هذه صفته لم يأت بعد، لأن ذلك الذي يأتي على زعمه لا تزيد حالته على حالة نبيّنا عليه السلام.

فإن قيل: يبين بظهور المعجزات عليه، قيل له: قد بيّنّا ظهور المعجزات عليه مما[528] قد تقدّم فالكلام في نبوته عليه السلام ظاهر، فإما

509. ابن: بن، ت.
510. عليه السلام: صلى الله عليه، ت.
511. شعياء: + النبي عليه السلام، ت.
512. ومن: من، ت.
513. وقيدار: وقيل ان، ت.
514. جلّ وعزّ: عز وجل، ت.
515. لا: + ينطق ولا، ت.
516. وبخ: ولح، ت.
517. يكلمهم: يكلفهم، ت.
518. هذا: فهذا، الأصل، والتصحيح عن ت.
519. ذلك: هذا والمجوس كانوا يظهرون خروجه عليه السلام ذلك أيضا وكذلك، ت.
520. رؤياه: + انه سقط سرب داره، ت.
521. فما: لعله مشطوب في الأصل.
522. الحجة: الحاجة، الأصل، والتصحيح عن ت.
523. ومما: وبما، ت.
524. الرسول: -، الأصل ت.
525. أهل: نهل، ت.
526. تعالى: -، ت.
527. أن: -، ت.
528. مما: بما، ت.

الإقرار بها وأما حجود النبوة لجميع الأنبياء[529] [36أ] إن حجد نبوته عليه السلام حاجة لأن ما لأجله أقررنا نبوة[530] نبيّ من الأنبياء عليهم السلام هو المعجز وذلك ثابت له عليه السلام، ولذلك قلنا أن الأهم في الكلام في نبوته الاشتغال بإثبات معجزاته عليه السلام.

V.

The Zaydī scholar and *qāḍī l-quḍāt* of Rayy Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sammān (fl. early fifth/eleventh century), who had also studied with ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār al-Hamaḏānī,[531] is known to have composed a *tafsīr*, a work in thirteen volumes, which seems to be lost. Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209) had evidently used the commentary as a source when writing his own major exegetical work, *Mafātīḥ al-ġayb*. In his discussion of biblical predictions of the Prophet Muḥammad that is included in his exegesis of Qurʾān 2:40, Faḫr al-Dīn also adduces Gen. 17:20, identifying al-Sammān's *tafsīr* as his source. Although the translation of this verse, which is not among the biblical quotations adduced by al-Muʾayyad and al-Muwaffaq, is identical in Ibn Rabban and in Ibn Qutayba, the opening phrase of the scriptural passage in Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's quotation from al-Sammān is closer to Ibn Rabban's than it is to Ibn Qutayba's.[532] As this is the only relevant biblical quotation from al-Sammān's *tafsir* that has so far been identified, it is impossible to decide whether the latter had Ibn Rabban's *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* at his disposal or, as was the case with al-Muʾayyad, parallel sources transmitting the same translation tradition that is attested in Ibn Rabban's work.

529. الأنبياء: + عليهم السلام، ت.

530. نبوة: بنبوة، ت.

531. On him, see Ansari, "Muʾarrifī-yi tafsīrī-yi nāšināḫta."

532. In the following, the quotation from Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Mafātīḥ al-ġayb* is given (cf. Schmidtke, "Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and His Transmission" [chapter 7 in the present volume], 118, no. 5), with variations and additions in Ibn Rabban's *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* (ed. Mingana, 66:17–67:5) indicated in square brackets:

والخامس: روى السمان في تفسيره [روى ... تفسيره: فأما ما أوحى الله تعالى إلى إبراهيم عليه السلام في إسماعيل وحده فهو قوله على لسان موسى عليه السلم] في السفر الأول من التوراة [+ في الفصل العاشر منه] أن الله تعالى أوحى إلى إبراهيم [تعالى ... إبراهيم: قال لإبراهيم] عليه السلام قال [قال: -]: «قد أجبت دعاءك في إسماعيل وباركت عليه وكثرته وعظمته جداً جداً وسيلد اثنى عشر عظيماً وأجعله لأمة عظيمة».

Ibn Qutayba's translation of this verse reads as follows:

من ذلك قول الله عزّ وجلّ في السفر الأول لإبراهيم: «قد أجبتُ دعاءك في إسماعيل وباركتُ عليه وكثّرتُه وعظّمتُه جدًّا جدًّا وسيلد اثنى عشر عظيمًا وأجعله لأمة عظيمة».

Chapter Fifteen
Biblical Predictions of the Prophet Muḥammad among the Zaydīs of Yemen (Sixth/Twelfth and Seventh/Thirteenth Centuries)

Sabine Schmidtke

Like the Zaydīs of Iran, the Zaydī theologians of the sixth/twelfth and seventh/thirteenth centuries in Yemen also regularly adduced scriptural passages which they interpreted as testimonies to Muḥammad.

The earliest Zaydī author of Yemen to include biblical materials in his writings is Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Raṣṣāṣ (b. 546/1151–52, d. 584/1188). Al-Raṣṣāṣ was the leading theologian during the second half of the sixth/twelfth century and had written numerous substantial works on the subtleties of *kalām* as well as a theological *summa*, *Kitāb al-Taḥṣīl fī l-tawḥīd wa-l-taʿdīl*. Theologically, he was a staunch supporter of the doctrines of the Bahšamiyya. He also acted as teacher to ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza, the later Imām al-Manṣūr bi-llāh (r. 593/1197–614/1217), and taught other students who later became prolific scholars and composed independent works as well as commentaries on some of his writings, among them Sulaymān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḫurāšī (alive in 610/1214) and possibly his son Šams al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ (d. 621/1224).[1]

Al-Raṣṣāṣ concludes the chapter on prophecy of his *Kitāb al-Taḥṣīl* with two biblical passages allegedly predicting the advent of the Prophet Muḥammad. The first passage [1] is a translation of Gen. 49:10, 12.[2] That this scriptural quotation is adduced as a testimony to Muḥammad's prophecy is noteworthy. It is part of "Jacob's testament" to his

1. On al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ, see Thiele, *Kausalität in der muʿtazilitischen Kosmologie*; Thiele, *Theologie in der jemenitischen Zaydiyya*.

2. In the King James Version the two verses are translated as "[10] The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be ... [12] His eyes shall be red with wine, and his teeth white with milk."

sons, with the passage in question being specifically addressed to Judah.[3] According to Jewish understanding it supports the view that there will always be a ruler from among the descendants of Judah until the coming of the Messiah.[4] This is also the context in which al-Bīrūnī (d. ca. 442/1050–51) quotes Gen. 49:10 in his *Kitāb al-Āṯār al-bāqiya ʿan al-qurūn al-ḫāliya*.[5] Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064) deals at length with Gen. 49:10 in his *Fiṣal* when reporting a discussion he had with Ibn al-Naġrīla in which he is primarily concerned with refuting the Jewish claim, based on this verse, that authority is now being exercised by the head of the Jewish diaspora, the exilarch.[6] The verse was also regularly referred to by Christian authors as an argument supporting their perspective. This is the case, for example, in the debate between the caliph al-Mahdī and the patriarch Timothy I (which, according to Hans Putman, took place sometime between 786 and 794 CE) in which the latter uses Gen. 49:10 as evidence that after the coming of Jesus prophethood ceases.[7] Samawʾal al-Maġribī (d. 570/1175) also quotes Gen. 49:10 as a Christian argument compelling the Jews to accept the prophethood of Jesus in the long version of *Ifḥām al-Yahūd*,[8]

3. See de Hoop, *Genesis 49*.

4. Onkelos' translation of the verse reads as follows: "A ruler will never depart from the house of Judah, nor a teacher from his children's children forever—until the Messiah comes—for the kingdom is his and the nations will obey him" (לא יעדי עבד שלטן מדבית יהודה וספרא מבני בנוהי עד עלמא עד דייתי משיחא דדיליה היא מלכותא וליה ישתמעון עממיא); see *Onkelos on the Torah*, 336f. Cf. also Posnanski, *Schiloh*; Lasker, *Jewish Philosophical Polemics*, 9 and passim (with further references). Saʿadya Gaon translated the verse as follows (*Œuvres complètes*, 1/77f.):

ולא יזול אלקציב מן אל יהודה ואלראסם מן תחת אמרה אלי אן יגי אלדי הו להו ואליה תגתמע אלשעוב (=
ولا يزول القضيب من آل يهوده والراسم من تحت أمره إلى أن يجئ الذي هو له وإليه تجتمع الشعوب)

Cf. the different Samaritan translations of the verse (a) dating from the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century ascribed to Abū l-Ḥasan Yiṣḥaq b. Marḥīb b. Mārūṯ and (b) the revised translation by Abū Saʿīd b. Abī l-Ḥusayn b. Abī Saʿīd (fl. Egypt, second half of the thirteenth century), in *The Arabic Translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch*, 1/250f.:

لا يزول القضيب من يهوده والمرسم من بين بنوده حتى ياتي مستحقه واليه يجتمع الشعوب

لا يزول قضيب الملك من يهوذة والمرسم من بين بنوده حتى يأتي سليمان وإليه تنقاد الشعوب

5. Al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, 18f. = Arabic part, 16. Al-Bīrūnī's translation runs as follows:

قالوا وان يعقوب لما بارك على يهوذا ودعا له أخبره أنه لن يخرج الملك من بنيه حتى يجيء من له الملك فأخبره بثبات الملك في بنيه الى خروج المسيح المنتظر

6. See Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 106.

7. Putman, *L'église et l'Islam*, § 151. See also Hackenburg, "Arabic-to-English Translation," 95, § 151. The Arabic translation of the verse here runs as follows:

لا يزول القضيب من يهوذا . . . والمدبّر من بين رجليه . . . حتى يجيء الذي له الملك والحكم وله يكون خضوع الشعوب

8. Samawʾal al-Maghribī, *Ifḥām al-Yahūd*, 23 [Arabic], 41 [English]. He translates the verse as follows:

لا يزول الملك من آل يهودا والراسم بين ظهرانيهم إلى أن يأتي المسيح

Gen. 49:10 was also a common scriptural passage adduced by Christian authors of medieval Europe against the Jews; see, for example, Browe, *Die Judenmission im Mittelalter*, 125; Kaiser, *Messiah in the Old Testament*, passim; Schreckenberg, *Die christlichen Adversus-Judaeos-Texte*, 64 (with further references); Walker, "Fourteenth-Century Augustinian Approach," 35f.

while the Ḥanbalite author Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Qawī al-Ṭūfī al-Ḥanbalī (d. 716/1316) rejects in his *al-Intiṣārāt al-islāmiyya fī kašf šubah al-naṣrāniyya* the argumentation of his Christian interlocutors that is based on this passage.[9] Although it is unclear which sources were available to him, al-Raṣṣāṣ would thus seem to be the first known Muslim author to adduce the passage as a prediction of Muḥammad's prophethood. Moreover, it is noteworthy that his translation does not agree with any of the earlier (or later) renderings and that he seems to be one of the few authors to combine Gen. 49:10 with Gen. 49:12. In later centuries, Gen. 49:10 was one of the scriptural passages regularly adduced by Muslim authors as a testimony to Muḥammad's prophecy. The verse is frequently referred to and discussed by Ottoman Muslim authors of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries CE polemicizing against Judaism,[10] and it is also quoted by the nineteenth-century author Raḥmat Allāh b. Ḫalīl al-Raḥmān al-Dihlawī al-Hindī (d. 1891 CE) in his *Iẓhār al-ḥaqq*.[11] Contemporary Muslim authors also regularly adduce the verse as a prediction of the Prophet Muḥammad.[12] By contrast, the passage is not included in either ʿAlī Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī's (b. ca. 194/810, d. 251/865) *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* or Ibn Qutayba's (b. 213/828,

9. Al-Ṭūfī al-Ḥanbalī, *al-Intiṣārāt*, 1/354. His translation of the verse runs as follows:

لا يفقد الملك والنبوة والكهنوت من سبط يهوذا ومن بين فخذيه حتى يأتي من هي له وإياه تنتظر الشعوب. الرّابط في الشجرة جحشه وفي القضيب ابن أتانه تحمر من الخمر عيناه، وأشد بياضا من اللبن أسنانه

10. Gen. 49:10 is adduced by Ṭāškubrīzāde (d. 968/1561), who translates it as follows:

لا يزول الحكم والسلطنة من بين رجليه حتى يجيء عظيم يجتمع إليه الأمم

See Schmidtke and Adang, "Ṭāshkubrīzāde's Polemical Tract" [chapter 19 in the present volume], 93 [Arabic], 108 [English translation]. A different translation is given by ʿAbd al-Salām al-Muhtadī al-Muḥammadī in his *al-Risāla al-Hādiya* (composed between 886/1481 and 902/1497); he also adds Gen. 49:1. See Schmidtke, "*Rightly Guiding Epistle*" [chapter 17 in the present volume], 463, § 25:

أخبر يعقوب لأولاده وقال لهم: اجتمعوا لأخبر لكم الذي يعرض لكم في آخر الأيام، لا يزول الحاكم من يهودا ولا راسم من بين رجليه حتى يجيء الذي له وإليه يجتمع الشعوب

In the *Risālat ilzām al-yahūd fīmā zaʿamū fī l-Tawrāt min qibal ʿilm al-kalām* by one al-Salām ʿAbd al-ʿAllām that was composed around the same time, the passage is translated as follows; see Schmidtke, "Epistle Forcing the Jews" [chapter 21 in the present volume], 78:

لا يزال عصا من يهودا ولا يزال عصا رجل عظيم الشأن الذي يخرج من بين أرجل يهودا حتى يجيء الذي له العصا وإليه تجمع الأمم

11. See Raḥmat Allāh b. Ḫalīl, *Iẓhār al-ḥaqq*, 2:214ff. Here the passage is translated as follows:

فلا يزيل القضيب من يهودا والمدبر من فخذه حتى يجيء الذي له الكل وإياه تنتظر الأمم

12. See, e.g., Ṣidqī, *Bašāʾir ʿĪsā wa-Muḥammad*, 146ff. (including the fourteen-page commentary). He renders the verse as follows:

ثم قال في شأن يهوذا: لا يزول قضيب ... من يهوذا ومشترع ... من بين رجليه حتى يـأتي شيلون وله يكون خضوع شعوب

The same translation is found in Abū Ṭālib, *Tabāšīr al-Inǧīl wa-l-Tawrāt*, 445–448. This translation is evidently based on a Christian version of the Arabic Bible that has been edited by Suhayl Zakkār, *al-Tawrāt: Tarǧama ʿarabiyya*, 199. See also ʿĀmirī, *Muḥammad ṣalʿam fī l-kutub al-muqaddasa*, 257–263. Here the verse is rendered as follows:

لا يزول صولجان الملك من يهوذا ولا مشترع من صلبه حتى يأتي شيلوه فتطيعه الشعوب

d. 276/889) *Aʿlām al-nubuwwa* nor in any of the earlier extant Zaydī texts discussing biblical materials from the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries.[13]

Al-Raṣṣāṣ' second pseudoscriptural passage [2] has likewise no parallel either in Ibn Rabban or in Ibn Qutayba and is not quoted by any earlier Zaydī author. A different version of this passage circulated, however, among Twelver Šīʿī authors, who state that it was taken from the Book of Ezekiel, as in the *Kitāb al-Ḫarāʾiğ wa-l-ğarāʾiḥ* of al-Raṣṣāṣ' contemporary Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī (d. 573/1177).[14]

The following edition of the relevant section is based on MS Ambrosiana E 206/2, f. 256:4–19, the only extant manuscript of al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ' *Taḥṣīl*.[15]

فأما البشارات بالنبيّ عليه السلام الواردة في الكتب المنزلة على الأنبياء قبله فكثيرة غير أنا نذكر في هذا الموضع طرفًا منها ليكون منبهًا على ما لم نذكره.

[1] فمن ذلك أن في التورات «**أن يعقوب قال: لا يزال الملك من يهودا والوحي من بين رجليه حتى يأتي له الملك، وإياه تنتظر الأمم، محمرةً عيناه كشارب الخمر، بيضاء أسنانه كشارب اللبن**» [cf. Gen. 49:10, 12].

وهذا يقتضي أن الذي يجيء يزيل الملك من يهودا والوحي، وذلك يمنع من أن يكون الذي ينتظره اليهود ويقتضي أن يكون محمدًا صلى الله عليه لأنه كان محمر العينين أبيض الأسنان. وقد روي أن بحيرا تأمّل حمرة عينيه ولأنه لم يزل اليهود أمره حول المدينة (؟). وكان الشرع إما اليهودية أو النصرانية فما زال ملك يهودا ولا نسخ وحي أولاده إلا بمجئ محمد صلى الله عليه وآله فصحّ أنه الذي بشّرت به الأمم.

[2] وفي بعض كتبهم عن الله تعالى: «**إني مؤيّد بني قيدار بالملائكة، فيخرجون إليكم بالحيل والبغض والسلاح، فيدينونكم الدين ويهشمون آنافكم بالحميّة والعصبية وينزعونكم لباس عزّكم ويسلبونكم آية (؟) مجدكم، وجميع رضاي يفعلون بكم**».

وبنو قيدار هم العرب، فلو كانت العرب على خطأ وضلال بما فعلوه باليهود، لما أيّدهم الله تعالى بالملائكة، ولا كان ما فعلوه قد رضيه الله تعالى.

Some of al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ' students also integrated biblical references in their respective discussions of Muḥammad's prophecy. Sulaymān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḫurāšī, the little-known younger contemporary and pupil of al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ, wrote a commentary on the latter's *Taḥṣīl*, *al-Tafṣīl li-ğumal al-Taḥṣīl*. Only the third part (*al-ğuzʾ al-ṯālit*) of the work is preserved in what seems to be a unique manuscript held in the Staatsbibliothek

13. Ibn Rabban's text was edited and translated by Alphonse Mingana. In the following, the edition is cited as *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* and the translation as *Religion and Empire*. The more recent edition and translation by Ebied and Thomas has not been referred to in the present chapter. For Ibn Rabban, see also Schmidtke, "Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and His Transmission" [chapter 7 in the present volume] and Adang, "Rare Case" [chapter 12 in the present volume]. For Ibn Qutayba's *Aʿlām al-nubuwwa*, see Schmidtke, "Muslim Reception of Biblical Materials" [chapter 4 in the present volume].

14. See al-Rāwandī, *al-Ḫarāʾiğ wa-l-ğarāʾiḥ*, 1/72ff., where the passage reads as follows:

وقال في كتاب حزقيل النبي لبني إسرائيل: إني مؤيد [بني] قيدار بالملائكة، وقيدار جد العرب ابن إسماعيل لصلبه، وأجعل الدين تحت أقدامهم فيدينونكم بدينهم، ويهمشون أنفسكم بالحمية والغضب. ولا ترفعون أبصاركم ولا تنظرون إليهم، وجميع رضاي يصنعونه بكم. وإن محمدًا صلى الله عليه وآله أخرج إليهم من أطاعه من بني قيدار فيقتل مقاتليهم، وأيدهم الله بالملائكة في بدر والخندق وخيبر.

See also al-Mağlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, Beirut ed., 15/208, where the passage is likewise quoted (from Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī).

15. See Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts*, 3/91, no. 1036.

zu Berlin (MS Glaser 51).[16] Al-Ḫurāšī has nothing to add to al-Raṣṣāṣ' wording, quoting the section verbatim in his commentary:

فأما البشارات بالنبي صلى الله عليه الواردة في الكتب المنزلة على الأنبياء قبله فكثيرة غير أنا نذكر في هذا الموضع طرفًا منها ليكون منبّهًا على ما لم نذكره.

[1] فمن ذلك أن في التورات «**أن يعقوب قال: لا يزال الملك من يهودا والوحي من بين[17] رجليه حتى يأتي له الملك، وإياه[18] تنتظر الأمم، محمّرة عيناه كشارب الخمر، بيضاء أسنانه كشارب اللبن**» [cf. Gen. 49:10, 12].

وهذا يقتضي أن الذي يجيء يُزيل الملك من يهودا والوحي وذلك يمنع من أن يكون الذي ينتظره اليهود ويقتضي بأنه محمد صلى الله عليه لأنه كان محمّر العين أبيض الأسنان وقد روي أن بحيرا تأمّل حمرة عينيه. وبعد، فلو يزل اليهود أمره حول الطريقة (كذا) وكان الشرع إما اليهودية أو النصرانية فما زال ملك يهودا ولا نسخ وحي أولاده إلا بمجئ محمد صلى الله عليه وآله فصحّ أنه الذي بشّرت به الأمم.

[2] وفي بعض كتبهم عن الله تعالى: «**إني مؤيد بني قيدار بالملائكة فيخرجون إليكم بالحيل والبغض والسلاح فيدينونكم الدين ويهشمون آنافكم بالحمية والعصبية وينزعونكم لباس عزّكم ويسلبونكم آية (؟) مجدكم وجميع رضاي يفعلون بكم**».

وبنو قيدار هم العرب، فلو كانت على خطأ وضلال بما فعلوه باليهود لما أيّدهم الله تعالى بالملائكة ولا كان ما فعلوه برضاية فدلّ ذلك على البشارة بمحمد صلى الله عليه وعلى آله. فهذا هو الكلام في الدلالة على نبوته عليه السلام.

Aḥmad al-Raṣṣāṣ[19] completed dictating his commentary on his father's *Taḥṣīl*, *al-Taḏkira li-fawāʾid al-Taḥṣīl wa-l-taʿdīl*, on 28 Ḏū l-Ḥiǧǧa 619/February 2, 1223. A unique copy of the work is preserved in MS Milan, Ambrosiana E 206/1.[20] Aḥmad adds explanations to al-Raṣṣāṣ' discussion of the two verses, such as a reference to ʿAbd Allāh b. Salām (d. 43/663–64), the archetypal Jewish convert to Islam, in section [1] and a reference to the battle of Badr in section [2], and he includes two other biblical quotations. Section [3] contains the text of Gen. 17:20 in a translation that agrees verbatim with both Ibn Qutayba and Ibn Rabban.[21] Although this verse had been adduced neither by al-Muʾayyad bi-llāh nor by al-Muwaffaq bi-llāh, the passage quoted next, Deut. 18:18f. (Section [4]), had been included by both. Like those of al-Muʾayyad and al-Muwaffaq, Aḥmad's translation agrees with that of Ibn Qutayba as against the different translation of this passage offered by Ibn Rabban. The following brief discussion of the verses by Aḥmad agrees in contents with that given by al-Muʾayyad and al-Muwaffaq.[22] While it is likely that he had either al-Muʾayyad's or al-Muwaqqaf's text (or both) at his disposal as a source for section [4], his immediate source for section [3] remains unclear. In the following edition of

16. See Ahlwardt, *Kurzes Verzeichnis der Glaser'schen Sammlung*, 10; Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften*, 9/588, no. 10279. A facsimile of the manuscript has been published as al-Ḫurāšī, *Kitāb al-Tafṣīl li-ǧumal al-Taḥṣīl*.

17. بين: من الأصل.

18. وإياه: واما، الأصل.

19. On him, see see Ibn Abī l-Riǧāl, *Maṭlaʿ al-budūr*, 1/292f., no. 106.

20. See Löfgren and Traini, *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts*, 3/91, no. 1036.

21. See Schmidtke, "Muslim Reception of Biblical Materials," 254; Ibn Rabban, *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, 67; *Religion and Empire*, 77f.

22. See Schmidtke, "Biblical Predictions among the Zaydīs of Iran," 240f., 256f.

the passage in question (ff. 151a:11–151b:6), all additions by Aḥmad to his father's *Taḥṣīl* are underlined:

فأما البشارات بالنبيّ صلى الله عليه الواردة في الكتب المنزلة على الأنبياء قبله فكثيرة غير أنا نذكر في هذا الموضع ما يكون منبهًا على ما لم نذكره.

[1] فمن ذلك أن في التوراة «**أن يعقوب قال: لا يزال الملك من يهودا والوحي من بين رجليه حتى يأتي الذي له الملك، وإياه تنتظر الأمم، محمرةً عيناه كشارب الخمر، بيضاء أسنانه كشارب اللبن**».

وهذا يقتضي أن الذي يجيء يزيل الملك من يهودا والوحي، وذلك يمنع من أن يكون من ينتظره اليهود ويقتضي أن يكون محمدًا صلى الله عليه لأنه كان محمر العينين أبيض الأسنان. وقد روي أن بحيرا تأمل حمرة عينيه فوجده الأمر كما ذكر في التوراة فكان ذلك سبباً لإسلامه وكذلك عبد الله بن سلام لما عرف العلامات المذكورة في التورات كان ذلك سببًا لإسلامه، ولأنه لم يزل اليهود أمره حول المدينة (؟). وكان الشرع إما اليهودية أو النصرانية فما زال ملك يهودا ولا نسخ وحي أولاده إلّا بمجئ محمد صلى الله عليه فصحّ أنه الذي بشّرت به الأمم.

[2] وفي بعض كتبهم عن الله تعالى: «**إني مؤيّد بني قيدار بالملائكة، فيخرجون إليكم بالحيل والبغض والسلاح، فيدينونكم الدين ويهشمون آنافكم بالحميّة والغضب وينزعونكم لباس عزّكم ويسلبونكم آية (؟) مجدكم، وجميع رضاي يفعلون بكم**».

وبنو قيدار هم العرب، فلو كانت العرب على خطأ وضلال بما فعلوه باليهود، لما أيّدهم الله تعالى بالملائكة، ولا كان ما فعلوه قد رضيه الله تعالى. وقد وقع ذلك يوم بدر فإن الله تعالى أيّد النبيّ عليه السلام بالملائكة وكذلك فإن جبرئيل عليه السلام أتى إلى النبيّ صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم يوم خرج إلى حرب اليهود وقال له: إن الله تعالى قد أمرني أن أزلزل حصونهم وأن ألقي في قلوبهم الرعب، فصحّ أنه عليه السلام الذي بشّرت به الأمم.

[3] ومن جملة البشارات بالنبيّ صلى الله عليه ما روي في السفر الأول من التورات أن الله تعالى قال لإبراهيم عليه السلام. «فأما إسماعيل فقد قد أجبتُ دعاءك فيه وكثرت وعظمت ذكرك به جدًّا جدًّا وأجعله لأمة عظيمة».

[4] وفي السفر الخامس منها أنه تعالى قال لموسى عليه السلام في بني إسرائيل «إني سأقيم لهم من إخوتهم نبيًا وأجعل كلامي على فمه». فيقول لهم: كل ما أوصيه به يريد بذلك محمدًا صلى الله عليه، لأنه من ولد إسماعيل وبنو إسرائيل من ولد إسحاق عليهم السلام. فعلى هذه الطريقة يجري الكلام في هذا الموضع.

Aḥmad also includes a section relating biblical predictions of Muḥammad in his independent theological *summa*, *al-Wāsiṭa fī masāʾil al-iʿtiqād al-hādiya ilā sabīl al-rašād*.[23] Section [1] is an abbreviated version of the quotation and discussion of Gen. 49:10, 12 in his *Taḏkira*, whereas section [2] has no parallel in his commentary on his father's *Taḥṣīl*. His rendering of the popular passage Deut. 33:2 is close to that given by al-Muʾayyad, al-Muwaffaq, and Ibn Qutayba, as against Ibn Rabban's different translation.[24] Aḥmad's discussion of the passage runs largely parallel to that given by the two earlier Zaydī authors, although the formulation is again clearly independent.[25]

ومما يؤيّد ما ذهبنا إليه البشارات الواردة في التورات بمحمد صلى الله عليه

[1] «**فإن يعقوب عليه السلام قال: لا يزول الملك من يهودى والوحي من بين رجليه حتى الذي يأتي له الملك، وإياه تنتظر الأمم، محمرة عيناه كشارب الخمر، بيضاء أسنانه كشارب اللبن**» [cf. Gen. 49:10, 12].

23. MS Ṣanʿāʾ, Maktabat al-awqāf, 738, f. 131a:8–22 (see al-Ruqayḥī, al-Ḥibšī, and al-Ānsī, *Fihrist*, 2/790). A microfilm of the manuscript is preserved in Cairo, Dār al-kutub, mf. 280; see *Qāʾima bi-l-maḫṭūṭāt min al-Ǧumhūriyya al-ʿArabiyya al-Yamaniyya*, 54, no. 456.

24. See Schmidtke, "Biblical Predictions among the Zaydīs of Iran," 234f., 254f.

25. Schmidtke, "Biblical Predictions among the Zaydīs of Iran," 234f., 254f.

وقد روي أن بحيرا تأمل حمرة عيني النبيّ صلى الله عليه وبياض أسنانه فوجده كما ذكره في التوراة فكان ذلك سبباً لإسلامه، وكذلك عبد الله بن سلام لما عرف العلامات المذكورة في التورات الدالّة على نبوته كان ذلك سببًا لإسلامه.

[2] وكيف فإن في التورات في السفر الثاني البشارة بمحمد صلى الله عليه وهو قول الله تعالى «**جاء الرب من سينا وأشرق من ساعير وأنور واستعلن من جبال فاران**» [Deut. 33:2]. والمراد بذلك أمر الرب وهي البشارة بموسى وعيسى ومحمد عليهم السلام، لأن جبال مكة هي جبال فاران.

فإذا تظاهرات الأدلة على نبوته صلى الله عليه وهو ما قدمنا من ظهور المعجزات عليه والبشارات في الكتب المتقدمة، وجب الإقرار بنبوته صلى الله عليه والمتابعة له فيما جاء به كما لزم فيمن تقدم قبله من الأنبياء عليهم السلام ولم يجز التفريق بينهم فعلى هذه الطريقة يجري الكلام في مسائل الكلام.

The next theologian to employ biblical materials was ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd b. Aḥmad b. Abī l-Ḫayr al-ʿAnsī (b. 593/1196–97, d. Šaʿbān 667/April 1269), the towering figure of Yemeni Zaydī scholarship in the seventh/thirteenth century. Al-ʿAnsī was a prolific author in a variety of fields. According to the later biographical tradition, he has 105 titles to his credit. The majority of his writings belong to the field of theology, and it is in this domain that he exerted the most lasting influence. In contrast to al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ and his circle, al-ʿAnsī attempted to reduce the influence of Bahšamite doctrine, which he felt to be too remote from the teachings of the earlier Zaydī imams, particularly al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm and al-Hādī ilā l-ḥaqq Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 298/911).[26]

Al-ʿAnsī's magnum opus was his *Kitāb al-Maḥaǧǧa al-bayḍāʾ fī uṣūl al-dīn*, a comprehensive theological *summa* consisting of eight parts (*aqsām*, sing. *qism*). Although no manuscript covering parts 6 through 8 of the *Maḥaǧǧa* is known to be extant,[27] there can be no doubt that al-ʿAnsī had completed the work. In the introduction to the third part of his *al-Tamyīz bayn al-Islām wa-muṭarrifiyyat al-Ṭuġām*, al-ʿAnsī's most comprehensive tract against the Muṭarrifiyya sect written at a later stage of his life, the author mentions his earlier works on theology. His wording indicates that the *Maḥaǧǧa* was his most authoritative work in this domain and makes clear that it had been completed: *al-Maḥaǧǧa al-bayḍāʾ fīhi al-nihāya fī l-daqīq wa-l-ǧalīl wa-l-ḫilāf wa-l-tafḍīl wa-ṣiḥḥat al-maḏhab wa-l-rudūd ʿalā l-muḫālafa fī ʿilm al-kalām wa-huwa al-ḫātima al-kubrā ʿalā ahl al-Islām*.[28]

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26. For al-ʿAnsī, see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies,* chapters 9 and 12.

27. The work is preserved in three manuscripts. The first two were transcribed by al-ʿAnsī's nephew, Muḥammad b. Asʿad b. Zayd al-ʿAnsī. (1) MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. arab. 1273, comprising parts 2 (beginning with *al-kalām fī l-maṣāliḥ*), 3, and 4. The copy was completed on 20 Rabīʿ II 640/October 17, 1242, the same day given by the author as the date of completion, which suggests that he dictated the work to his nephew. See Sobieroj, *Arabische Handschriften der bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*, 406–408, no. 214. (2) MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. arab. 1286, comprising parts 1 through 4, completed on 14 Rabīʿ II 641/October 1, 1243. A facsimile of this manuscript with indexes and introduction has been published by Ansari and Schmidtke as *Zaydī Theology in 7th/13th Century Yemen*. (3) MS Hiğrat al-Sirr, Maktabat Āl al-Wazīr, containing part 5, on the imamate, was transcribed in 718/1318–19 partly by al-Murtaḍā b. al-Mufaḍḍal al-Wazīr (d. 732/1331), the son of ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAnsī's student al-Mufaḍḍal b. Manṣūr b. al-ʿAfīf, and partly by ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Salāma al-Ṣuraymī.

28. F. 149a:9–12. A unique copy of the text was preserved in the private library of Muḥammad Sārī

Toward the end of his discussion of prophecy in his *Maḥaǧǧa* al-ʿAnsī includes a section with fourteen biblical predictions that eclipses those of the earlier authors in comprehensiveness and richness. Although he intregrates the two passages adduced by al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ in his *Taḥṣīl* in sections [2] and [3], the majority of his material is from a different source that he identifies on various occasions: *ḏakara al-Šayḫ Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī* [5], *rawāhu al-Šayḫ Abū l-Ḥusayn qāla … wa-ḏakara Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī raḥimahu llāh …* [9], *wa-hakaḏā nuqila min Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī* [10], *hakaḏā nuqila min Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī raḥimahu llāh … fa-ḏakara al-Šayḫ Abū l-Ḥusayn raḥimahu llāh* [11]. These references point to Ibn Rabban's comprehensive list of biblical predictions, viz. his *Kitāb al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*, which was used as a source text by Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī in his *Ġurar al-adilla*. Although the latter work is lost, Abū l-Ḥusayn's reliance on Ibn Rabban's *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* is confirmed by the lengthy quotation from the *Ġurar* in the *Kitāb al-Munqiḏ min al-taqlīd* by the Twelver Šīʿite scholar al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī.[29] A comparison of al-ʿAnsī's section of biblical quotations with the corresponding section of al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī's *Munqiḏ* confirms that sections [1] and [4] through [14] of the *Maḥaǧǧa* indeed rely on the same source.

Despite their common source, comparison of the relevant sections in al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī's *Munqiḏ* and al-ʿAnsī's *Maḥaǧǧa* shows significant differences between the two. Al-ʿAnsī used only a fraction of the biblical material that had been included by al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī in his *Munqiḏ*. Moreover, al-ʿAnsī repeatedly replaced Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's discussion as adduced by al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī with his own, which at times is only remotely similar to that of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī as reported by al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī with no verbatim agreement whatsoever (see sections [4], [5], [6], [7], [10], [11]). The most striking difference is al-ʿAnsī's arrangement of the biblical passages, which disagrees with that of al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, as is evident from the table below.

Bible	al-ʿAnsī	al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī[30]
Gen. 16:6–12	[10]	[1] (316:3–317:8)
Gen. 49:10, 12	[2] (= al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ [1])	-
Deut. 18:15	[1]	[2], with Deut. 18:18f. (317:12–318:9)

in Sanaa. The manuscript has been located by ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥibšī (see his *Maṣādir al-fikr al-islāmī*). Meanwhile, the holdings of the library, together with the *Kitāb al-Tamyīz*, have been destroyed, and only a digital copy of the codex remains extant. I thank Hassan Ansari for making the text available to me. Al-ʿAnsī also refers repeatedly to the more detailed discussions in his *Maḥaǧǧa al-bayḍāʾ* throughout the *ḫātima* of the *Tamyīz* (ff. 171a:9, 171b:21, 172b:8f., 173a:17, 187a:10).

29. See Adang, "Rare Case" [chapter 12 in the present volume].

30. The page numbers refer to the edition in Adang, "Rare Case."

Hab. 3:3–13	[11]	[4], with Gen. 21:20f. (319:10–321:2, 318:12f., 321:7–18)
Isa. 35:1f.	[5]	[7] (324:5–325:4)
Isa. 41:17–20	[6]	[11] (326:11–327:4)
Isa. 42:11–13	[9]	[10] (326:1–9)
Isa. 43:19f.	[7]	[12] (327:5–7)
Ezek. 19:10–14	[8]	[13] (327:10–329:3)
Ezek. 27:21ff.	[3] (= al-Ḥasan al-Raṣṣāṣ [2])	-
Zeph. 3:8–10	[4]	[14] (329:4–330:6)

It cannot be decided whether al-ʿAnsī had Abū l-Ḥusayn's *Ġurar* at his disposal or whether he gleaned the material from an intermediary source. No manuscript of the *Ġurar* has ever surfaced in Yemen, although there is some evidence that the text, or parts of it, were known to some Zaydī scholars of Yemen. A plausible intermediary source would have been Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Malāḥimī al-Ḫwārazmī's (d. 536/1141) *al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-dīn*, a comprehensive theological *summa* that is largely based on Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *Taṣaffuḥ al-adilla* up to the section on the denial of the vision of God by the faithful in Paradise (Abū l-Ḥusayn died while writing this part of the book).[31] For the latter parts, it seems that Ibn al-Malaḥimī used extensively Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *Ġurar al-adilla*.[32] However, this cannot be verified at present as Ibn al-Malāḥimī's work is only incompletely preserved.[33]

The possibility that both al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī and al-ʿAnsī used the same intermediary source for Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's discussion of biblical predictions of the advent of the Prophet Muḥammad is suggested by sections [5] and [11] of al-ʿAnsī's text and the corresponding passages in al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī's *Munqiḏ*, viz. sections [7] and [4]. Both al-ʿAnsī and al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī refer to Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī at exactly the same location in the text, which would hardly be the case if one or both of them had immediate access to the primary source.[34]

31. The extant fragments of the *Taṣaffuḥ al-adilla* have been published.

32. See Schmidtke, "Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī on the Torah" [chapter 8 in the present volume].

33. See Ibn al-Malāḥimī, *al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-dīn*.

34. Compare section [5], *wa-ḏakara al-Šayḫ Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī annahu rāʾa hāḏā l-kalām … qāl: wa-ʿalimtu anna fī hāḏā l-kalām …*, with Adang, "Rare Case," 324:8f., *qāla: wa-raʾaytu … qāla al-Šayḫ: … fa-ʿalimtu anna fī hāḏā l-mawḍiʿ*; and section [12], *wa-amma al-Naṣārā fa-ḏakara al-Šayḫ Abū l-Ḥusayn raḥimahu llāh annahu rāʾa fī nuqūlihim … qāla al-Šayḫ raḥimahu llāh: wa-nuqila lī …*, with Adang, 320:7f., *qāla: fa-amma al-Naṣārā fa-raʾaytu fī nuqūlihim … qāla: wa-nuqila …*

The following edition of the relevant section from al-ʿAnsī's *Maḥağğa* is based on two manuscripts of the work: (1) MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. arab. 1273, ff. 93b:13–96a:17 [= أ]; (2) MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. arab. 1286, ff. 188a:6–190a:5 [= ب]. In the annotation, the corresponding passages from al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī's *Munqiḏ* are quoted in full.

وأيضًا مما يدلّ على نبوته صلى الله عليه وآله ما ورد في الكتب الأولى المنزّلة من الله تعالى فإنها تشهد له بالرسالة كما قال تعالى في آيات كثيرة ﴿مُصَدِّقًا لِمَا بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ﴾ [2:97 Q وغيرها] أي أنه على مصداق ما شهدت به الكتب الأولى. وحكي أن عيسى عليه السلام قال ﴿وَمُبَشِّرًا بِرَسُولٍ يَأْتِي مِن بَعْدِي اسْمُهُ أَحْمَدُ﴾ [61:6 Q]. وقال في اليهود ﴿الَّذِينَ آتَيْنَاهُمُ الْكِتَابَ يَعْرِفُونَهُ كَمَا يَعْرِفُونَ أَبْنَاءَهُمْ﴾ [2:146 Q]. وقد شهد له من أهل التورات والإنجيل من أسلم <أ 94أ> منهم وأقرّوا أنه مذكور عندهم معهود عليهم فيه كما ذكره الله تعالى في القرآن. ونحن نذكر بعضًا مما في الكتب الأولى ليتّضح أن نبوته عليه السلام ظاهرةً جليةً.

[1] منها **في الفصل الحادي عشر من السفر الخامس عن موسى عليه السلام: «إن الرب قال لموسى أنه مقيم لهم نبيًّا مثلك من بين إخوتهم وأيّما رجل لم يسمع كلماتي التي يؤدّيها عني ذلك الرجل باسمي أنا أنتقم منه.»** [Deut. 18:18f.]

وهذا يدلّ على أن النبيّ الذي يقيمه ليس من بني إسرائيل بل **من إخوتهم، أولاد إسماعيل**، ولم يخرج نبيّ منهم سوى محمد صلى الله عليه وآله وقد كان خروجه بين بني إسرائيل في المدينة، لأنهم مطيقون بها **النظير** وقريطة **وبني قينقاع والشام**.[35]

[2] ومن ذلك أن في التورات «أن يعقوب قال: لا يزول الملك من يهودا والوحي من بين رجليه حتى يأتي الذي له الملك، وإياه تنتظر الأمم، محمرة عيناه كشارب الخمر بيضاء[36] أسنانه كشارب اللبن» [cf. Gen. 49:10, 12].

وهذا يدلّ على أن ذلك هو محمد صلى الله عليه وآله لأن بخبرا تامل حمرة عينبه والصفات فوجدها كاملةً فيه، ولا يجوز أن يكون من تأمّله اليهود وهو المسيح، لأنه لا يبطل أمر يهودا، وما زال من اليهود إلّا برسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله.

[3] وفي بعض كتبهم عن الله تعالى أنه قال: «إني مؤيّد بني قيدار بالملائكة فيخرجون إليكم بالحيل والبغض[37] والسلاح فيدينونكم الدين ويهشمون أنافكم بالحمية والغضب وينزعونكم لباس عزكم ويسلبونكم آله مجدكم وجميع رضاي يفعلون بكم».

وبنو قيدار هم العرب[38]، فلو كانت على خطأ فيما فعلت باليهود ما ذكر الله مدحهم بذلك ولا رضيه.

[4] ومنها **في الفصل الأول من كتاب صفنيا: «أيها الناس،** <ب 188ب> **ترجوا اليوم الذي أقوم فيه للشهادة، فقد حان أن أظهر حكمي**

35. Cf. al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 317:9–318:9.

وقال في الفصل الحادي عشر من السفر الخامس عن موسى عليه السلام: «إن الرب الهكم يقيم نبياً لكم مثلي من بينكم ومن إخوتكم فاسمعوا». وفي هذا الفصل: «إن الرب قال لموسى عليه السلام: إني مقيم لهم نبياً مثلك من بين إخوتهم وأيما رجل لم يسمع كلماتي التي يؤديها عني ذلك الرجل باسمي أنا أنتقم منه». قال الشيخ: ورأيت في التوراة بعد قوله «من إخوتهم»: «وأجعل كلمتي في فيه، وأيما رجل لم يسمع القول الذي يتكلم باسمي فإني أنتقم منه». وهذا الكلام يدل على أن النبي الذي يقيمه ليس من بني إسرائيل، لأن من خاطب قوماً فقال لهم: «إني أقيم من إخوتكم رجلاً»، استفيد من ذلك أنه لا يكون من أنفسهم، كما أن من قال لبني هاشم: إنه سيكون من إخوتكم إمام، عُقِل منه أنه لا يكون من بني هاشم. وكل نبي بعث من بعد موسى لم يكن من إخوتهم، لأنه كان من ولد إسرائيل، والنبي عليه السلام من إخوتهم، لأنه من ولد إسماعيل، وإسماعيل أخو إسحاق. ولو كانت هذه البشارة بنبيّ من بني إسرائيل، لم يكن لها معنىً، لأن الله تعالى قد بعث من الأنبياء من بني إسرائيل بعد موسى خلقاً كثيراً. قال: وذكر لي بعض اليهود أنهم يعتقدون أنه لا يجيء نبيّ من بني إسرائيل من بعد موسى، وهذا يؤكّد ما ذكرناه من أن البشارة كانت بنبيّ من غيرهم. فإن قالوا: قوله «من بينكم» يمنع أن يكون المراد به محمّداً، لأنه لم يقم من بين بني إسرائيل. قيل: بل قام من بينهم، لأنه قام بالحجاز وبعث بمكة وهاجر إلى المدينة وبها تكامل أمره، وقد كان حول المدينة بلاد اليهود، كخيبر وبني قينقاع والنضير وغير ذلك. وأيضاً، فإن الحجاز يقارب الشام وجمهور اليهود كانوا إذ ذاك بالشام، فمن قام بالحجاز فقد قام من بينهم، لأنه ليس هو ببعيد منهم.

36. بيضاء: بيض، أ ب.

37. والبعض: والبيض، ب.

38. العرب: للعرب، أ.

بحشر الأمم وجمع[39] **الملوك لأصبّ عليهم سخطي وأليم عقابي فستحترق الأرض** <أ 94ب> **احتراقًا بسخطي ونكيري**[40]**، هناك أجدّ للأمم اللغة المختارة ليذيقوا اسم الربّ جميعًا وليعبدوه في رقبة**[41] **واحدة معًا وليأتوا**[42] **بالذبائح من معابر أنهار كوش»** [Zeph. 3:8–10].

وقد فعل الله تعالى ذلك لمحمد صلى الله عليه وآله فإنه جدّد به للأمم التعبّد **باللغة العربية** وهي **المختارة** حتى صاروا يحتاجونها في تلاوة القرآن والأذان والإقامة والخطبة والتشهّد وسائر أذكار الصلاة والتسبيح وصار كثير من الأقاليم ما نطقهم إلّا باللغة العربية وذلك لمحمد صلى الله عليه خرجت أمته وظهرت على جميع الأديان وملكت البلاد[43] والعباد شرقًا وغربًا واحتلطوا بهم حتى لا ينطقون في كثير من بلدانهم[44] إلا بالعربية[45].

[5] **ومنها في الفصل السادس عشر من أشعياء «لتفرح أرض البادية العطشى، ولتبتهج البراري والفلوات، ولتستنّ ونغلو**[46] **مثل الوعل فإنها ستعطى بأحمد محاسن لبنان، وكمثل حسن الدساكر والرياض وسترون جلال الله وبهاء إلهنا**[47]**.»** [Isa. 35:1f.]

وهذا تصريح باسم أحمد صلوات الله عليه وقد أعطيت أرض العرب في البوادي والبراري به الرياض وأنواع الفاكهة في بوادي مكة وغرابي دجله من البصرة وكانت من الفقار والمهامه وكثر سكنها.

وذكر الشيخ أبو الحسن البصري أنه رأى هذا الكلام في نقول النصارى ولم يذكر فيه أحمد. قال: وعلمت أن في هذا الكلام كلام قد أسقطه بعضهم، ولعلّ بعضهم حرّفه.[48]

[6] ومنها **في الفصل العشرين من كتاب أشعيا: «إن الضعفاء والمساكين يستسقون ماء ولا ماء لهم، وقد جفّت ألسنتهم من الظماء،**

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39. وجمع: وجميع، أ ب.
40. ونكيري: ونكرى، أ ب.
41. رقبة: ربفه، أ ب.
42. وليأتوا: وليأتوبى، أ.
43. البلاد: للبلاد، ب.
44. في كثير من بلدانهم: إضافة فوق السطر، أ.
45. بالعربية: باللغة العربية، ب.

Cf. al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 329:4–330:6:

وفي الفصل الأول من كتاب صفنيا: «أيها الناس، ترجوا اليوم الذي أقوم فيه للشهادة، فقد حان أن أظهر حكمي بحشر الأمم وجمع الملوك لأصبّ عليهم سخطي وأليم عقابي فستحترق الأرض احتراقًا بسخطي ونكيري، هناك أجدّ للأمم اللغة المختارة ليذيقوا اسم الرب جميعًا وليعبدوه في رقبة واحدة معًا وليأتوا بالذبائح من معابر أنهار كوش». ومعلوم أن اللغة العربية مختارة قد شاعت في الأرض، وذلك أنها صارت تتداول بالمشرق كله وفي البحار والجبال بعد أن كانت لا تذكر فيها. قال الشيخ: فأما بالعراق والشام والجزيرة ومصر وبلاد المغرب فكانت لا تذكر فيها، ثم صارت طبع أهلها العربية بعد دخول الإسلام فيها، حتى صار الصبي إذا نشأ لا يحسن إلا العربية، وقد كان الأمر قبل الإسلام بخلاف ذلك. قال: ولقد كنت أعجب من هذا حتى قرأت هذا الفصل من كتاب صفنيا فقد علمت أن الله جدد هذه اللغة بهذه الشريعة التي جاءت بالانتقام من ملوك الآفاق وإزالة دولتهم، فدلّ ذلك على أنها من عنده. ونقل بعضهم: «هناك أجدد للأمم الشفة المختارة»، وهذا لا ينافي ذلك النقل، لأنه قد يعبر بالشفة عن اللغة كما يعبّر باللسان عن اللغة، فيقولون: قال أهل اللسان، وهم يريدون أهل اللغة ويقولون في لسان العرب كذا وكذا، وهم يريدون في لغة العرب. والذي يبين ما قلناه أنه لا يجوز أن يكون أراد به تجدّد الشفة على الحقيقة، لأن الشفة قد خلق جنسها من قبل ولم يجدّدها الله تعالى في ذلك الوقت. وقد قالوا: أراد بتجديد الشفة تجديد حمد الله، وهو الشفة المختارة. فيقال لهم: هذا لا يصحّ، لأنكم إن أردتم أن يجدد فعل حمد الله فذلك لا يجوز، لأن العبيد هم الذين يحمدون الله ويفعلون ذلك. وإن أردتم أنه يجدّد الأمر بالحمد والتعبّد به، فذلك قد سبق من الله، فعلمنا أنه يجدّد التعبّد بلغة والتكلّم بها، ويجعل بعض الأمم مطبوعين عليها وهو ما جدّده من التعبّد بتلاوة القرآن والأذان والإقامة والخطبة والتشهد والدعاء في الصلاة .... ، وبما جعل الله اللغة العربية طبعاً لأقاليم لم يكن أهلها مطبوعين عليها.

46. ونغلو: وتزهر، أ ب.
47. إلهنا: الاهنا، أ ب.

48. Cf. al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 324:5–325:4:

وفي الفصل السادس عشر من إشعيا: «لتفرح أرض البادية العطشى، ولتبتهج البراري والفلوات، ولتستنّ وتعلو مثل الوعل فإنها ستعطى بأحمد محاسن لبنان، وكمثل حسن الدساكر والرياض وسترون جلال الله وبهاء إلهنا». هذا في نقل ابن ربّن. قال: ورأيت في نقول النصارى «يفرح القفر العطشان وتجذل القاع، ولينضر كالفاغية التي ينضر فيها الفواغي فإنها ستعطى محاسن لبنان»، ولم يذكروا «أحمد». قال الشيخ: ونقل من السرياني «فإنها ستعطى بأحمد محاسن لبنان»، فعلمت أن في هذا الموضع كلاماً قد أسقطه بعضهم، ولعلّ بعضهم قد حرّفه. وليس يضرنا أن لا يكون هذا الاسم موجوداً، لأن الناس قد

وأنا الربّ أجيب يومئذٍ دعوتهم ولن أهملهم، بل أفجّر [لهم] **في الجبال الأنهار، وأجري بين القفار العيون وأحدث في البدو آجامًا وأجري في الأرض العطشى ماءًا معينًا وأنبت في القفار** [و]**البلاقع الصنوبر والآس والزيتون وأغرس في القاع الصفصف السرو البهية، ليروها جميعًا، ثم يتدبروا ويعلموا أن يد الله صنعت ذلك وقدوس إسرائيل ابتدعه.»** [Isa. 41:17–20]

وهذه صفات <أ 95أ> **العرب، لأنهم كانوا في المعاطش،** [ثم] **تفجّرت لهم المصانع في القفار وبين الجبال وجرت الأنهار بغربي البصرة** وذلك بظهورهم بدولة محمد صلى الله عليه وآله.[49]

[7] ومنها ما **أكّده في الفصل الحادي والعشرين** من كتاب أشعيا: «**إني خالق أمرًا جديدًا، وسترون ذلك وتعرفونه لتسبّحني وتحمدني حيوانات البرّ**[50] **من بنات آوى حتى النعائم، لأني أجريت الماء في البدو وأجريت الأنهار في بلد أبشمون لتشرب منها** [أمتي] **المصطفاة وتشرب منها الأمة التي اصطفيتها**». [Isa. 43:19f.][51]

[8] وبلد ايشمون (؟) هي القفار والأمة المصطفاة التي صارت لها بلاد البدو كما ذكرهم أمة محمد صلى الله عليه وآله. **وليس لهم أن يصرفوه إلى** ما **ينتظر** اليهود من **المسيح**، لأن ما <ب 189أ> في كتاب أشعياء أنه من بلاد البدو وجبال فاران كما لعلنا يذكره، والمسيح إنما **ينتظر من بلاد الروم، ولأنه قد بيّن** ذلك **في كتاب حزقيال** قال: **إن الذي يظهر من البادية يكون فيه حتف اليهود**، وهو «**إن أمك**[52] **مغروسة على الماء بدمك، فهي كالكرمة التي أخرجت ثمارها وأغصانها عن مياهٍ كثيرة وتفرّقت منها أغصان كالعصي قوية مشرفة على أغصان الأكابر والسادات وبسقت وارتفعت أغصانهن وأفنانهن**[53] **على غيرهن وحسنت أقدارهن بارتفاعهن والتفاف**[54] **شعبهن، فلم تلبث تلك الكرمة أن**[55] **قلعت بالسخطة وضرب بها على الأرض وأحرقت السمائم ثمارها، وتفرق**[56] **قواها، ويبس عصي عزّها**[57] **وأتت عليها النار فأكلتها، فعند ذلك غرسَ غرسٌ في البدو في الأرض المهملة المعطلة العطشى وخرج من أغصانه الفاضلة**». [Ezek. 19:10–14]

وفي نقل النصارى: «وخرج من أغصانه[58] **المختارة**[59]**»، ونقل من السرياني** «من أغضانه **المنتجبة** نار، فأكلت ثمار تلك حتى لم تبق منها عصا قوية ولا قضيب ينهض بأمر السلطان»، **وليس يشكّون أن هذا الكلام ورد في ذمّ اليهود وسخط الله عليهم وذلك دليل على أنه تبقى** <أ 95ب> **بقية يزيلها الغرس الذي غرس في أرض البادية، ودلّ قوله «من أغصانه المنتجبة» على أنه نبيّ**[60] **من قبل الله** تعالى **وهذا إنما تحقق**

علموا أنه قد حصل بسواد مكة من الرياض وأنواع الفاكهة، وحصل بغربيّ دجلة البصرة، وكانت من القفر ما قد علمه كل أحد من الرياض، وكان ذلك بالإسلام، والبشارة به تقتضي صحة ما تمّ هذا كله به.

49. Cf. al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, *al-Munqid*, 326:9–327:4:

ودلّ قوله «لترتاج البوادي وقراها ولتصير أرض قيدار مروجاً» على أن يأتي من قبل الله ما فيه نصرة هذا المكان ونصرة أهله، وأنه غير منتقم من جميع أهله، وهذا موافق لقوله في الفصل العاشر: «إنك ستأتين الأمر من جهة اليمن ومن أرض البادية»، وموافق لقوله في الفصل العشرين: «إن الضعفاء والمساكين يستسقون ماء ولا ماء لهم، وقد جفّت ألسنتهم من الظماء، وأنا الربّ أجيب يومئذٍ دعوتهم ولن أهملهم، بل أفجّر لهم في الجبال الأنهار، وأجري بين القفار العيون وأحدث في البدو آجامًا وأجري في الأرض العطشى ماءًا معينًا وأنبتّ في القفار والبلاقع الصنوبر والآس والزيتون وأغرس في القاع الصفصف السرو البهية، ليروها جميعًا ثم يتدبّروا ويعلموا أن يد الله صنعت ذلك وقدوس إسرائيل ابتدعه». وهذه صفات العرب، لأنهم كانوا في المعاطش، ثم تفجّرت المصانع في القفار وبين الجبال وجرت الأنهار بغربيّ البصرة وكانت قفارًا، وكل ذلك بالإسلام.

50. البرّ: اكثر، أ ب.

51. Cf. al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, *al-Munqid*, 327:5–7:

ثم وقد أكد في ذلك في الفصل الحادي والعشرين: «إني خالق أمرًا جديدًا، وسترون ذلك وتعرفونه لتسبحني وتحمدني حيوانات البرّ من بنات آوى حتى النعائم، لأني أجريت الماء في البدو وأجريت الأنهار في بلد أبشمون لتشرب منها أمتي المصطفاة وتشرب منها الأمة التي اصطفيتها». وقد صدّق الله هذا الخبر بما أحدث بالإسلام من المصانع والأنهار في البادية، ليشرب منها الحجيج وبلد اشيمون هو القفار.

52. أمك: امد، أ ب.

53. وأفنانهن: وابعالهن، أ ب.

54. والتفاق: والبغاف، أ.

55. أن: لن، أ.

56. وتفرق: تفرّقت، ب.

57. عصي عزّها: عصا عبرها + (إضافة في الهامش): أظنه عضاهها، أ ب.

58. أغصانه: + الفاضلة (مشطوب)، أ.

59. المختارة: لمختاره، أ.

60. نبيّ: شي، أ ب.

بالنبيّ عليه السلام، لأن **اليهود زالت دولتهم ولم يبق منها شيء إلّا**[61] **شيء بأرض الحجاز [كخيبر] وغيرها من القرى، فزال ذلك المنتجب البارز من الغرس**[62] **الذي غرس بالبادية فالغرس هو النبيّ** صلى الله عليه وآله واتباعه، **والغصن المنتخب هو علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام، والذين كانوا معه حين فتح خيبر.**[63]

[9] ومنها قيل: هذا **في الفصل العشرين من أشعياء وهو مذكور في الثالث وخمسين ومائة من مزامير داود** رواه الشيخ أبو الحسن قال رأه: **وذكر ابن ربن٦٤ الطبري رحمه الله أنه في الثاني وخمسين** هكذا «**لترتاج البوادي وقراها ولتصبر أرض قيدار مروجًا، وليسبّح سكّان الكهوف وليهتفوا من قلال الجبال بحمد الربّ وليذيعوا تسابيحه، فإن الربّ يأتي كالجبّار**[65] **وكالرجل المحرّك**[66] **المتلظّي المتكبّر**[67] **فهو يزجر ويتجبر ويقتل أعداءه**» [cf. Isa. 42:11–13].

وقيدار هو أبو[68] **العرب وابن إسماعيل، وأرضه مكة، وقد صارت مروجًا. وقد أخبر أنه يجيء مما هو من قبل الله** سبحانه **مما فيه الانتقام من الأعداء.** وذلك يدلّ على مثل ما دلّ عليه ما قبله وإن هذا الذي ينقم يخرج بأمر الله من بني قيدار، وليس إلّا محمد صلى الله عليه.[69]

[10] ومنها **في الفصل التاسع من السفر الأول** من التوراة «**إن هاجر لما غضبت على سارة تراءى لها ملك الله فقال لها: يا هاجر أين تريدين ومن أين أقبلت؟ قالت: أهرب من سيّدتي سارة. فقال لها: ارجعي إلى سيدتك واخفضي لها، فإن الله سيكثر زرعك وذريتك، وستحبلين وتلدين ابنًا وتسمّينه إسماعيل من أجل أن الله سمع دعاك وخشوعك، وهو يكون عير الناس، وتكون يده فوق الجميع ويد**

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61. إلا: + ا شى (مشطوب)، أ.
62. الغرس: للغرس، أ.

63. Al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 327:10–329:3:

فدل جملة ما ذكرناه على أن كتاب إشعيا مملوء بذكر البادية وبلاد العرب والبشارة بما حدث فيها بالإسلام وليس لهم أن يصرفوا ذلك إلى المسيح الذي ينتظرونه، لأن النصارى لا ترى ذلك، ولا اليهود تقول أنه يأتي من أرض العرب وجبال فاران، ولأن الإكثار من ذكر البادية يدل على أن المبشر به له اختصاص بالبادية. وعندهم أن الذي ينتظرونه يأتي من بلاد الروم ويكون اليهود متفرّقين في البلاد، ولأنه قد بان في الفصل التاسع من كتاب حزقيل أن الذي يظهر من البادية يكون فيه حتف اليهود، وهو «إن أمك مغروسة على الماء بدمك، فهي كالكرمة التي أخرجت ثمارها وأغصانها من مياه كثيرة وتفرّعت منها أغصان كالعصي قوية مشرفة على أغصان الأكابر والسادات وبسقت وارتفعت أغصانهن وأفنانهن على غيرهن وحسنت أقدارهن بارتفاعهن والتفاف شعبهن، فلم تلبث تلك الكرمة أن قلعت بالسخطة وضرب بها على الأرض وأحرقت السمائم ثمارها، وتفرق قواها، ويبس عصي عزّها وأتت عليها النار فأكلتها، فعند ذلك غرسَ غرسٌ في البدو وفي الأرض المهملة المعطلة العطشى وخرجت من أغصانه الفاضلة نار، فأكلت ثمارها حتى لم تبق منها عصا قوية ولا قضيب ينهض بأمر السلطان». هذا نفل ابن ربن. وفي نقل النصارى: «وخرج من أغصانه المختارة»، ونقل من السريانية «المنتجبة»، وليس يستنكرون في أن هذا الكلام ورد في ذمّ اليهود وسخط الله عليهم. قال الشيخ: فدلّ ذلك على أنه تبقى من أمرهم بقية يزيلها الغرس الذي غرس في أرض البادية، ودلّ قوله «من أغصانه المنتجبة» على أنه نبي من قبل الله وهذا إنما تحقق بالنبي عليه السلام، وذلك أن اليهود زالت دولتهم ولم يبق منها إلاّ شيء يسير بأرض الحجاز كخيبر وغيرها من القرى، فزال ذلك بالغصن المنتجب البارز من الغرس الذي غرس في البادية فالغرس هو النبي عليه السلام، والغصن المنتخب هو علي بن أبي طالب عليه السلام، والذين كانوا معه حين فتح خيبر.

64. ربن: زبن، أ.
65. كالجبار: كالجياد، أ ب.
66. المحرك: المجرب، أ؛ المحرب، ب.
67. المتكبر: للمكبر، أ ب.
68. أبو: اب، أ ب.

69. Cf. al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 326:1–9:

وفي الفصل العشرين من إشعيا وهو مذكور في الثالث والخمسين ومائة من مزامير داود على ما رأيته، وذكر ابن ربن الطبري أنه في الثاني والخمسين: «لترتاج البوادي وقراها ولتصير أرض قيدار مروجاً، وليسبّح سكّان الكهوف ويهتفوا من قلل الجبال بحمد الرب وليذيعوا تسابيحه، فإن الرب يأتي كالجبّار وكالرجل المتحرّك المتلظّي المتكبّر فهو يزجر ويتجبر ويقتل أعداءه». وقيدار هو أبو العرب وابن إسماعيل، وأرض قيدار مكة، وقد صارت مروجاً. وقد أخبر أنه يجيء ما هو من قبل الله تعالى مما فيه انتقام من الأعداء، ودلّ نسبته ذلك إلى الله على أنه حق غير باطل، ودلّ على ذلك أيضاً بقوله: «وليسبّح سكّان الكهوف ويهتفوا بحمد الرب» لأجل ما يجيء من قتل الأعداء. ودلّ قوله «لترتاج البوادي وقراها ولتصير أرض قيدار مروجاً» على أن يأتي من قبل الله ما فيه نصرة هذا المكان ونصرة أهله، وأنه غير منتقم من جميع أهله . . .

الجميع مبسوطة إليه <ب 189ب> **بالخضوع، وهو يسكن على جميع تحوم إخوته»**. [Gen. 16:6–12] **وهكذا نقل من ابن ربّن**[70] **الطبري الطبيب**.

وهذه **بشارة وليس يجوز أن يبشر بالملك من قبل الله** إلّا وهو حقّ وصواب. <أ 196أ> **ومعلوم أن إسماعيل وأولاده ما كانوا متصرفين** إلّا في القليل من الأرض وما بسطت يد الجميع بالخضوع إلّا لأمة محمد صلى الله عليه وآله فملكوا البلاد العراق والشام والعرب والشرق.[71]

[11] وفي بعض كتبهم «**جاء الله من طور سيناء والقدوس من جبال فاران، لقد انكسفت**[72] **السماء من بهاء محمد وامتلأت الأرض من حمده. يكون شعاع منظره مثل النور، يحوط بلده بعزّه، تسير المنايا أمامه وتصحب سباع الطير أجناده، قام فمسح الأرض وتأمل الأمم وبحث عنها. فتضعضعت الجبال القديمة واتّضعت الروابي الدهرية، وتزعزعت ستور أرض مدين، ولقد حاز المساعي القديمة وغضب الربّ على الأنهار، فرجزك في الأنهار واحتدام صولتك**[73] **في البحار. ركبت الخيول وعلوت مراكب الإنقاذ والغوث، وسترع في قسيك إغراقًا وترعًا وترتوي السهام بأمرك يا محمّد ارتواءً، وتحرث الأرض بالأنهار. فلقد رأتك الجبال فارتاعت وانحرف عنك شؤبوب السيل ونعرت المهاوي نعيرًا ورعبًا، ورفعت أيديها وجلًا وخوفًا، وتوقّفت الشمس والقمر عن مجراهما، وسارت العساكر في بريق سهامك ولمعان نيازكك. تدوخ الأرض غضبًا وتدوس الأمم رجزًا، لأنك ظهرت لخلاص أمتك وإنقاذ تراث آبائك»**. [Hab. 3:3–13] **هذا نقل من [ابن] ربّن الطبري رحمه الله**.

فأما النصارى فذكر الشيخ أبو الحسين رحمه الله أنه رأى في نقولهم: «والظهر من جبال فاران، لقد تغطّت السماء من بهاء المحمود وترتوي السهام بأمرك المحمود، لأنك ظهرت لخلاص أمتك وإنقاذ مسيحك». قال الشيخ رحمه الله: ونقل لي من السرياني بدلًا من قوله «وتأمل الأمم وبحث عنها» «كرب[74] **الأمم»، وبدلًا من قوله «ونعرت المهاوي»: «رفعت الهاوية صوتها وأخذت بسط باعها»، أي: ارتفع مَن كان منخفض القدر في العكس وقوله «فتضعضعت الجبال القديمة»، أي انخفض الملوك ومن كان رفيع القدر. ونقل وتوقفت الشمس والقمر عن مجراهما** <أ 96ب> **ليستنير في بريق سهامك ولمعان نيازكك**[75]**، أي: إنه قد بلغ من كثرة عساكرك وكثرة سلاحهم ما قد يزيد شعاعه على شعاع الشمس والقمر، فقد غشاهما**[76] **واحتاجا إليه، وذلك على سبيل المبالغة.**[77] **وجبال فاران هو الحجاز، لأن في التورات «أن إسماعيل**

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70. ربن: زين، ب.

71. Cf. al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 316:3–317:8:

ففي ذلك ما في الفصل التاسع من السفر الأول: «إن هاجر لما غضبت عليها سارة تراءى لها ملك الله تعالى فقال: يا هاجر أين تريدين ومن أين أقبلت؟ قالت: أهرب من سيّدتي سارة. فقال لها: ارجعي إلى سيدتك واخضعي لها، فإن الله سيكثر زرعك وذريتك، وستحبلين وتلدين ابناً وتسمّيه إسماعيل من أجل أن الله تعالى سمع تبتّلك وخشوعك، وهو يكون عير الناس، وتكون يده فوق يد الجميع ويد الجميع مبسوطة إليه بالخضوع وهو يسكن على تخوم أرض جميع إخوته». وهكذا نقل ابن رباء الطبريّ، وفي بعض النسخ ابن ربّن الطبيب. قال الشيخ أبو الحسين: فسمعت بعض اليهود ينقل كذلك: «وتكون يده في الكل ويد الكل فيه»، قال: لأن الموجود في العبراني باذ يكول وباذكول. وزعم أن هذا الباب يحتمل أن يده متصرّفة في الكل، ويحتمل أن يده في الكل بمعنى أنه يكون مخالطاً للكل. ووجه الاستدلال بهذا الكلام أنه خرج مخرج البشارة، وليس يجوز أن يبشّر الملك من قبل الله تعالى بالظلم والجور وبأمر لا يتمّ إلاّ بالكذب على الله سبحانه. ومعلوم أن إسماعيل وولده لم يكونوا متصرّفين في الكل، أعني في معظم الدنيا ومعظم الأمم، ولم يكونوا مخالطين للكل وممازجين لهم وأيديهم معهم وأيدي الكل معهم إلاّ بالإسلام، لأنهم كانوا قبل الإسلام محصورين في البادية، لا يتجاسرون على الدخول في أوائل العرب وأوائل الشام إلاّ على خوف تام. فلما جاء الإسلام استولوا على الشرق والغرب بالإسلام ومازجوا الأمم ووطنوا بلادهم، ومازجتهم الأمم وخالطوهم وقصدوهم وحجّوا قبلتهم ودخلوا إلى باديتهم لمجاورة الكعبة ولأخذ معالم الدين من المدينة أو مكة. فلو لم يكن النبيّ صادقاً على ما يدّعون لكان هذا القصد من الأمم، وهذه المخالطة منهم للأمم ومن الأمم لهم معصيةً لله وخروجاً عن طاعته ودينه إلى معصيته وطاعة الشيطان، والله عز وجل يتعالى عن أن يبشّر بما هذه سبيله.

72. انكسفت: انكشفت، أ ب.

73. صولتك: صوفيك، أ ب.

74. كرب: كدب، أ؛ كذب، ب.

75. نيازكك: بيارك، أ.

76. غشاهما: عشيتهما، أ ب.

77. Cf. al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 319:13–321:3:

قال: وأيضاً، ففي كتاب حبقوق بيان ما قلناه وهو: «جاء الله من طور سيناء والقدوس من جبل فاران، لقد انكسفت السماء من بهاء محمد وامتلأت الأرض من حمده. يكون شعاع منظره مثل النور، يحوط بلده بعزّه، تسير المنايا أمامه وتصحب سباع الطير أجناده، قام فمسح الأرض وتأمل الأمم وبحث عنها. فتضعضعت الجبال القديمة واتضعت الروابي الدهرية، وتزعزعت ستور أرض مدين، ولقد حاز المساعي القديمة وغضب الرب على الأنهار، فرجزك

يعلم[78] **الرمي في برية فاران» ومعلوم أنه** إنما سكن **مكة**[79] صلوات الله عليه.[80] وفيه دلالة أن محمدًا الخارج من جبال فاران هو رسول الله صلى الله عليه دون المسيح الذي يظنّه اليهود من بلاد العجم. **فأما نقل بعضهم المحمود فهو يعني محمد، لأن محمود ومحمد هما اللذان وقع لهما** الحمد **وهو في السريانية مسيحًا أي محمود ومحمد ولهذا إذا أراد السرياني أن يحمد الله سريحا لا لاهًا فقوله سريحا هو الحمد ولم يأت من جبال فاران مَن صفته** <ب 189ب> **هكذا إلّا محمد** وما ذكره في البحار وانقيادها له يدلّ أنه رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله، لأن أمته زكيت البحار بالخيول وأطاعت في ذلك وانقادت لها. **وأما قوله «إنقاذ مسيحك»، فإن النبيّ صلى الله عليه أنقذ المسيح عيسى عليه السلام من افتراء اليهود عليه وكذب النصارى له. وفي نقل اليهود: «جاء الربّ من طور سيناء والقدوس من جبال فاران سرمدًا»، وهذا يدلّ أن المراد به الوحي والشرع دائمًا** وأنه ليس الغرض به المسيح الدجّال، لأنه لا يكون إلّا قليلًا.[81]

[12] وهذه البشارات في الكتب المتقدّمة تدلّ على أن محمدًا صلى الله عليه وآله نبيّ صادق وأن ما جاء به حقّ وصواب. وذكر مشايخنا أن هذا القبيل كثير جدًّا ويعرفه من يعرف اللغة السريانية. وقد تمّ بما ذكرناه الموضع الثاني وهو في الدلالة على نبوته صلى الله عليه وآله.

في الأنهار واحتدام صولتك في البحار. ركبت الخيول وعلوت مراكب الإنقاذ والغوث، وستترع في قسيك إغراقاً وترعاً وترتوي السهام بأمرك يا محمّد ارتواءً، وتحرث الأرض بالأنهار. فلقد رأتك الجبال فارتاعت وانحرف عنك شؤبوب السيل ونعرت المهاوي نعيراً ورعباً، ورفعت أيديها وجلاً وخوفاً، وتوقفت الشمس والقمر عن مجراهما، وسارت العساكر في بريق سهامك ولمعان نيازكك. تدوخ الأرض غضباً وتدوس الأمم رجزاً، لأنك ظهرت لخلاص أمتك وإنقاذ تراث آبائك». هكذا نقل ابن ربّن الطبري. قال: فأما النصارى فرأيت في نقولهم: «وظهر من جبل فاران، لقد تقطعت السماء من بهاء المحمود وترتوي السهام بأمرك المحمود، لأنك ظهرت لخلاص أمتك وإنقاذ مسيحك». قال: ونقل من السرياني بدلاً من قوله «وتأمل الأمم وبحث عنها» «كرب الأمم»، وبدلاً من قوله «ونعرت المهاوي»: «رفعت الهاوية صوتها وأخذت بسط باعها»، أي: ارتفع مَن كان منخفض القدر في العسكر. وقوله «فتضعضعت الجبال القديمة»، أي انخفض الملوك ومن كان رفيع القدر. وتوقفت الشمس والقمر عن مجراهما ليستنير في بريق سهامك ولمعان نيازكك، أي: إنه قد بلغ من كثرة عساكرك وكثرة سلاحهم ما قد صار شعاعه يزيد على شعاع الشمس والقمر، فقد غشاهما واحتاجا إليه، وذلك على سبيل المبالغة وهذه الصفة موجودة في النبي عليه السلام وأمته.

78. يعلم: تعلّم، ب.

79. مكة: مله، ب.

80. Cf. al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 318:12f.:

وجبل فاران هو بالحجاز، لأن في التوراة: «إن إسماعيل تعلّم الرمي في برية فاران»، ومعلوم أنه إنما بمكة.

81. Cf. al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, *al-Munqiḏ*, 321:3–18:

«والقدوس من جبل فاران لقد انكسفت السماء من بهاء محمد» يفيد أن مجيئه أنتج عقيبه هذا الذي ذكرناه، ولم يكن ذلك إلا بمجيء محمد عليه السلام، دون [ما] ادّعوه من النار التي ظهرت من جبل فاران عند كلام الله لموسى عليه السلام. ألا ترى أن الإنسان إذا قال: دخل علينا زيد لقد أضاءت الدار وامتلأت سروراً، أفاد أن ذلك كان بسبب مجيئه وعقيبه؟ فأما نقلهم من بهاء المحمود فهو بمعنى محمد، لأن محمداً ومحموداً هما اللذان وقع عليهما الحمد. وهو بالسريانية: مشيحا ومشيوحا، أي محمداً ومحموداً، ولهذا إذا أراد السرياني أن يحمد الله، قال: مشيوحا لاها، فقوله مشيوحا هو الحمد، ولاها هو الله، وليس يضرنا هذا النقل منهم، لأنه لم يأت من جبل فاران مَن كان هذه صفته إلا محمد عليه السلام. فإن قالوا: المراد به الله إذا جاء المسيح، ولهذا قال في آخر الكلام: «وإنقاذ مسيحك»، قيل: لا يجوز وصف الله بأنه يركب الخيول أو بأن شعاع منظره مثل النور وبأنه حاز المساعي القديمة وليس لنا ترك ظواهر هذه الألفاظ لغير ضرورة. وأيضاً، فأنه ذكر هذه الألفاظ عقيب قوله «والقدوس من جبال فاران»، والمسيح عندهم لا يجيء من مكة والحجاز، فعلمنا بهذا أن المراد بالكلام شخص يجيء من الحجاز يتعقبه ما ذكره من عبور البحار والأنهار كما عبر المسلمون دجلة إلى المدائن. وأما قوله «إنقاذ مسيحك»، فإن محمداً صلى الله عليه وآله أنقذ المسيح عليه السلام من كذب النصارى عليه وافتراء اليهود عليه. وفي نقل اليهود: «جاء الرب من طور سيناء والقدوس من جبال فاران سرمداً»، وهذا يمنع من أن يكون هو ظهور النار من جبل فاران ويوجب أن يكون المراد به الوحي والشرع الدائم.

Chapter Sixteen
An Arabic Translation of the Pentateuch in the Library of the Twelver Šīʿite Scholar Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664/1266)

Sabine Schmidtke

There were two primary and distinct channels through which Muslim scholars received the text of the Bible, and both can be observed, with some variations, from a very early stage onward, continuing into the contemporary period.

In their attempt to employ biblical material for polemical purposes, Muslim scholars were interested in passages that purportedly predicted the advent of Islam and the Prophet Muḥammad. A second recurrent topic in Muslim polemics against Jews and Christians was the claim that the Qurʾān as God's final dispensation to mankind abrogates all earlier divine dispensations. Muslim writers were therefore eager to identify, especially in their argumentation with the Jews, cases of abrogation in the Hebrew Bible, which, they argued, show that the Jewish claim that Mosaic law has eternal validity is unfounded.[1] The biblical material adduced by Muslim authors for purposes such as these was usually transmitted in the form of lists of quotations of the relevant biblical passages. Among the earliest extant lists of alleged biblical annunciations of Muḥammad compiled by Muslim authors were Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī's (d. 251/865) *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* and Ibn Qutayba's (d. 276/889) *Aʿlām al-nubuwwa*.[2] Whereas it is plausible that Ibn Qutayba relied on earlier similar lists, the possibility has been discussed that Ibn Rabban, a Christian convert to Islam, compiled the corpus of relevant biblical quotations that is found in

1. The Jewish claim is typically based on verses such as Deut. 4:2 ("All that I command you, do not add to it, nor diminish from it") or, similarly, Deut. 12:32 ("What thing soever I command you, observe to do it: thou shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it.").

2. For Ibn Rabban's work, see the most recent edition and translation in Ebied and Thomas, *Polemical Works of ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī*. For Ibn Qutayba's *Aʿlām*, see Schmidtke, "Muslim Reception of Biblical Materials" [chapter 4 in the present volume]. See also Boušek, "Pfiedpovûdi pfiíchodu proroka Muhammada."

his *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla* himself, as he must have had direct access to the entire text of the Bible. However, it would be equally plausible that he drew on earlier, possibly Christian, secondary sources, in view of the older Christian tradition to collect predictions of the advent of Jesus Christ in the Hebrew Bible when polemicizing against the Jews.[3] Lists of quotations of this type constitute the first of the channels through which biblical material passed to Muslims.

A second channel through which Muslim authors received the Bible were copies containing the Arabic Bible in its entirety or, perhaps more likely, single books or groups of books of the Bible. One of the few known copies of portions of the Bible that were transcribed by Muslim scribes was completed on 2 Ramaḍān 649/November 17, 1251, containing Saʿadya Gaon's Arabic rendering of the Pentateuch.[4] Moreover, the Damascene Ḥanbalite scholar Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Maqdisī (b. 569/1174, d. 643/1245) is reported to have possessed in his library a copy of the *Tawrāt* and the *Inǧīl*, respectively.[5] The catalog of the library of Sultan Bāyazīd II (r. 886/1481–918/1512) also lists a significant number of translations of different parts of the Bible into Arabic and Persian.[6] For later centuries, there is firm evidence that it was not unusual for Muslims to consult the biblical text directly, and at times Muslim scholars even had access to different translations of the Bible (or rather parts of it). This is the case, for example, with Ibn Barrağān of Seville (d. 536/1141) who adduces biblical material from the book of Genesis and from Matthew in his exegesis of the Qurʾān to eludicate its meaning.[7] ʿAlā al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Bāǧī (d. 714/1315), an Egyptian scholar, discusses in his *Kitāb ʿalā l-Tawrāt*, a work primarily directed against Christianity, numerous incidents of alleged contradiction in the Pentateuch.[8] It seems that al-Bāǧī used the translation of a Coptic convert to the Melkite creed, Marqus Ibn al-Qunbar (d. 1208 CE).[9] His contemporary, Naǧm al-Dīn al-Ṭūfī (d. 716/1316), wrote a critical commentary on the four

3. See, e.g., Schreckenberg, *Die christlichen Adversus-Judaeos-Texte*, 61–81; Chazan, *Fashioning Jewish Identity*, 122–140 and passim.

4. MS Istanbul, Topkapı, Ahmed III 3522; cf. Dikken, "Some Remarks," 66; Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 243. The question as to the availability of manuscripts of the Bible or parts of it in Muslim libraries prior to the seventeenth century CE has not so far been investigated in a systematic fashion.

5. Cf. Muṭīʿ al-Ḥāfiẓ, *Dār al-ḥadīṯ al-Ḍiyāʾiyya wa-maktabatuhā*, 262.

6. MS Budapest, Török F 59, pp. 364-365 ("*tafṣīl al-kutub al-mutarǧama min al-Tawrāt wa-l-Zabūr wa-l-Inǧīl*"). An online version of the manuscript is accessible at http://real-ms.mtak.hu/50/ [accessed September 20, 2018]. I thank Nükhet Varlık for drawing my attention to this document.

7. Casewit, The Mystics of al-Andalus, 262-265; Casewit, "A Muslim scholar of the Bible"; McCoy III, "Sacra scriptura in Islamic contexts"; McCoy III,"What Hath Rome to do with Seville?"

8. The work has been edited twice. See CMR, s.v. "Al-Bājī," 4/767f. (J. P. Monferrer Sala; with further references).

9. A detailed discussion of this tract, together with an edition and a Spanish translation, is provided by Zurghani, "'Alāʾ al-Dīn al-Bāǰī." For Marqus, see CMR, s.v. "Marqus ibn al-Qunbar," 4/98–108 (M. N. Swanson).

Gospels, *al-Taʿlīq ʿalā l-Anāǧīl al-arbaʿa wa-l-taʿlīq ʿalā l-Tawrāt wa-ʿalā ġayrihā min kutub al-anbiyāʾ*.[10] Throughout his *tafsīr*, *Naẓm al-durar fī tanāsub al-āyāt wa-l-suwar*, the exegete Abū l-Ḥasan Ibrāhīm al-Biqāʿī (d. 885/1480) regularly refers to and quotes from "an old Arabic version [of the Bible], which was Jewish," the exact identity of which still needs to be established.[11] The anonymous author of the *Kitāb Taʾyīd al-milla*, a polemical work against Christianity composed during the first half of the fourteenth century CE that was popular in the Iberian Peninsula, may also have had access to a copy of Saʿadya Gaon's Arabic rendering of the Pentateuch,[12] and there is evidence that Arabic translations of the Pentateuch circulated among Muslims in Christian Spain during this period.[13] Later on, the accessibility to Muslim scholars of the text of the entire Arabic Bible was significantly facilitated when printed versions became available.[14] Among the most widely distributed translations were the so-called Roman Arabic Vulgate, the first printed Gospels, in Arabic and Latin, published in 1591 by the Typographia Medicea in Rome;[15] the *Biblia Sacra Arabica*, ordered by the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide (published in 1671);[16] and, in the nineteenth century, the so-called Van Dyck Bible Translation (published in 1865).[17] At the same time, the use of lists containing biblical passages that were typically adduced for polemical purposes (and were often lifted from earlier works) continued to be a popular practice[18] and can be encountered until the present time.[19]

The question as to the earliest instances of Muslim scholars with immediate access to the Bible, or parts of it, is still open. Apart from Ibn Rabban, who may or may not have had direct access to the Bible, there are two additional candidates. The first is Ibn Qutayba, who quotes extensively from the Pentateuch in his works *Maʿārif*, *Taʾwīl muḫtalif*

10. Demiri, *Muslim Exegesis of the Bible*.

11. See CMR, s.v. "Al-Biqāʿī," 5/537–543 (with further references). Some preliminary remarks on this question have been made by Saleh, "'Sublime in Its Style.'" See also McCoy III, "*Scriptura Scripturam Interpretatur*"; McCoy III, "The spirit is ... rejoicing?" For a contemporary example from Spain, see Saleh, "Reflections on Muslim Hebraism."

12. See Colominas Aparicio, *Religious Polemics*, passim (with further references).

13. Colominas Aparicio, *Religious Polemics*, passim; van Koningsveld, "Andalusian-Arabic Manuscripts," 98, 99f., 103.

14. For an overview, see Rizzi, *Edizioni della Bibbia*, 1067–1100.

15. On its reception among Iranian scholars, see Halft, "Arabic Vulgate."

16. See Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, chapter 5; Vollandt, "Una Bibbia Arabica integra."

17. See Binay, "Revision of the Manuscripts"; Grafton, *Contested Origins*; Issa, "Biblical Reflections."

18. See, e.g., Schmidtke, "Muslim Reception of Biblical Materials."

19. See, e.g., Muḥammad Tawfīq Ṣidqī (b. 1881, d. 1920), *Bašāʾir ʿĪsā wa-Muḥammad*; Abū Ṭālib, *Tabāšīr al-Inǧīl wa-l-Tawrāt*; al-Ṭahṭāwī, *Muḥammad nabī l-Islām*. Modern systematic refutations of entire parts of the Bible include al-Bāǧa Ǧī Zāda (b. 1832, d. 1911), *al-Fāriq bayn al-maḫlūq wa-l-ḫāliq*, a work focusing on the Gospels. Modern refutations of the Pentateuch include al-Saqqā, *Naqd al-Tawrāt*; al-Ṣamādī, *Naqd al-naṣṣ al-tawrātī*.

al-ḥadīṯ, *Taʾwīl muškil al-Qurʾān*, and *ʿUyūn al-aḫbār*.[20] As has been shown by Richard C. Steiner and again by Ronny Vollandt, the similarity between Ibn Qutayba's rendering of excerpts from the Book of Genesis and the Arabic translation of the book as preserved in MS Sinai Arab 2 is striking.[21] MS Sinai Arab 2 represents the earliest attested Christian translation of the Pentateuch arising from the East Syriac communities (Arab^{Syr}1, according to Vollandt's classification). Although the possibility that Ibn Qutayba gleaned the biblical material from a secondary source cannot be excluded, it is equally plausible that he had a copy of this very translation of the Pentateuch (or at least of those Pentateuchal books he quotes from) at his disposal. It should be noted here that Ibn Qutayba is an interesting case, as his works exemplify both of the means through which the Bible found its way into Muslim polemics. While in his *Aʿlām al-nubuwwa* he clearly depends on an early, secondary list of biblical "predictions" of Muḥammad's advent, his access to the Pentateuch when writing his *Maʿārif*, *Taʾwīl muḫtalif al-ḥadīṯ*, and *Taʾwīl muškil al-Qurʾān* is a more direct one. This is corroborated by the fact that Ibn Qutayba's Pentateuch quotations in the *Aʿlām* reflect a different translation tradition than that found in his *Maʿārif* and the two *Taʾwīl* works.

A second author of the third/ninth century who may have had direct access to some books of the Bible is Aḥmad b. Isḥāq al-Yaʿqūbī (d. after 292/897), who integrates extensive portions of the canonical Gospel into his *Tārīḫ* when discussing Jesus' biography.[22] Another author with possible first-hand knowledge of the Bible is Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), who used much biblical material when composing his *Fiṣal*.[23] By contrast, in his *al-Uṣūl wa-l-furūʿ*, Ibn Ḥazm relies on the list of biblical "predictions" of the Islamic Prophet given by Ibn Qutayba in his *Aʿlām al-nubuwwa*.[24]

In the following, I will discuss the case of an Arabic Pentateuch that was part of the personal library of a Twelver Šīʿite scholar of the sixth/twelfth century in al-Ḥilla. Evidence for this is provided by the prominent seventh/thirteenth-century Imāmī scholar Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Saʿd al-Dīn Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664/1266), who hailed from al-Ḥilla and sojourned in Baghdad during the Mongol conquest of the city. Ibn Ṭāwūs was a traditionist (and, as such, a fierce opponent of *kalām*), and his substantial oeuvre comprises writings in the fields of *ḥadīṯ*, supplications, history and biography, and polemics, as well as astrology. Moreover, Ibn Ṭāwūs is well known for his rich personal library. What sets

20. See Vajda, "Observations"; Lecomte, "Les citations"; Isteero, "Ibn Qutayba's Biblical Quotations"; Karoui, *Die Rezeption der Bibel*; Pietruschka, "Präsentation und Umformung biblischen Materials."

21. Steiner, *Biblical Translation in the Making*, 52ff.; Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 97–102.

22. See CMR, s.v. "Al-Yaʿqūbī," 2/75–78 (with further references). On al-Yaʿqūbī, see also Anthony, "Was Ibn Wāḍiḥ al-Yaʿqūbī a Shiʿite Historian?" and the biographical essay by Anthony and Gordon in volume 1 of *The Works of Ibn Wāḍiḥ al-Yaʿqūbī.*

23. The biblical material quoted in the *Fiṣal* has been conveniently collected in al-Ḫūrī, *al-Kitāb al-muqaddas*. For Ibn Ḥazm's use of the Hebrew Bible, see also Adang, *Muslim Writers*, passim.

24. See Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 167ff. See also chapter 5 in the present volume.

him apart from most other owners of historical libraries is the care he took to document his collection and the use he made of the books in his library when composing his own works. Ibn Ṭāwūs compiled a catalogue of the holdings of his library, *al-Ibāna fī maʿrifat* (*asmāʾ*) *kutub al-ḫizāna*, which is lost. He later supplemented the catalogue with his *Saʿd al-suʿūd li-l-nufūs manḍūd min kutub waqf ʿAlī b. Mūsā b. Ṭāwūs*. In this work—a kind of catalogue raisonné, which is only partly preserved and was perhaps never completed—Ibn Ṭāwūs provides more detailed information on selected books he had in his possession, together with extensive quotations from those works. Moreover, throughout his own writings, he documents his sources with great accuracy, often indicating the volume, quire, or even folio or page of the codices he is quoting from.[25]

Ibn Ṭāwūs reports in his *Saʿd al-suʿūd* that he had found an "old copy" of the Pentateuch in the library of his maternal grandfather, Warrām b. Abī Firās al-Naḫaʿī (d. 605/1208)[26] or, as he states elsewhere in the same work, in the library of the latter's sons (*Tawrāt waǧadtuhā mufassara bi-l-ʿarabiyya fī ḫizānat kutub wuld ǧaddī Warrām b. Abī Firās … ʿatīqa*),[27] and that he transcribed the text for his own library (*fa-nasaḫnā minhā nusḫa wa-waqaftuhā*).[28] He subsequently proceeds to adduce extensive quotations from all five books of the Pentateuch—Genesis (5:3; 7:13, 24; 9:28f.; 16:1–12; 17:19f.; 21:14–21; 22:16–18; 25:7; 27:28; 47:28; 50:3, 10, 22); Exodus (29:5–10, 32–35, 44–46; 39:27–31; 40:12–

25. The first western scholar to devote a study to Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs was Rudolf Strothmann (1877–1960), *Die Zwölfer-Schiʿa*, part 2: "Raḍīeddīn Ṭāʾūsī." Ibn Ṭāwūs' bibliographical practices and the contents of his library have been examined in depth in Etan Kohlberg's seminal study of 1992, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*. *Saʿd al-suʿūd* is available in several editions; see the bibliography. None of the editors consulted MS Mashhad, Āstān-i quds, 1693, seemingly the earliest preserved manuscript of the text. I thank Omid Hoseini Nezhad for providing me with images of this manuscript. In the following, reference will be given to this manuscript of the text, as well as to al-Ḥassūn's edition (in brackets). For a description of the manuscript as well as all other extant copies of the work, see Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, 18/134f. In addition to this, significant portions of the work and of the chapter in question are quoted by Muḥammad Bāqir al-Maǧlisī (d. 1110/1698) in his *Biḥār al-anwār*. On Ibn Ṭāwūs's library see now also Liebrenz, "A Medieval Muslim Scholar's Legacy."

26. Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Saʿd*, f. 6a [ed. al-Ḥassūn, p. 13]. Warrām was a scholar of al-Ḥilla who had studied with Sadīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī; the latter flourished during the second half of the sixth/twelfth century and completed his comprehensive theological *summa*, *al-Munqiḏ min al-taqlīd*, on 9 Ǧumādā I 581/August 8, 1185, in al-Ḥilla during his visit to the city. See Muntaǧab al-Dīn, *Fihrist*, 185f., no. 522. On Warrām, see also Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 3 (with further references). Warrām's interest in the Bible may have been triggered by al-Ḥimmaṣī, who includes in his *Munqiḏ* a lengthy section of biblical passages allegedly predicting the advent of the Prophet Muḥammad (which he gleaned from Ibn Rabban's *al-Dīn wa-l-dawla*; see Adang, "Rare Case" [chapter 12 in the present volume]), and it is further attested in his *Tanbīh al-ḫawāṭir wa-nuzhat al-nawāẓir* ("*Maǧmūʿat Warrām*"), in which he includes numerous pseudobiblical quotations from the "*Tawrāt*." The work has been edited repeatedly. I have consulted the edition of Bāsim Muḥammad Māl Allāh al-Asadī.

27. Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Saʿd*, f. 32b [p. 79].

28. Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Saʿd*, f. 32b [p. 79].

16); Leviticus (6:16, 18; 8:5–13); Numbers (17:6–11; 18:8; 20:25–29; 33:38f.); and Deuteronomy (18:17f.; 33:1–3; 34:5–8)—providing, as a rule, detailed references for each passage.[29]

Although Ibn Ṭāwūs does not address the issue of the provenance of the Arabic translation(s) of the Pentateuch, a comparison of the quotations preserved in his *Saʿd* with earlier renderings of the Five Books of Moses allows us to identify the recension that each of the books reflects.[30] It turns out that the Pentateuch in his possession was in fact an amalgam of distinct translation traditions, a phenomenon that is not uncommon in the manuscript tradition of the Pentateuch in Arabic translation.[31]

The renderings of the passages from Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus agree with those found in one of the most popular translations of the Peshiṭta Pentateuch that emerged in East Syriac communities and is attested in numerous manuscript copies from diverse places (Arab^{Syr}2, according to the classification of Vollandt). The *terminus ante quem* of this rendering is provided by MS Sinai Arab 4, copied in the thirteenth century CE from a now-lost antigraph dating to 353 AH/964 CE.[32] The following testimonies have been collated: MS Sinai Arab 4; MS Oxford, New College Library, 335 (dated 9 Ayyār 1504 AM = Ǧumādā I 589 AH = 1193 CE); MS Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.arab. 234 (dated 23 Rağab 898/May 10, 1493); MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Diez. A. quart. 106 (dated Ḏū l-qaʿda 678/March 1280). Among those four testimonies, MS Munich BSB Cod.arab. 234 is by far the closest to the renderings adduced by Ibn Ṭāwūs (with the exception of passage 11, where Ibn Ṭāwūs has an addition that is attested only in MS Sinai Arab 4). Nevertheless, the variants between these four testimonies are in fact considerable, and future research will certainly bring to light further divisions within the Arab^{Syr}2 translation tradition.[33] The only exceptions are passages 2 and 16, which, it seems, have no exact parallels in Arab^{Syr}2 or any other Christian translation in Arabic—Ibn Ṭāwūs may have paraphrased the biblical text in those instances. This is suggested in passage 2 by the omission of Noah's wife, who is included in Gen. 7:13, and the fact that the entire passage is an amalgam of different verses revolving around Noah. Other than the omis-

29. Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Saʿd*, ff. 32b–38b [pp. 79–93].

30. For a study of the Arabic recensions of the Pentateuch, see Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*.

31. See, e.g., Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 221, 222, and passim. See also below, Table II, for the case of MS Berlin, SBB, Diez. A. quart. 106, a representative of Arab^{Syr2} in which missing passages in Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy have been added on the basis of an antigraph containing Arab^{Syr_Hex}1b.

32. On the codex, see also Monferrer Sala, "Plumbing the Depths," passim; Steiner, *Biblical Translation in the Making*, passim; Zewi, *Samaritan Version*, passim; Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 245f. For the dating of MS Sinai Arab 4, see now Treiger, "From Theodore Abū Qurra to Abed Azrié," n. 53 and passim.

33. Vollandt lists eleven manuscripts in addition to several Genizah fragments as testimonies of this translation tradition (*Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 245–252), with no attempt to distinguish any further divisions within this group of manuscripts.

sion of the wife, the details provided in these two passages agree with the biblical text.[34] The following table juxtaposes the renderings of Ibn Ṭāwūs (right column)[35] with the translation of the relevant passages according to Arab^{Syr}2 as contained in MS BSB Cod. arab. 234 (left column).

Genesis			
MS Munich, BSB, Cod.arab. 234	Ibn Ṭāwūs (MS Mashhad, Āstān-i quds, 1693) {MS Marʿašī 4920}		
[3]وجميع ايام حياة ادم تسع مائة وثلاثين سنة ومات f. 2b:22	[3]حياة آدم كانت تسع مائة وثلاثين سنة *Saʿd*, f. 32b:16 [p. 79]	5:3	1
	[24]ان الطوفان بقي على وجه الارض مائة وخمسين يوماً [13]وان الذين كانوا معه في السفينة من الانس بنوه الثلاث سام وحام ويافث ونسآؤهم [29]وان جميع ايام حياة نوح تسعمائة وخمسون سنة [28]وان حياته بعد الطوفان كانت ثلثمائة وخمسين سنة *Saʿd*, f. 33a:3–7 [p. 80]	7:24, 13; 9:29, 28	2
[1]وان سرى امراه ابرم لم تكن تلد له وكانت لها امة مصرية اسمها هاجر [2]فقالت سرى لابرم ان الرب قد حرمني الولد فادخل على امتي وابن بها لعلي اتعزى بولد منها فصنع ابرم قول سرى واطاعها [3]وانطلقت سرى امراة ابرم بهاجر امتها **المصرية وذلك بعد ما سكن ابرم ارض كنعان عشر سنين** [4]**وادخلتها على** ابرم زوجها فدخل ابرم على هاجر فحبلت فلما رات انها قد حبلت استسفهت وزرت لسيدتها وهانت في عينها [5]فقالت سرى لابرم انت صاحب ظلامتى انا وضعت امتى في حضنك فلما حبلت هنت عليها يحكم الرب بيني وبينك [6]فقال ابرم لسرى امراته هذه امتك مسلمة في يديك اصنعي فاصنعي بها ما احببت وحسن في عينيك وسرك ووافقك فاهانتها سرى سيدتها فهربت منها [7]فلقيها	[1]وان سارة امراة ابراهيم لم يكن يلد لها ولد كانت لها امة مصرية اسمها هاجر[2]فقالت سارة لابراهيم ان الله قد حرمني الولد فادخل على امتي وابن بها لعلي اتعزا <اثعر> بولد منها فسمع ابراهيم قول سارة واطاعها [3]فانطلقت سارة امراة <امراة: إضافة في الهامش> ابراهيم بهاجر امتها المصرية وذلك بعد ما سكن ابراهيم ارض كنعان عشر سنين [4]فادخلتها على ابراهيم زوجها فدخل ابراهيم على هاجر فحبلت فلما رآت هاجر انها قد حبلت استسفهت هاجر سارة سيدتها وهانت في عينها [5]فقالت سارة يا ابراهيم انت صاحب ظلامتي انما وضعت امتي في حضنك فلما حبلت <احبلت> هنت عليها يحكم الرب بيني وبينك [6]فقال ابراهيم لسارة امراته هذه امتك مسلمة في يدك	16:1–12	3

34. For the story of Noah in the Islamic tradition, see Tottoli, *Biblical Prophets*, 21ff. and passim; Canova, "Prophet Noah."

35. As a rule, no attempt has been made to provide a critical edition of Ibn Ṭāwūs's renderings as transmitted in MS Āstān-i quds 1693, except in the case of obvious errors, when the original wording is indicated in <angle brackets>. I thank Etan Kohlberg for having collated the biblical passages quoted here with MS Marʿašī 4920, a copy of which is in his possession.

		فاصنعي بها ما احببت <احببتي> وحسن في عينيك وسرك ووافقك فاهانتها سارة سيدتها فهربت <فهرب> منها [7]فلقيها ملاك الرب على عين <غير> مآء وفي البرية في طريق حذار [8]فقال لها يا هاجر امة سارة من اين اقبلت واين تريدين فقالت انا هاربة من سارة سيدتي [9]فقال لها ملاك الرب انطلقي الى سيدتك وتعبدي لها [10]ثم قال لها ملاك الرب عن قول الرب انا مكثر زرعك ومثمره حتى لا يحصوا من كثرتهم [11]ثم قال لها ملاك الرب انك حبلتى وستلدين ابناً وتدعين اسمه اسماعيل لان الرب قد عرف ذلك وخضوعك [12]ويكون ابنك هذا <هذي> وحشي من الناس يده على كل يد وسيجل على جميع حدود اخوته *Saʿd*, ff. 33a:9–33b:13 [pp. 80–82]	ملك الرب على عين مآ في البرية في طريق حذار [8]فقال لها يا هاجر امة سرى من اين اقبلت واين تريدين فقالت انا هاربة من سرى سيدتي [9]قال لها ملك الرب انطلقي الى سيدتك وتعبدي لها [10]ثم قال لها ملك الرب عن قول الرب انا مكثر زرعك ومنميه حتى لا يحصى من كثرته [11]ثم قال لها ملك الرب انك حبلى وستلدين ابناً وتدعين اسمه اسمعيل لان الرب قد عرف ذلك وخضوعك [12]ويكون ابنك هذا وحشي من الناس يده على كل ويد كل به وسيجل على حدود جميع اخوته f. 5b:23–33
4	17:19f.	[19]وقال الله لابراهيم حقا ان سارة ستلد لك ابنا وتسميه اسحق واثبت العهد بيني <بينه> وبينه الى الابد ولذريته من بعده [20]وقد استجبت لك في اسماعيل وبركته وكبّرته واثميته جداً جداً يولد له اثنى عشر عظيماً وأجعله رئيساً لشعب عظيم *Saʿd*, f. 33b:14–18 [p. 82]	[19]وقال الله لابرهيم حقا ان سارة صاحبتك ستلد لك ابناً وتسميه اسحق واثبتُ العهد بيني وبينه إلى الابد ولذريته من بعده [20]وقد استجبت لك <في> اسمعيل وبركته وكثرته واثميته جدا جدا يولد له اثنا عشر عظيما واجعله عظيماً رئيساً لشعب عظيم f. 6a:17–19
5	21:14–21	[14]فغدا ابراهيم باكرا فاخذ خبزاً واداوةً من مآءٍ واعطاه هاجر فحملها والصبي والطعام فارسلها وانطلقت فتاهت في برية بئر سبع [15]ونفد المآء من الإداوة فألقت الصبي تحت شجرة من شجر الشيح [16]فانطلقت فجلست قبالته وتباعدت عنه كرمية السهم لانها قالت لا اعاين <اعابر> موت الصبي فجلست ازاءه ورفعت صوتها وبكت [17]فسمع الرب صوت الصبي فدعا ملاك الرب هاجرا من السمآء فقال لها ما لك يا هاجر لا تخافي لان الرب قد سمع صوت الصبي حيث هو [18]قومي فاحملي الصبي وشدي به يديك لاني اجعله رئيساً لشعب عظيم [19]واجلى الله عن بصرها فرات بئر ماءٍ فانطلقت فأملات الإداوة وسقت الغلام [20]وكان الله مع الغلام فشب الغلام وسكن برية فاران وكان يتعلم الرمي [21]في تلك البرية وزوجته أمه امراة من اهل مصر *Saʿd*, f. 34a:3–17 [p. 93]	[14]فغدا ابرهم باكرا فاخذ خبزاً واداوة ما واعطاه هاجر وحملها الصبي والطعام فارسلها فانطلقت فتاهت في برية بير سبع [15]ونفد المآ من الاداوة فالقت الصبي تحت شجرة من شجر الشيح [16]وانطلقت فجلست قبالته وتباعدت عنه بكرمية السهم لانها قالت لا اعاين موت الصبي فجلست ازاءه ورفعت صوتها وبكت [17]فسمع الرب صوت الصبي فدعا ملك الرب هاجر من السما وقال لها ما لك يا هاجر لا تخافي لان الرب قد سمع صوت الصبي حيث هو [18]قومي فاحملي الصبي وشدي به يديك لاني اجعله رئيساً لشعبٍ عظيم [19]واجلى الله عن بصرها ورأت بير ماء فانطلقت فملات الاداوة وسقت الغلام [20]وكان الله مع الغلام فشب الغلام وسكن برية فاران وكان يتعلم الرمي [21]في تلك البرية وزوجته امه امراة من أهل مصر f. 7b:9–15

6	22:16–18	[16]وقال له اني اقسمت يقول الرب بدل ما صنعت هذا الصنع ولم تمنعني بكرك الابن <ذكرك نزوين> الوحيد [17]لابركنك بركة تامة <ثانية> ولاكثرن نسلك مثل كواكب السمآء ومثل الرمل الذي بساحل البحر ويرث زرعك اراضي اعدائهم [18]ويتبارك بنسلك جميع الشعوب لانك اطعتني *Saʿd*, f. 34b:2–7 [p. 84]	[16]وقال له اني قد اقسمت يقول الرب بدل ما صنعت هذا الصنيع ولم تمنعني بكرك الابن الوحيد [17]لابركنك بركةً تامةً ولاكثرن نسلك مثل كواكب السمآ ومثل الرمل الذي بساحل البحر ويرث زرعك اراضي اعدائهم [18]ويتبارك بنسلك جميع الشعوب لانك اطعتني f. 8a:2–4
7	25:7	[7]حياة ابراهيم عه مائة وخمس وسبعون سنة *Saʿd*, f. 34b:11 [p. 84]	هذه حياة ابرهيم الذي عاش ماية وخمسة وسبعين سنة f. 9a:10
8	37:28	[28]اخوة يوسف باعوه بعشرين مثقالاً من فضة *Saʿd*, f. 35a:2f. [p. 85]	[28]وباعوا يوسف من الاعراب بعشرين مثقالاً من الفضة f. 14a:28
9	47:28	[28]حياة يعقوب وكانت له مائة سنة وسبعاً واربعين *Saʿd*, f. 35a:5f. [p. 85]	[28]وكانت جميع ايام حياة يعقوب ماية سنةً وسبعاً واربعين سنةً f. 18b:21
10a	50:10	[10]يوسف بكى على ابيه سبعة ايام *Saʿd*, f. 35a:7 [p. 85]	[10]وبكا على ابيه سبعة ايام f. 19b:15f.
10b	50:3	[3]وناح المقربون عليه سبعين يوماً *Saʿd*, f. 35a:8 [p. 85]	[3]وناح المقريون عليه سبعين يوما MS Sinai Arab 4 f. 63a:15 [passage missing in MS BSB Cod.arab. 234]
10c	50:22	[22]عمر يوسف مائة وعشرين {وعشر (وفوقها: ين)} سنين *Saʿd*, f. 35a:8f. [p. 85]	وعاش يوسف ماية سنةٍ وعشر سنين f. 19b:26f.

For the Book of Numbers, Ibn Ṭāwūs uses the equally popular translation attributed to the West Syriac scholar al-Ḥāriṯ b. Sinān (Arab^{Syr_Hex}1a, according to Vollandt's classification), who was apparently active during the first half of the tenth century CE and whose translation of the Pentateuch is based on the Syro-Hexaplaric version of Paul, Bishop of Tella (ca. 617 CE).[36]

36. For this translation and its manuscripts, see Nasrallah, "Deux versions Melchites," 206–210; Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 60f., 253–259. A critical edition of al-Ḥāriṯ's rendering of the Pentateuch is currently being undertaken by a team of scholars, including Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala, Ronny Vollandt, Sabine Schmidtke, Omar Hamdan, and Miriam L. Hjälm.

The following testimonies have been consulted: MS Joun, L'Ordre Basilien du Saint-Sauveur (OBS) 224; MS Oxford, Bodleian, Laud. Or. 258; and MS San Lorenzo de El Escorial, El Escorial 1857 (on these manuscripts see also below, Table III). Among these three testimonies, the rendering contained in MS Laud. Or. 258 is significantly closer to the translated passages included by Ibn Ṭāwūs in this section than are the other testimonies of Arab^{Syr_Hex}1a. The following table accordingly juxtaposes Ibn Ṭāwūs's translations (right column) with those found in MS Laud. Or. 258 (left column).

Numbers			
MS Oxford, Bodleian, Laud. Or. 258	Ibn Ṭāwūs (MS Mashhad, Āstān-i quds, 1693) {MS Marʿašī 4920}		
[6]فكلم موسى بني إسرائيل فدفع اليه جميع رؤسائهم عصا لكل راس عصا واحداً لكل رئيس كسوت قبائلهم اثنا عشر عصا وعصا هرون بين عصيهم [7]فوضع موسى العصى امام الرب في قبة الشهادة [8]فلما كان من غد ذلك اليوم ودخل موسى وهرون الى قبة الشهادة فاذا عصا هرون من بيت لاوي قد اورقت واخرجت نبتاً وازهرت زهراً وحملت جوزاً [9]واخرج موسى جميع العصى من امام وجه الرب الى جماعة بني اسرائيل فنظروا واخذ كل واحد عصاه [10]فقال الرب لموسى ضع عصا هرون امام الشهادات لتبقى آية لبني الابا وهدى بعينهم ولا يموتوا [11]ففعل موسى وهرون جميع ما امر به الرب كذلك فعلا ff. 297a:11–297b:9	[6]وكلم موسى بني اسرائيل فدفع إليه جميع رؤسائهم عصا لكل رئيس عصا واحد لكل رئيس كسوة قبائلهم اثنا عشر عصا وعصا هرون بين عصيهم [7]فوضع موسى العصا امام الرب في قبة الشهادة [8]فلما كان من غد ذلك اليوم دخل موسى وهرون الى قبة الشهادة واذا عصا هرون من بيت لاوى قد اورقت واخرجت تيناً وازهرت زهراً وحملت لوزاً [9]فاخرج موسى جميع العصا من امام وجه الرب الى جماعة بني اسرائيل فنظرت واخذ كل واحد عصاه [10]وقال الرب لموسى ضع عصا هرون امام الشهادة لتبقى آية لبني الابا وهدى <وهذا> بعينهم ولا يموتوا [11]ففعل موسى وهرون جميع ما امر الرب لذلك فعلا *Saʿd*, f. 37a:4–14 [p. 90]	17:6–11	18
[18]وكلم الرب هرون فقال اني قد وهبت لكم حرس خاصتي من جميع ما قدس لي من بني اسرائيل واياك اعطيت ذلك كرامةً لك ولبنيك من بعدك سنةً إلى الابد. ff. 298a:12–298b:2	[18]وكلم الرب هرون فقال اني قد وهبت لكم حرس خاصّتي من جميع ما قدس لي من بني اسرائيل وانا اعطيت ذلك كرامةً لك وبنيك من بعدك سنة الى الابد *Saʿd*, ff. 37a:16–37b:1 [p. 90]	18:8	19
[25]فخذ هرون ولعازر ابنه واصعدهما الى جبل هور بحضرة كل الجمع [26]واخلع عن هرون رداه والبسه لعازر ابنه وهرون فانه يجتمع ويموت هناك [27]ففعل موسى ما امره الرب به فاصعده الى جبل هور بحضرة كل الجماعة [28]فنزع موسى عن هرون ثيابه والبسها لعازر ابنه فمات هرون هناك على راس الجبل وهبط موسى ولعازر عن الجبل [29]ونظر كل الجماعة الى هرون قد قضى فناح جميع بيت اسرائيل على هرون ثلثون يوماً f. 301b:5–12	[25]فخذ هرون والعازر ابنه واصعدهما الى جبل هور بحضرة كل الجماعة [26]واخلع عن هرون ثيابه والبسها العازر ابنه {+ (حاشية) وهرون فانه يموت هناك ويجتمع مع سعيه} [27]ففعل موسى ما امر الرب واصعده إلى جبل هور بحضرة كل الشعب [28]ونزع موسى ثيابه عن هرون والبسها العازر ابنه فمات هرون هناك على راس الجبل وهبط موسى والعازر عن الجبل [29]وعلم كل الشعب ان هرون قد قضى فناح جميع بيت اسرائيل على هارون ثلاثين يوماً *Saʿd*, f. 37b:3–9 [p. 91]	20:25–29	20

21	33:38f.	[38]مات هرون {هرون + (حاشية) هناك} لسنة اربعين لخروج بني اسرائيل من ارض مصر في الشهر الخامس في اول يوم من الشهر [39]وكان هرون ابن مائة وعشرين سنة حين مات في جبل هور *Saʿd*, f. 37b:10–13 [p. 91]	[38]فمات هناك في سنة اربعين لخروج بني اسرائيل من ارض مصر في الشهر الخامس في اول يوم من الشهر [39]وكان هرون بن مائة وثلثه وعشرون سنة وقتاً مات في جبل هور f. 326a:10–13

Ibn Ṭāwūs's quotations from Deuteronomy point to yet another Christian translation of the Bible that originated among the East Syriac communities (Arab^{Syr}1, according to Vollandt's classification).[37] This recension, a faithful translation of the Peshiṭta which is attested in only a few manuscripts, viz. MS Sinai Arab 2 (dated 328 AH = 939–40 CE) and MS Oxford, Bodleian, Hunt. 186 (copied during the early eleventh century CE), predates both Arab^{Syr}2 and Arab^{Syr_Hex}1a and apparently circulated in Muslim circles at a fairly early stage.[38] As mentioned before, Ibn Qutayba's extensive quotations from the book of Genesis in his *Maʿārif* and his two *Taʾwīl* works are based on this translation of the Pentateuch.[39] While the reception of Arab^{Syr}1 among Muslim scholars still needs to be studied in detail, it seems that among East Syriac Christian circles it was soon largely replaced by other recensions. Two out of the three passages Ibn Ṭāwūs quotes from Deuteronomy are attested exclusively in MS Sinai Arab 2; they are missing in MS Oxford, Bodleian, Hunt. 196, which is incomplete. The variations (wave-underlined) between MSS Sinai Arab 2 and Hunt. 196 in the passage that is contained in both testimonies, as well as the variations (underlined with a single line) between MS Sinai Arab 2 and Ibn Ṭāwūs in the remaining two passages, are considerable. They suggest that Arab^{Syr}1 may well have developed over time, as is also indicated, for example, by Ibn Ṭāwūs's source displaying the typical East Syriac chapter division (signaled by *aṣḥāḥ*[40]), clearly a later addition that is not yet to be found in MSS Sinai Arab 2 and Hunt. 196. As is the case with Arab^{Syr}2, it can be assumed that future scholarship will bring to light further distinctions within the Arab^{Syr}1 translation tradition complex.

37. See Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 141–158.

38. For a description of MS Sinai Arab 2, see Monferrer Sala, "Plumbing the Depths," passim; Steiner, *Biblical Translation in the Making*, passim; Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 142–151; Lindgren and Vollandt, "Early Copy of the Pentateuch"; Zewi, *Samaritan Version*, passim; Bassal, "Early Copy of a Christian Arabic Pentateuch." For a description of MS Oxford, Bodleian, Hunt. 186, see Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 151f.

39. Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 97–102.

40. For this term and its Syriac origin (*ṣḥaḥe*), see Brock, *Bible in the Syriac Tradition*, 118; Brock, "Text Divisions," 206ff. See also the related discussion among members of the North American Society for Christian Arabic Studies (NASCAS), documented at https://goo.gl/fBOiac (consulted November 11, 2016).

Deuteronomy			
MS Sinai Arab 2 (MS Bodleian Hunt. 186)	Ibn Ṭāwūs (MS Mashhad, Āstān-i quds, 1693) {MS Marʿašī 4920}		
[17]فقال لي الله نعما قالوا [18]فينا اقيم لهم نبي مثلك من اخوتهم واجعل كلمي في فمه فيقول لهم كل شي امره به ([17]فقال لي الله حسن ما قالوا [18]ينو اسرآئيل ابعث لهم من وسط اخوتهم مثلك واجعل كلامي في فمه فيقول لهم كل شي اوصيه) f. 232a:5–7 (f. 196b: 3–5)	[17]فقال الله لي نعم ما قالوا [18]وانا اقيم لهم نبياً من اخوتهم مثلك واجعل كلامي في فمه فيقول لهم كل شيء امراته {امر به} به *Saʿd*, f. 37b:16–18 [p. 92]	18:17f.	22
[1]هذه بركة موسى من عند الله الذي برك بني اسرائيل قبل ان يموت [2]قال جا الله من طور سينا وشرق لنا من ساعير واستعلن من جبل فاران ومعه ربوة من الطاهرين عن يمينه [3]فوقف لهم وحبهم ورحمهم وبارك على اطهار الشعب وهم يدركون على رجليك ويقبلون من كلمتك f. 245a:8–12 (--)	[1]هذه توصية موسى عند الله التي بارك على بني اسرائيل قبل ان يموت [2]قال<بياض في الأصل + (حاشية:) لعلها استعلا> {جاء} الله من سينا واشرق لنا من ساعير واستعال {واستعلا} من جبال فاران ومعه ربوات مقدسة عن يمينه [3]فوهب لهم ورحم الشعوب بالفرات فبارك على كل اظهره وهو يبركون رحيلك <+ (حاشية): لعلها عليك> {+ (حاشية) عليك} ويقبلون من كلمتك *Saʿd*, f. 38a:2–7 [p. 92]	33:1–3	23
فمات موسى عند الله ثمه في ارض ماب يكلمه فم الله وقبر في وادي ماب مقابل بيت فاعور ولم يعلم احد اين قبره الى اليوم وكان موسى ابنماية وعشرين سنة اذ مات ولم يثقل عينيه ولم ينقص وجهه ولا حدته فبكوا بنو اسرايل على موسى في عرباث ماب ثلاثين يوماً f. 246a:12–17 (--)	[5]فمات موسى عند الله [. . .] يكلّمه فم الله [6]فقبره في وادى ارض مارب {ارض ماااب في وادى} مقابل بيت فاعور ولم يعلم احد من الناس مكان قبره الى هذا اليوم [7]وكان موسى حين مات ابن <مقابل . . . ابن: إضافة في الهامش> ماية وعشرين سنة ولم يثقل عيناه ولم ينقص وجهه [8]فبكا بنو اسرائيل على موسى في مروج ماب ثلثين يوما *Saʿd*, ff. 38a:16–38b:1 [pp. 92f.]	34:5–8	24

Ibn Ṭāwūs identifies the passages he quotes with utmost precision (see also below, Table I). For the books of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy, he follows the division that originated within East Syriac scribal circles of the ninth century CE and was later also adopted by the Syriac Orthodox Church.[41] Although Ibn Ṭāwūs employs the typical term *aṣḥāḥ* in most cases, there are notable exceptions. For the book of Genesis he replaces *aṣḥāḥ* by *sifr* (passages 1, 2, 3), whereas he uses the term *aṣḥāḥ* toward the end of the section on Genesis (passages 9, 10). Passages 4 through 8 are introduced only by the number of the relevant portions of the book of Genesis. For the books of Exodus, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy, he invariably uses the term *aṣḥāḥ*. While the numbering agrees in

41. See Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 276–279; *Old Testament in Syriac*, xxviii (Leviticus), xxiif. (Numbers), xxiif. (Deuteronomy). I thank George Kiraz for pointing out to me these lists in the Leiden edition of the Peshiṭta. See also below, Tables II and III.

most cases with the established Syriac tradition in Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy, this is not the case with passages 11 (Exod. 29:5–10) and 17 (Lev. 8:5–13). In the case of passage 11, this might be the result of a scribal error—Ibn Ṭāwūs has *ṯānī ʿašar* (ثاني عشر) where it should read *ṯāmin ʿašar* (ثامن عشر) according to the established *aṣḥāḥ* system. The case of passage 17 is noteworthy. Whereas in the majority of manuscripts representing Arab^{Syr}2 this passage is part of *aṣḥāḥ* 5, Ibn Ṭāwūs's identification that it is taken from *al-aṣḥāḥ al-sādis min al-sifr al-ṯāliṯ* agrees in fact with the chapter division attested in MS Munich, BSB, Cod.arab. 234 (see below, Table II)—as has been remarked earlier, the text preserved in this testimony is closer to Ibn Ṭāwūs's renderings of passages from Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus than any other consulted testimony of Arab^{Syr}2. For the passages taken from the Book of Numbers, Ibn Ṭāwūs indicates precisely the chapter each passage has been taken from. His use of the term *faṣl* for "chapter" and the chapter division he employs agree with the division that is encountered in the majority of the consulted manuscripts of al-Ḥāriṯ b. Sinān's translation of the Pentateuch—a division that invariably differs from the established Syriac system of *aṣḥāḥ* (see below, Table III).

Ibn Ṭāwūs also provides codicological details for each quoted passage, specifying where it is to be found in the consulted copy of the Pentateuch, such as quire (*kurrās* or *kurrāsa*, pl. *karārīs*), folio (*qāʾima*), recto or verso (*al-wiǧha al-awwala* [*al-ūlā*] / *al-wiǧha al-ṯāniya*), and occasionally line (see below, Table I).[42] These suggest that the text of the Pentateuch in his possession was spread over several volumes. Although Ibn Ṭāwūs nowhere identifies which volume the material he quotes is taken from, the occasional mention of a quire suggests that his Pentateuch copy consisted of at least two volumes. The quire is indicated for only one quotation from the book of Genesis: Passage 8 (Gen. 37:28) is part of "quire 6." The quotations from the book of Exodus are found in "quire 5" (Exod. 29:5–10, 32–35, 44–46) and "quire 7" (Exod. 39:27–31, 40:12–16). "Quire 7" also carries the translation of Lev. 6:16, 18—given the significant amount of text preceding this passage, it may well be that the book of Leviticus came in a separate volume. On the other hand, "quire 7" consisted of at least ten folios, and the possibility that the first volume also contained the book of Leviticus (and possibly also the book of Numbers) cannot be ruled out. Whereas the quires are not identified throughout the passages gleaned from the book of Numbers, the quotations from the book of Deuteronomy are taken from "quire 4" (Deut. 18:17f.) and "quire 6" (Deut. 33:1–3, 34:5–8).

While there is currently no indication that Ibn Ṭāwūs's copy of the Pentateuch has been preserved, the possibility of his Pentateuch or a later copy of it coming to light in the future should not be excluded.

42. For this practice in Ibn Ṭāwūs's writings, see also Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 82 and passim.

Table I: Codicological details provided by Ibn Ṭāwūs on the biblical passages.

Genesis			
1	Gen. 5:3	*fī l-sifr al-ṯāliṯ*	*fī sābiʿ qāʾima* = Quire: N/A—Folio: 7
2	Gen. 7:24, 13; 9:29, 28	*fī ḥadīṯ Nūḥ baʿd ḏālika l-sifr*	--
3	Gen. 16:1–12	*min al-sifr al-tāsiʿ*	*min al-qāʾima al-ṯāniya* = Quire: N/A—Folio: 2
4	Gen. 17:19f.	*min al-ʿāšir*	*min al-waǧh al-awwal min al-qāʾima al-ṯāniya* = Quire: N/A—Folio: 2 recto
5	Gen. 21:14–21	*min al-ṯāliṯ ʿašar*	*min al-wiǧha al-awwala min al-qāʾima al-awwala* = Quire: N/A—Folio: 1 recto
6	Gen. 22:16–18	*min al-rābiʿ ʿašar*	*min al-wiǧha al-awwala* = Quire: N/A—Folio: N/A recto
7	Gen. 25:7	*fī l-sādis ʿašar*	--
8	Gen. 37:28	--	*fī l-qāʾima al-rābiʿa min al-kurrās al-sādis* = Quire: 6—Folio: 4
9	Gen. 47:28	*fī l-aṣḥāḥ al-ṯāliṯ wa-l-ṯalāṯīn min al-sifr al-awwal*	--
10	Gen. 50:10, 3, 22	*fī l-aṣḥāḥ al-rābiʿ wa-l-ṯalāṯīn*	--
Exodus			
11	Exod. 29:5–10	*min al-aṣḥāḥ al-ṯānī ʿašar* [sic] *. . . min al-sifr al-ṯānī*	*min al-wiǧha al-awwala min al-qāʾima al-ṯāliṯa min al-aṣḥāḥ al-ṯānī ʿašar min al-kurrās al-ḫāmis min al-sifr al-ṯānī min awwal saṭr fī l-qāʾima al-maḏkūra* = Quire: 5—Folio: 3 recto—Lines: 1 onward
12	Exod. 29:32–35	--	*min al-wiǧha al-awwala min al-qāʾima al-rābiʿa min al-kurrās al-maḏkūr* = Quire: 5—Folio: 4 recto
13	Exod. 29:44–46	--	*min al-wiǧha al-ṯāniya min hāḏihi l-qāʾima* = [Quire: 5]—Folio: 4 verso
14	Exod. 39:27–31	*min al-aṣḥāḥ al-sādis wa-l-ʿišrīn min al-sifr al-ṯānī*	*min al-qāʾima al-rābiʿa min al-wiǧha al-awwala min al-kurrās al-sābiʿ* = Quire: 7—Folio: 4 recto
15	Exod. 40:12–16	--	*min al-wiǧha al-awwala min al-qāʾima al-ḫāmisa min al-kurrās al-maḏkūr* = Quire: 7—Folio: 5 recto
Leviticus			
16	Lev. 6:16, 18	--	*min al-wiǧha al-ṯāniya min al-qāʾima al-ʿāšira min al-kurrās al-sābiʿ* = Quire: 7—Folio: 10 verso

17	Lev. 8:5–13	*min al-aṣḥāḥ al-sādis min al-sifr al-ṯāliṯ*	*awwal mā nanquluhu min āḫar saṭr fīhi min al-ṣafḥa al-awwala* = Quire: N/A—Page: 1—Lines: from last line onward
		Numbers	
18	Num. 17:6–11	*min al-faṣl al-ḥādī ʿašar*	*min awāḫir al-waraqa al-ṯāliṯa* = Quire: N/A—Folio: last lines of f. 3
19	Num. 18:8	*min al-faṣl al-ṯānī ʿašar*	*min awāḫir qāʾima minhu min al-wiǧha al-awwala* = Quire: N/A—Folio: last lines of recto page of unspecified folio
20	Num. 20:25–29	*min al-faṣl al-rābiʿ ašar*	*min al-wiǧha al-ūlā min ṯānī qāʾima minhu* = Quire: N/A—Folio: 2 recto
21	Num. 33:38f.	*fī l-faṣl al-ʿišrīn*	*fī rābiʿa qāʾima minhu* = Quire: N/A—Folio: 4
		Deuteronomy	
22	Deut. 18:17f.	*min al-aṣḥāḥ al-ḥādī ʿašar . . . min al-sifr al-ḫāmis*	*min al-wiǧha al-awwala min al-kurrās al-rābiʿ* = Quire: 4—Folio: N/A recto
23	Deut. 33:1–3	*min al-aṣḥāḥ al-ʿišrīn*	*min al-wiǧha al-ṯāniya min al-kurrās al-sādis* = Quire: 6—Folio: N/A verso
24	Deut. 34:5–8	--	*min al-kurrās al-sādis min al-sifr al-āḫir min al-qāʾima al-ṯāmina* = Quire: 6—Folio 8 verso

Table II: Chapter division according to selected manuscripts representing Arab^{Syr}2.

MS Sinai Arab 4[43]	MS Oxford, New College, 335[44]	MS Munich, BSB, Cod. arab. 234[45]	MS Berlin, SBB, Diez. A quart. 106[46]
Genesis			
[incomplete in the beginning]	[ff. 1–20 are written by a different hand than the remaining part of the codex. The first scribe did not indicate section numbers, nor were they added by the second scribe on ff. 21ff.]	[A 1] (f. 1b) = i 1	
		A 2 (f. 1b) = 2:8	A 2 (f. 2b) = 2:8
A 3 (f. 2b) = 3:20		A 3 (f. 2a) = 3:20	A 3 (f. 4a) = 3:20
A 4 (f. 4b) = 5:21		A 4 (f. 2b) = 5:21	A 4 (f. 5a) = 5:21
A 5 (f. 6a) = 7:10		A 5 (f. 3a) = 7:10	A 5 (f. 6b) = 7:10
A 6 (f. 8a) = 9:8		A 6 (f. 3b) = 9:8	A 6 (f. 7b) = 9:8
A 7 (f. 10a) = 11:1		A 7 (f. 4a) = 11:1	A 7 (f. 9a) = 11:1
A 8 (f. 11b) = 12:14	A 8 (f. 24b) = 12:14	A 8 (f. 5a) = 12:14	A 8 (f. 10a) = 12:14
A 9 (f. 14b) = 14:18	A 9 (f. 26b) = 14:18	A 9 (f. 5b) = 14:18	A 9 (f. 11a) = 14:18
A 10 (f. 16a) = 17:1	A 10 (f. 29a) = 17:1	A 10 (f. 6a) = 17:1	A 10 (f. 12b) = 17:1
A 11 (f. 17b) = 18:16	A 11 (f. 31a) = 18:16	A 11 (f. 6b) = 18:16	A 11 (f. 13b) = 18:16
A 12 (f. 19b) = 19:18	A 12 (f. 33a) = 19:18	A 12 (f. 7a) = 19:18	A 12 (f. 14b) = 19:18
A 13 (f. 21a) = 21:1	A 13 (f. 35a) = 21:1	A 13 (f. 7b) = 21:1	A 13 (f. 16a) = 21:1
A 14 (f. 22b) = 22:9	A 14 (f. 37a) = 22:9	A 14 (f. 7b) = 22:9	A 14 (f. 17a) = 22:9
A 15 (f. 24b) = 24:10	A 15 (f. 39a) = 24:10	A 15 (f. 8a) = 24:10	A 15 (f. 18a) = 24:10
A 16 (f. 26a) = 24:50	A 16 (f. 41a) = 24:50	A 16 (f. 8b) = 24:50	A 16 (f. 19a) = 24:50
A 17 (f. 27b) = 25:29	A 17 (f. 43b) = 25:29	A 17 (f. 9a) = 25:29	A 17 (f. 20b) = 25:29
A 18 (f. 29b) = 27:6	A 18 (f. 45b) = 27:6	A 18 (f. 9b) = 27:6	A 18 (f. 21b) = 27:6
A 19 (f. 31b) = 28:6	A 19 (f. 48a) = 28:6	A 19 (f. 10a) = 28:6	A 19 (f. 23a) = 28:6

43. For references on this manuscript, see above, n. 31.

44. For a description of this codex, see Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 246 (with further references).

45. Digital images of this codex are available at http://bildsuche.digitale-sammlungen.de/index.html?c=viewer&l=en&bandnummer=bsb00017607&pimage=00001&v=&nav= (consulted September 20, 2018). For a description of the codex, see Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 250.

46. On this codex, cf. Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 246f. (with further references); see also http://orient-digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/receive/SBBMSBook_islamhs_00003557 (consulted September 20, 2018).

A 20 (f. 33b) = 29:31	A 20 (f. 50a) = 29:31	A 20 (f. 10b) = 29:31	A 20 (f. 24b) = 29:31
A 21 (f. 35b) = 30:41	A 21 (f. 52b) = 30:41	A 21 (f. 11a) = 30:41	A 21 (f. 25b) = 30:41
A 22 (f. 37b) = 31:43	A 22 (f. 54b) = 31:43	A 22 (f. 12a) = 31:43	A 22 (f. 27a) = 31:43
A 23 (f. 39b) = 33:1	A 23 (f. 56b) = 33:1	A 23 (f. 12b) = 33:1	A 23 (f. 28b) = 33:1
A 24 (f. 41b) = 34:25	A 24 (f. 59a) = 34:25	A 24 (f. 13a) = 34:25	A 24 (f. 29b) = 34:25
A 25 (f. 43a) = 36:9	A 25 (f. 61a) = 36:9	A 25 (f. 13b) = 36:9	A 25 (f. 31a) = 36:9
A 26 (f. 45a) = 37:12	A 26 (f. 63a) = 37:12	A 26 (f. 14a) = 37:12	A 26 (f. 32b) = 37:12
A 27 (f. 46b) = 38:20	A 27 (f. 65b) = 38:20	A 27 (f. 14b) = 38:20	A 27 (f. 33b) = 38:20
A 28 (f. 48b) = 40:9	A 28 (f. 67b) = 40:9	A 28 (f. 15a) = 40:9	A 28 (f. 35a) = 40:9
A 29 (f. 50b) = 41:38	A 29 (f. 70a) = 41:38	A 29 (f. 16a) = 41:38	A 29 (f. 36b) = 41:38
A 30 (f. 52b) = 42:29	A 30 (f. 72b) = 42:29	A 30 (f. 16b) = 42:29	A 30 (f. 38a) = 42:29
A 31 (f. 55a) = 44:3	A 31 (f. 75a) = 44:3	A 31 (f. 17a) = 44:3	A 31 (f. 39b) = 44:3
A 32 (f. 57a) = 45:21	A 32 (f. 78a) = 45:21	A 32 (f. 17b) = 45:21	A 32 (f. 41a) = 45:21
A 33 (f. 59b) = 47:14	A 33 (f. 81a) = 47:14	A 33 (f. 18b) = 47:14	A 33 (f. 43a) = 47:14
A 34 (f. 61b) = 49:1	A 34 (f. 83b) = 49:1	A 34 (f. 19a) = 49:1	A 34 (f. 44b) = 49:1
Exodus			
[A 1] (f. 65b) = 1:1	A 1 (f. 87a) = 1:1	[A 1] (f. 19b) = 1:1	[A1] (f. 47a) = 1:1
A 2 (f. 67b) = 3:1	A 2 (f. 89b) = 3:1	A 2 (f. 20a) = 3:1	A 2 (f. 48a) = 3:1
A 3 (f. 69b) = 4:19	A 3 (f. 92a) = 4:19	A 3 (f. 21a) = 4:19	A 3 (f. 49b) = 4:19
A 4 (f. 71b) = 6:10	A 4 (f. 94b) = 6:10	A 4 (f. 21b) = 6:10	A 4 (f. 51a) = 6:10
A 5 (f. 74a) = 8:8	A 5 (f. 97a) = 8:8	A 5 (f. 22a) = 8:8	A 5 (f. 52b) = 8:8
A 6 (f. 76a) = 9:22	A 6 (f. 100a) = 9:22	A 6 (f. 22b) = 9:22	A 6 (f. 54a) = 9:22
A 7 (f. 78a) = 11:1	A 7 (f. 103a) = 11:1	A 7 (f. 23a) = 11:1	A 7 (f. 56a) = 11:1
A 8 (f. 80b) = 12:31	A 8 (f. 105b) = 12:31	A 8 (f. 24a) = 12:31	A 8 (f. 57a) = 12:31
A 9 (f. 84a) = 14:5	A 9 (f. 108b) = 14:5	A 9 (f. 24b) = 14:5	A 9 (f. 58b) = 14:5
A 10 (f. 86b) = 15:22	A 10 (f. 111b) = 15:22	A 10 (f. 25a) = 15:22	A 10 (f. 60b) = 15:22
A 11 (f. 89a) = 17:1	A 11 (f. 114a) = 17:1	A 11 (f. 26a) = 17:1	A 11 (f. 62a) = 17:1
A 12 (f. 91b) = 19:1	A 12 (f. 117a) = 19:1	A 12 (f. 26b) = 19:1	A 12 (f. 63b) = 19:1
A 13 (f. 94a) = 21:1	A 13 (f. 120a) = 21:1	A 13 (f. 27a) = 21:1	A 13 (f. 65a) = 21:1
A 14 (f. 96a) = 22:14	A 14 (f. 122b) = 22:14	A 14 (f. 27b) = 22:14	A 14 (f. 66b) = 22:14
A 15 (f. 98b) = 24:1	A 15 (f. 125a) = 24:1	A 15 (f. 28a) = 24:1	A 15 (f. 67b) = 24:1
A 16 (f. 100b) = 25:31	A 16 (f. 127b) = 25:31	A 16 (f. 28b) = 25:31	A 16 (f. 69a) = 25:31

A 17 (f. 102b) = 27:1	A 17 (f. 130a) = 27:1	A 17 (f. 29b) = 27:1	A 17 (f. 70b) = 27:1
A 18 (f. 105a) = 28:27	A 18 (f. 133a) = 28:27	A 18 (f. 30a) = 28:27	A 18 (f. 72a) = 28:27
A 19 (f. 107a) = 29:26	A 19 (f. 135b) = 29:26	A 19 (f. 30b) = 29:26	A 19 (f. 73a) = 29:26
A 20 (f. 109b) = 30:34	A 20 (f. 138b) = 30:34	A 20 (f. 31a) = 30:34	A 20 (f. 75a) = 30:34
A 21 (f. 112a) = 32:25	A 21 (f. 141b) = 32:25	A 21 (f. 32a) = 32:25	A 21 (f. 76b) = 32:25
A 22 (f. 114b) = 34:8	A 22 (f. 144a) = 34:8	A 22 (f. 32b) = 34:8	A 22 (f. 78a) = 34:8
A 23 (f. 116b) = 35:20	A 23 (f. 147a) = 35:20	A 23 (f. 33a) = 35:20	A 23 (f. 79a) = 35:20
	A 24 (f. 150a) = 36:31	A 24 (f. 33b) = 36:31	A 24 (f. 80b) = 36:31
A 25 (f. 121a) = 38:15	A 25 (f. 152b) = 38:15	A 25 (f. 34a) = 38:15	A 25 (f. 82a) = 38:15
A 26 (f. 123a) = 39:25	A 26 (f. 155b) = 39:25	A 26 (f. 34b) = 39:25	A 26 (f. 83b) = 39:25
Leviticus			
[A 1] (f. 126b) = 1:1	A 1 (f. 158b) = 1:1	[A 1] (f. 35a) = 1:1	A 1 (f. 86a) = 1:1
A 2 (f. 129a) = 3:12	A 2 (f. 161a) = 3:12	A 2 (f. 35b) = 3:12	A 2 (f. 87a) = 3:12
A 3 (f. 131b) = 5:1	A 3 (f. 163b) = 5:1	A 3 (f. 36a) = 5:1	A 3 (f. 88b) = 5:1
A 4 (f. 133b) = 6:24	A 4 (f. 66b) = 6:24	A 4 (f. 36b) = 6:8	A 4 (f. 90a) = 6:8
A 5 (f. 135b) = 8:1	A 5 (f. 169a) = 8:1	A 5 (f. 37a) = 6:24	A 5 (f. 91a) = 8:1
A 6 (f. 137b) = 9:7	A 6 (f. 172a) = 9:7	A 6 (f. 37b) = 8:1	A 6 (f. 92b) = 9:7
A 7 (f. 139a) = 11:1	A 7 (f. 174a) = 11:1	A 7 (f. 38a) = 9:7	A 7 (f. 93b) = 11:1
A 8 (f. 142a) = 13:1	A 8 (f. 177a) = 13:1	A 8 (f. 38b) = 11:1	A 8 (f. 98a) = 14:33
A 9 (f. 143b) = 13:38	A 9 (f. 179b) = 13:38	A 9 (f. 39a) = 12:1	F 8 (f. 99b) = 16:1
A 10 (f. 146a) = 14:29	A 10 (f. 182a) = 14:29	A 10 (f. 39a) = 13:1	F 9 (f. 101b) = 19:1
A 11 (f. 148a) = 15:6	A 11 (f. 184b) = 15:6	A 11 (f. 40b) = 15:1	F 10 (f. 103b) = 21:1
A 12 (f. 150a) = 16:11	A 12 (f. 187b) = 16:11	A 12 (f. 41b) = 16:11	F 12 (f. 106b) = 24:10
A 13 (f. 152b) = 17:13	A 13 (f. 190b) = 17:13	A 13 (f. 42a) = 17:13	F 13 (f. 110a) = 27:1
A 14 (f. 154b) = 19:15	A 14 (f. 193a) = 19:15	A 14 (f. 42b) = 19:15	
A 15 (f. 157a) = 20:22	A 15 (f. 196a) = 20:22	A 15 (f. 43a) = 20:22	
A 16 (f. 159a) = 22:17	A 16 (f. 198b) = 22:17	A 17 [sic] (f. 43b) = 22:17	
A 17 (f. 161b) = 23:26	A 17 (f. 201b) = 23:26	A 17 (f. 44a) = 23:26	
A 18 (f. 163b) = 25:1	A 18 (f. 204a) = 25:1	A 18 (f. 45a) = 25:1	
A 19 (f. 165b) = 25:47	A 19 (f. 207b) = 25:47	A 19 (f. 45b) = 25:44	
A 20 (f. 168b) = 26:39	A 20 (f. 210a) = 26:39	A 20 (f. 46a) = 26:39	

Numbers			
A 1 (f. 171b) = 1:1	A 1 (f. 213a) = 1:1	A 1 (f. 46b) = 1:1	A 1 (f. 111b) = 1:1
A 2 (f. 173b) = 2:1	A 2 (f. 215b) = 2:1	A 2 (f. 47b) = 2:1	A 2 (f. 113b) = 2:1 F 2 (f. 114b) = 3:14
A 3 (f. 176a) = 3:27	A 3 (f. 218a) = 3:27	A 3 (f. 48a) = 3:27	A 3 (f. 115a) = 3:27
A 4 (f. 178a) = 4:21	A 4 (f. 220b) = 4:21	A 4 (f. 49a) = 4:21	A 4 (f. 116b) = 4:21
A 5 (f. 180a) = 5:17	A 5 (f. 223a) = 5:17	A 5 (f. 49b) = 5:17	F 3 (f. 117a) = 5:1
A 6 (f. 182a) = 7:1	A 6 (f. 225b) = 7:1	A 6 (f. 50a) = 7:1	A 6 (f. 119a) = 7:1
A 7 (f. 184b) = 8:23	A 7 (f. 228b) = 7:60	A 7 (f. 51a) = 8:23	A 7 (f. 120b) = 8:23
A 8 (f. 187a) = 10:22	A 8 (f. 231b) = 8:23	A 8 (f. 52a) = 10:22	A 8 (f. 121a) = 10:22
A 9 (f. 189a) = 11:27	A 9 (f. 234a) = 10:22	A 9 (f. 52b) = 11:27	A 9 (f. 122b) = 11:27
A 10 (f. 191b) = 13:31	A 10 (f. 236b) = 11:27	A 10 (f. 53a) = 13:31	A 10 (f. 123b) = 13:31
A 11 (f. 194a) = 14:39	A 11 (f. 239b) = 13:30	A 11 (f. 53b) = 14:39	A 11 (f. 125b) = 14:39
A 12 (f. 196b) = 16:1	A 12 (f. 242a) = 14:39	A 12 (f. 54a) = 16:1	A 12 (f. 126b) = 16:1
A 13 (f. 198b) = 16:41	A 13 (f. 244b) = 16:1	A 13 (f. 54b) = 16:41	A 13 (f. 128a) = 16:41
A 14 (f. 200b) = 18:20	A 14 (f. 247a) = 16:41	A 14 (f. 55b) = 18:20	
A 15 (f. 203a) = 20:7	A 15 (f. 249b) = 18:20	A 15 (f. 56a) = 20:7	A 15 (f. 130a) = 20:7
A 16 (f. 205b) = 21:21	A 16 (f. 252b) = 20:7	A 16 (f. 56b) = 21:21	A 16 (f. 131b) = 21:21
A 17 (f. 208a) = 22:26	A 17 (f. 257b) = 22:26	A 17 (f. 57b) = 22:26	
A 18 (f. 210b) = 23:28	A 18 (f. 260a) = 23:28	A 18 (f. 58a) = 23:28	A 18 (f. 135a) = 23:28
A 19 (f. 212b) = 26:1	A 19 (f. 262b) = 26:1	A 19 (f. 58b) = 26:1	A 19 (f. 136b) = 26:1
A 20 (f. 214b) = 26:57	A 20 (f. 265a) = 26:57	A 20 (f. 59a) = 26:57	A 20 (f. 137b) = 26:57
A 21 (f. 216b) = 28:16	A 21 (f. 268a) = 28:16	A 21 (f. 59b) = 28:16	A 21 (f. 139a) = 28:16
A 22 (f. 219a) = 29:35	A 22 (f. 270b) = 29:35	A 22 (f. 60a) = 29:35	A 22 (f. 140b) = 29:35
A 23 (f. 221b) = 31:25	A 23 (f. 273b) = 31:25	A 23 (f. 60b) = 31:25	A 23 (f. 142a) = 31:25
A 24 (f. 223b) = 32:20	A 24 (f. 276a) = 32:20	A 24 (f. 61b) = 32:20	A 24 (f. 143b) = 32:20
A 25 (f. 226a) = 33:41	A 25 (f. 278b) = 33:41	A 25 (f. 62a) = 33:41	A 25 (f. 145a) = 33:41
A 26 (f. 228a) = 35:9	A 26 (f. 281a) = 35:9	A 26 (f. 62b) = 35:9	A 26 (f. 147a) = 35:9
Deuteronomy			
[A 1] (f. 230b) = 1:1	A 1 (f. 284a) = 1:1	A 1 (f. 63a) = 1:1	A 1 (f. 149a) = 1:1
A 2 (f. 232b) = 2:2	A 2 (f. 287a) = 2:2	A 2 (f. 63b) = 2:2	A 2 (f. 150b) = 2:4
A 3 (f. 235b) = 3:14	A 3 (f. 290b) = 3:14	A 3 (f. 64b) = 3:14	

A 4 (f. 238a) = 4:32	A 4 (f. 294a) = 4:32	A 4 (f. 65a) = 4:32	A 4 (f. 154a) = 4:32
A 5 (f. 241a) = 6:3	A 5 (f. 297b) = 6:4	A 5 (f. 66a) = 6:4	A 5 (f. 155b) = 6:3
A 6 (f. 243b) = 8:6	A 6 (f. 301a) = 8:6	A 6 (f. 66b) = 8:6	F 3 (f. 157a) = 7:17 F 5 (f. 158a) = 9:1 F 7 (f. 159b) = 10:12 F 8 (f. 160a) = 11:13 F 9 (f. 161a) = 12:1 F 10 (f. 161b) = 12:20 F 11 (f. 162b) = 14:3 F 12 (f. 163b) = 15:1
A 7 (f. 246b) = 10:6	A 7 (f. 304a) = 10:6	A 7 (f. 67b) = 10:6	
A 8 (f. 248b) = 12:1	A 8 (f. 307b) = 12:1	A 8 (f. 68a) = 12:1	
A 9 (f. 251a) = 13:12	A 9 (f. 310b) = 13:12	A 9 (f. 69a) = 13:12	
A 10 (f. 254a) = 16:1	A 10 (f. 314a) = 16:1	A 10 (f. 69b) = 16:1	A 10 (f. 164a) = 16:1
A 11 (f. 256a) = 18:1	A 11 (f. 317a) = 18:1	A 11 (f. 70b) = 18:1	A 11 (f. 165b) = 18:1 F 15 (f. 166a) = 18:9 F 16 (f. 166a) = 18:15 F 17 (f. 167a) = 19:15
A 12 (f. 258b) = 20:5	A 12 (f. 320a) = 20:5	A 12 (f. 71a) = 20:5	A 12 (f. 167a) = 20:5 F 19 (f. 168a) = 21:18
A 13 (f. 261a) = 22:8	A 13 (f. 323a) = 22:8	A 13 (f. 72a) = 22:8	A 13 (f. 168b) = 22:8 F 22 (f. 170a) = 24:1
A 14 (f. 263b) = 24:5	A 14 (f. 326b) = 24:5	A 14 (f. 72b) = 24:5	A 14 (f. 170b) = 24:5
A 15 (f. 266a) = 26:12	A 15 (f. 329b) = 26:12	A 15 (f. 73a) = 26:12	A 15 (f. 171a) = 26:12
A 16 (f. 268b) = 28:1	A 16 (f. 332b) = 28:1	A 16 (f. 74a) = 28:1	
A 17 (f. 270b) = 28:64	A 17 (f. 335b) = 28:64	A 17 (f. 74b) = 28:64	A 17 (f. 174b) = 28:64
A 18 (f. 273a) = 30:8	A 18 (f. 338b) = 30:8	A 18 (f. 75b) = 30:8	A 18 (f. 176a) = 30:8
A 19 (f. 275b) = 32:1	A 19 (f. 342a) = 31:30	A 19 (f. 76a) = 32:1	A 19 (f. 178a) = 32:1
A 20 (f. 278a) = 33:1	A 20 (f. 345b) = 33:1	A 20 (f. 76b) = 33:1	A 20 (f. 179b) = 33:1

The consulted manuscripts representing Arab^{Syr}2 reflect by and large the standard East Syriac chapter division (*aṣḥāḥ*). The occasional variations in Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy are noteworthy, however, and they have been marked in table II (single-, double- und wave-underlined). MS Berlin, SBB, Diez. A. quart. 106 was based on an antigraph with numerous lacunae throughout Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. These have been filled with the relevant textual portions originating from a different translation tradition, Arab^{Syr_Hex}1b (see Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 246), including its different chapter division system, indicated in the text as *faṣl* rather than *aṣḥāḥ*.

Table III: Chapter division according to selected manuscripts representing Arab^{Syr_Hex}. Abbreviations: F = *faṣl* / A = *aṣḥāḥ* / Q = *qirāʾa* / neither F, A, nor Q if only a number is given

MS Joun, OBS 224[47]	MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Carullah 3[48]	MS Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Arab. 1	MS El Escorial 1857[49]	MS Cairo, Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Bible 27[50]	MS Cairo, Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate, Bible 14	MS Oxford, Bodleian, Laud. Or. 258	MS Dayr Abū Maqār, Bibl. 1
Genesis							
—	A 1 (f. 10b) = 1:1	F 1 (f. 28a) = i 1	F 1 (f. 26b) = 1:1	[F 1] (f. 1b) = 1:1	F 1 (f. 33b) = 1:1	F 1 (f. 30b) = 1:1	Q 1 (f. 23a) = 1:1
—	A 2 (f. 12b) = 2:15	F 2 (f. 30a) = 2:15	F 2 (f. 29a) = 2:4		F 2 (f. 36a) = 2:15	F 2 (f. 32b/33a) = 2:15	Q 2 (f. 23a) = 1:6
F 3 (p. 14) = 3:23	A 3 (f. 14a) = 4:3		F 3 (f. 32b) = 4:3		F 3 (f. 38a) = 4:3	F 3 (f. 34b) = 4:3	Q 3 (f. 23b) = 1:14
F 4 (pp. 18/19) = 5:18	A 4 (f. 15b) = 5:1	F 4 (f. 33a) = 5:1	F 4 (f. 34a)		F 4 (f. 39a) = 5:1	F 4 (f. 36a) = 5:1	Q 4 (f. 24a) = 1:24
F 5 (p. 20) = 6:9	A 5 (f. 17a) = 6:13	F 5 (f. 34b) = 6:13	F 5 (f. 36b) = 6:13		F 5 (f. 41a) = 6:13	F 5 (f. 38a) = 6:13	Q 5 (f. 25b) = 2:4
F 6 (p. 24) = 8:16	A 6 (f. 19a) = 8:16		F 6 (f. 39b) = 8:16		F 6 (f. 42b) = 8:16	F 6 (f. 39b) = 8:16	Q 6 (f. 26a) = 2:20
F 7 (p. 27) = 10:1	A 7 (f. 20b) = 10:1	F 7 (f. 37a) = 8:16	F 7 (f. 42a) = 10:1	F 7 (f. 9b) = 10:1	F 7 (f. 44a) = 10:1	F 7 (f. 41b) = 10:1	Q 7 (f. 27b) = 3:21
F 8 (p. 33) = 11:30	A 8 (f. 22b) = 11:31		F 8 (f. 43b) = 11:1	F 8 (f. 13b) = 11:30	F 8 (f. 47a) = 11:30	F 8 (f. 44b) = 11:30	Q 8 (f. 29a) = 4:8
F 9 (p. 36) = 13:7	A 9 (f. 23b) = 13:7	F 9 (f. 42b) = 13:7	F 9 (f. 45a) = 11:30	F 9 (f. 15a) = 13:7	F 9 (f. 48b) = 13:7	F 9 (f. 46a) = 13:7	Q 9 (f. 29b) = 4:16
F 10 (p. 38)	A 10 (f. 24b) = 14:1	F 10 (f. 43a) = 14:1	F 10 (f. 47a) = 13:7	F 10 (f. 16a) = 14:1	F 10 (f. 49b) = 14:1	F 10 (f. 47a) = 14:1	Q 10 (f. 30a) = 5:1
F 11 (p. 39) = 15:9	A 11 (f. 26a) = 15:9	F 11 (f. 44b) = 15:9	F 11 (f. 48a) = 14:1	F 11 (f. 17b) = 15:9	F 11 (f. 51b) = 15:9	F 11 (f. 49a) = 15:9	Q 11 (f. 31b) = 5:32
F 12 (p. 42) = 17:1	A 12 (f. 27a) = 16:15	F 12 (f. 46b) = 16:15	F 12 (f. 50b) = 15:9	F 12 (f. 19a) = 16:15		F 12 (f. 50b) = 16:15	Q 12 (f. 32b) = 6:9
F 13 (p. 45) = 18:1	A 13 (f. 28a) = 18:1	F 13 (f. 48a) = 18:1	F 13 (f. 54a) = 18:1	F 13 (f. 21a) = 18:1	F 13 (f. 54b) = 18:1	F 13 (f. 52a) = 18:1	Q 13 (f. 33a) = 7:1
F 14 (p. 53) = 20:1	A 14 (f. 30b) = 20:1	F 14 (f. 51b) = 20:1	F 14 (f. 59b) = 20:1	F 14 (f. 25a) = 20:1	F 14 (f. 58b) = 20:1	F 14 (f. 56b) = 20:1	Q 14 (f. 34a) = 7:6
F 15 (p. 56) = 22:1	A 15 (f. 33a) = 22:1	F 15 (f. 54a) = 22:1	F 15 (f. 62b) = 22:1	F 15 (f. 27b) = 22:1	F 15 (f. 61a) = 22:1	F 15 (f. 59a) = 22:1	Q 15 (f. 35a) = 7:11

F 16 (p. 69) = 25:1	A 16 (f. 37b) = 25:1		F 16 (f. 69b) = 25:1	F 16 (f. 33b) = 25:1	F 16 (f. 67b) = 25:1	F 16 (f. 65b) = 25:1	Q 16 (f. 35b) = 8:4
F 17 (p. 74) = 26:8	A 17 (f. 41a) = 26:8	F 17 (f. 61a) = 26:8	F 17 (f. 72a) = 26:8	F 17 (f. 35b) = 26:8	F 17 (f. 69b) = 26:8	F 19 [sic] (f. 67b) = 26:8	Q 17 (f. 36b) = 8:21
F 18 (p. 77) = 27:1	A 18 (f. 42a) = 27:1	F 18 (f. 62b) = 27:1	F 18 (f. 74a) = 27:1	F 18 (f. 37a) = 27:1	F 18 (f. 71b) = 27:1	F 18 (f. 69a) = 27:1	Q 18 (f. 36b) = 9:8
F 19 (p. 80) = 28:10	A 19 (f. 44b) = 28:10		F 19 (f. 77b) = 28:10	F 19 (f. 40a) = 28:10	F 19 (f. 74b) = 28:10	F 19 (f. 72a) = 28:10	Q 19 (f. 37a) = 9:18
F 20 (p. 98) = 32:3	A 20 (f. 50b) = 32:3	F 20 (f. 72a) = 32:3	F 20 (f. 87a) = 32:3		F 20 (f. 83b) = 32:3	F 20 (f. 80b) = 32:3	Q 20 (f. 38b) = 11:32
F 21 (p. 110) = 36:1	A 21 (f. 55b) = 36:1	F 21 (f. 77a) = 36:1	F 21 (f. 94b) = 36:1		F 21 (f. 90a) = 36:1	F 21 (f. 87a) = 36:1	Q 21 (f. 39a) = 11:10
F 22 (p. 114) = 37:1	A 22 (f. 57a) = 37:1	F 22 (f. 78b) = 37:1	F 22 (f. 97a) = 37:1		F 22 (f. 92a) = 37:1	F 22 (f. 89a) = 37:1	Q 22 (f. 40a) = 12:7
F 23 (p. 121) = 39:1	A 23 (f. 60a) = 39:1	F 23 (f. 81b) = 39:1	F 23 (f. 101b) = 39:1		F 23 (f. 95b) = 39:1	F 23 (f. 92b) = 39:1	Q 23 (f. 41b) = 13:12
F 24 (p. 150) = 46:29	A 24 (f. 72a) = 46:29	F 24 (f. 94b) = 46:29	F 24 (f. 120a) = 46:29	F 24 (f. 72a) = 46:29	F 24 (f. 112a) = 46:29	F 24 (f. 108b) = 46:29	Q 24 (f. 42a) = 14:1
F 25 (p. 157) = 49:1	A 25 (f. 75a) = 49:1	F 25 (f. 98a) = 49:1	F 25 (f. 125a) = 49:1	F 25 (f. 76a) = 49:1	F 25 (f. 116a) = 49:1	F 25 (f. 112b) = 49:1	Q 25 (f. 44a) = 15:1
							Q 27 (f. 46a) = 17:1
							Q 28 (f. 47a) = 18:1
							Q 29 (f. 49a) = 18:20
							Q 30 (f. 50a) = 19:1
							Q 31 (f. 51a) = 19:27
							Q 32 (f. 52a) = 20:1
							Q 33 (f. 54b) = 22:1
							Q 34 (f. 55b) = 22:20
							Q 35 (f. 56a) = 24:1
							Q 36 (f. 59a) = 25:1
							Q 37 (f. 60a) = 25:19

							Q 38 (f. 62a) = 27:1
							Q 39 (f. 63b) = 27:41
							Q 40 (f. 65a) = 28:5
							Q 41 (f. 66a) = 29:21
							Q 42 (f. 67b) = 30:25
							Q 43 (f. 69a) = 31:3
							Q 45 (f. 71b) = 32:3
							Q 46 (f. 73b) = 33:5
							Q 47 (f. 76a) = 35:1
							Q 48 (f. 77a) = 35:16
							Q 49 (f. 79a) = 37:1
							Q 50 (f. 82b) = 39:1
							Q 51 (f. 84a) = 40:1
							Q 52 (f. 90b) = 42:7
							Q 53 (f. 93a) = 45:17
							Q 54 (f. 93b) = 46:1
							Q 55 (f. 97b) = 48:12
							Q 56 (f. 100b) = 49:33
Exodus							
F 1 (p. 166) = 1:1	A 1 (f. 1b) = 1:1	F 1 (f. 107a) = 1:1	F 1 (f. 140b) = 1:1	F 1 (f. 85b) = 1:1	F 1 (f. 127b) = 1:1	F 1 (f. 124b) = 1:1	Q 1 (f. 104a) = 1:1
F 2 (p. 169) = 2:16	A 2 (f. 3b) = 3:1	F 2 (f. 108b) = 2:16	F 2 (f. 143a) = 2:16	F 2 (f. 87b) = 2:16	F 2 (f. 129b) = 2:16	F 2 (f. 126b) = 2:16	Q 2 (f. 105a) = 2:5
F 3 (p. 177) = 4:27	A 3 (f. 5b) = 4:19	F 3 (f. 111b) = 4:27	F 3 (f. 147b) = 4:27	F 3 (f. 90b) = 4:27	F 3 (f. 135a) = 4:27	F 3 (f. 130b) = 4:27	Q 3 (f. 105b) = 2:11

F 4 (p. 212) = 15:22	A 4 (f. 7b[51]) = 6:10	F 4 (f. 127a) = 15:22	F 4 (f. 170a) = 15:22	F 4 (f. 108b) = 15:22	F 4 (f. 156b) = 15:22	F 4 (f. 152a) = 15:22	Q 4 (f. 106b) = 2:23
	A 5 (f. 8a) = 7:14	F 5 (f. 129b) = 18:1		F 5 (f. 112a) = 18:1	F 5 (f. 160b) = 18:1	F 5 (f. 155b) = 18:1	Q 5 (f. 109a) = 4:18
F 6 (p. 234) = 19:5	A 7 (f. 13b) = 11:1	F 6 (f. 137a) = 19:5	F 6 (f. 185b) = 19:5	F 6 (f. 120b) = 19:5	F 6 (f. 170b) = 19:5	F 6 (f. 165a) = 19:5	Q 6 (f. 110a) = 4:27
F 7 (p. 237) = 24:12	A 6 (f. 14b) = 9:22	F 7 (f. 138b) = 24:12	F 7 (f. 187a) = 24:12	F 7 (f. 122a) = 24:12	F 7 (f. 172a) = 24:12	F 7 (f. 167a) = 24:12	Q 7 (f. 111b) = 6:14
F 8 (p. 260) = 32:1	A 8 (f. 16a) = 12:31		F 8 (f. 203b) = 32:1	F 8 (f. 135a) = 32:1	F 8 (f. 187b) = 32:1	F 8 (f. 181b) = 32:1	Q 8 (f. 114b) = 8:16
F 9 (p. 266) = 33:11	A 9 (f. 18a) = 14:5		F 9 (f. 207b) = 33:11	F 9 (f. 138a) = 33:11	F 9 (f. 191a) = 33:11	F 9 (f. 184b) = 33:11	Q 9 (f. 119b) = 12:1
F 10 (p. 271) = 34:35	A 10 (f. 20b) = 15:22	F 10 (f. 154a) = 34:35	F 10 (f. 211a) = 34:35	F 10 (f. 140b) = 34:35	F 10 (f. 194a) = 34:35	F 10 (f. 187b) = 34:35	Q 10 (f. 121b) = 12:43
	A 11 (f. 23a) = 17:1						Q 11 (f. 123a) = 13:20
	A 12 (f. 24a) = 19:1						Q 12 (f. 125b) = 15:22
	A 13 (f. 27b) = 21:1						Q 13 (f. 130a) = 19:1
	A 14 (f. 29b) = 22:14						Q 14 (f. 123b) = 20:20
	A 15 (f. 32a) = 24:1						Q 15 (f. 139a) = 25:1
	A 16 (f. 34a) = 25:31						Q 16 (f. 143b) = 28:1
	A 17 (f. 36b) = 27:1						
	A 18 (f. 38b) = 28:27						Q 18 (f. 154b) = 33:1
	A 19 (f. 40b) = 29:26						Q 19 (f. 157b) = 35:1
	A 20 (f. 42b) = 30:34						Q 20 (f. 164a) = 40:1
	A 21 (f. 44b) = 32:25						
	A 22 (f. 47a) = 34:8						
	A 23 (f. 49a) = 35:20						
	A 24 (f. 51a) = 36:31						

	A 25 (f. 53b) = 38:15						
	A 26 (f. 55b) = 39:25						
Leviticus							
F 1 (p. 295) = 1:1	[A 1] (f. 60b) = 1:1	F 1 (f. 168a) = 1:1	F 1 (f. 228b) = 1:1	F 1 (f. 159b) = 1:1	F 1 (f. 216b) = 1:1	[F 1] (f. 206b) = 1:1	
F 2 (p. 298) = 3:6	A 2 (f. 62b) = 3:12	F 2 (f. 169a) = 3:6	F 2 (f. 231a) = 3:6	F 2 (f. 161a) = 3:6	F 2 (f. 218b) = 3:6	F 4 (f. 208a) = 8:1	Q 2 (f. 168b) = 4:1
F 3 (p. 308) = 6:8	A 3 (f. 63b) = 5:1	F 3 (f. 172b) = 6:8	F 3 (f. 236b) = 6:8	F 3 (f. 166a) = 6:8	F 3 (f. 224a) = 6:8	F 5 (f. 212b) = 11:1	Q 3 (f. 172a) = 6:20
F 4 (p. 314) = 8:1	A 4 (f. 65b) = 6:8	F 4 (f. 175a) = 8:1	F 4 (f. 240b) = 8:1	F 4 (f. 169a) = 8:1		F 6 (f. 215a) = 12:1	Q 4 (f. 173b) = 7:22
F 5 (p. 324) = 11:1	A 5 (f. 68b)	F 5 (f. 178b) = 11:1	F 5 (f. 246a) = 11:1	F 5 (f. 173b) = 11:1	F 5 (f. 233a) = 11:1	F 2 (f. 218a) = 3:6	
F 6 (p. 328) = 12:1	A 6 (f. 70a) = 9:7	F 6 (f. 180a) = 12:1	F 6 (f. 248a) = 12:1	F 6 (f. 175b) = 12:1	F 6 (f. 236a) = 12:1	F 3 (f. 223a) = 6:8	Q 6 (f. 182b) = 12:1
F 7 (p. 340) = 15:1	A 7 (f. 72a) = 11:1	F 7 (f. 185b) = 15:1	F 7 (f. 257a) = 15:1	F 7 (f. 183a) = 15:1	F 7 (f. 244b) = 15:1	F 7 (f. 230a) = 15:1	Q 7 (f. 183a) = 13:1
F 8 (p. 342) = 16:1	A 8 (f. 74a) = 13:1	F 8 (f. 187a) = 16:1	F 8 (f. 259a) = 16:1		F 8 (f. 247a) = 16:1	F 8 (f. 232a) = 16:1	Q 8 (f. 188b) = 15:1
F 9 (p. 351) = 19:1	A 9 (f. 76a) = 13:38	F 9 (f. 190a) = 19:1	F 9 (f. 264b) = 19:1		F 9 (f. 252b) = 19:1	F 9 (f. 236a) = 19:1	Q 9 (f. 191a) = 16:1
	A 10 (f. 78a) = 14:29	F 10 (f. 192b) = 21:1	F 10 (f. 268b) = 21:1	F 10 (f. 192a) = 21:1	F 10 (f. 256b) = 21:1	F 10 (f. 239b) = 21:1	Q 10 (f. 194b) = 18:1
F 11 (p. 360) = 23:1	A 11 (f. 79b) = 15:6	F 11 (f. 195a) = 23:1	F 11 (f. 272a) = 23:1	F 11 (f. 195a) = 23:1	F 11 (f. 260a) = 23:1	F 11 (f. 242b) = 23:1	Q 11 (f. 200a) = 21:1
F 12 (p. 367) = 24:10	A 12 (f. 81b) = 16:11	F 12 (f. 197b) = 24:10	F 12 (f. 275b) = 24:10		F 12 (f. 264a) = 24:10	F 12 (f. 245b) = 24:10	Q 12 (f. 202a) = 22:17
[F 13] (p. 388) = 27:1	A 13 (f. 83a) = 17:13	F 13 (f. 202a) = 27:1	F 13 (f. 283a) = 27:1	F 13 (f. 205a) = 27:1	F 13 (f. 271b) = 27:1	F 13 (f. 252a) = 27:1	Q 13 (f. 207b) = 25:1
	A 14 (f. 85a) = 19:15						
	A 15 (f. 87a) = 20:22						
	A 16 (f. 89a) = 22:17						
	A 17 (f. 91a) = 23:26						
	A 18 (f. 93a) = 25:1						
	A 19 (f. 95a) = 25:27						

	A 20 (f. 97a) = 26:39						
Numbers							
F 1 (p. 395) = 1:1	F 1 (f. 104b) = 1:1	F 1 (f. 208a) = 1:1	F 1 (f. 294b) = 1:1	F 1 (f. 213a) = 1:1	F 1 (f. 281b) = 1:1	F 1 (f. 261b) = 1:1	
F 2 (p. 403) = 3:14	F2 (f. 108b) = 3:14		F 2 (f. 300b) = 3:14	F 2 (f. 218a) = 3:14	F 2 (f. 287b) = 3:14	F 2 (f. 266b) = 3:14	Q 2 (f. 219a) = 1:48
F 3 (p. 412) = 5:1	F 3 (f. 112b) = 5:1		F 3 (f. 306b) = 5:1		F 3 (f. 293a) = 5:1	F 3 (f. 271b) = 5:1	Q 3 (f. 223b) = 5:1
F 4 (p. 415) = 6:1	F 4 (f. 114a) = 6:1	F 4 (f. 216a) = 6:1	F 4 (f. 308b) = 6:1		F 4 (f. 295a) = 6:1	F 4 (f. 273a) = 6:1	Q 4 (f. 226a) = 7:1
F 5 (p. 418) = 7:1	F 5 (f. 115a) = 7:1	F 5 (f. 217a) = 7:1	F 5 (f. 310b) = 7:1		F 5 (f. 296b) = 7:1	F 5 (f. 274b) = 7:1	Q 5 (f. 229b) = 8:5
F 6 (p. 428) = 8:5	F 6 (f. 119a) = 8:5	F 6 (f. 220b) = 8:5	F 6 (f. 316b) = 8:5	F 6 (f. 232a) = 8:5	F 6 (f. 302b) = 8:5	F 6 (f. 280a) = 8:5	
F 7 (p. 432) = 10:1	F 7 (f. 121b) = 10:1	F 7 (f. 222b) = 10:1	F 7 (f. 319b) = 10:1	F 7 (f. 234b) = 10:1	F 7 (f. 305b) = 10:1	F 7 (f. 282b) = 10:1	
F 8 (p. 440) = 13:2	F 8 (f. 125b) = 13:2		F 8 (f. 326a) = 13:2		F 8 (f. 311a) = 13:1	F 8 (f. 287b) = 13:2	Q 8 (f. 235a) = 14:31
F 9 (p. 447) = 14:39	F 9 (f. 128b) = 14:39	F 9 (f. 228b) = 14:39	F 9 (f. 330b) = 14:39	F 9 (f. 243b) = 14:39	F 9 (f. 315b) = 14:39	F 9 (f. 291b) = 14:39	Q 9 (f. 237b) = 15:1
F 10 (p. 448) = 15:1	F 10 (f. 129a) = 15:1	F 10 (f. 229a) = 15:1	F 10 (f. 331a) = 15:1	F 10 (f. 244a) = 15:1	F 10 (f. 316a) = 15:1	F 10 (f. 292a) = 15:1	Q 10 (f. 239b) = 16:1
F 11 (p. 450) = 16:1	F 11 (f. 131a) = 16:1		F 11 (f. 333b) = 16:1	F 11 (f. 246a) = 16:1	F 11 (f. 318b) = 16:1	F 11 (f. 294a) = 16:1	Q 11 (f. 244b) = 20:1
F 12 (p. 455) = 17:12	F 12 (f. 134a) = 17:12		F 12 (f. 338a) = 17:12	F 12 (f. 249b) = 17:12	F 12 (f. 323a) = 17:12	F 12 (f. 297b) = 17:12	Q 12 (f. 246a) = 20:27
F 13 (p. 461) = 20:2	F 13 (f. 137a) = 20:2	F 13 (f. 235b) = 20:2	F 13 (f. 341a) = 20:2	F 13 (f. 253b) = 20:2	F 13 (f. 326a) = 20:2	F 13 (f. 300a) = 20:2	Q 13 (f. 246a) = 21:1
F 14 (p. 462) = 20:14	F 14 (f. 137b) = 20:14	F 14 (f. 235b) = 20:14	F 14 (f. 342a) = 20:14	F 14 (f. 254a) = 20:14	F 14 (f. 327a) = 20:14	F 14 (f. 301a) = 20:14	Q 14 (f. 246b) = 21:10
F 15 (pp. 464/465) = 21:1	F 15 (f. 138b) = 21:1	F 15 (f. 236b) = 21:1	F 15 (f. 343a) = 21:1	F 15 (f. 255a) = 21:1	F 15 (f. 328a) = 21:1	F 15 (f. 301b) = 21:1	Q 15 (f. 248a) = 22:2
F 16 (p. 467) = 21:21	F 16 (f. 139b) = 21:21	F 16 (f. 237a) = 21:21	F 16 (f. 344b) = 21:21	F 16 (f. 256a) = 21:21	F 16 (f. 329b) = 21:21	F 16 (f. 303a) = 21:21	Q 16 (f. 255a) = 27:1
F 17 (p. 469) = 22:1	F 17 (f. 140b) = 22:1	F 17 (f. 238a) = 22:1	F 17 (f. 346a) = 22:1	F 17 (f. 257a) = 22:1	F 17 (f. 330b) = 22:1	F 17 (f. 304a) = 22:1	Q 17 (f. 255b) = 27:12
F 18 (p. 487) = 27:1	F 18 (f. 148b) = 27:1	F 18 (f. 244a) = 27:1	F 18 (f. 357b) = 27:1	F 18 (f. 266b) = 27:1	F 18 (f. 341b) = 27:1	F 18 (f. 313a) = 27:1	
F 19 (p. 488) = 27:12	F 19 (f. 149a) = 27:12	F 19 (f. 244b) = 27:12	F 18 [sic] (f. 358b) = 27:12	F 19 (f. 267a) = 27:12	F 19 (f. 342a) = 27:12	F 19 (f. 313b) = 27:12	Q 19 (f. 262b) = 33:50

F 20 (p. 500) = 32:1	F 20 (f. 156a) = 32:1	F 20 (f. 250b) = 32:1	F 20 (f. 368b) = 32:1	F 20 (f. 285a) = 32:1	F 20 (f. 351a) = 32:1	F 20 (f. 322a) = 32:1	Q 20 (f. 265a) = 36:1
F 21 (p. 508) = 33:50	F 21 (f. 159b) = 33:50	F 21 (f. 253a) = 33:50	F 21 (f. 373b) = 33:50	F 21 (f. 279a) = 33:50		F 21 (f. 326b) = 33:50	
F 22 (p. 515) = 36:1	F 22 (f. 162b) = 36:1	F 22 (f. 255b) = 36:1	F 22 (f. 378a) = 36:1	F 22 (f. 282b) = 36:1	F 22 (f. 360a) = 36:1	F 22 (f. 330b) = 36:1	
Deuteronomy							
F 1 (p. 520) = 1:1	F 1 (f. 165b) = 1:1	F 1 (f. 260a) = 1:1	F 1 (f. 380b) = 1:1	F 1 (f. 287b) = 1:1	F 1 (f. 367a) = 1:1	F 1 (f. 337b) = 1:1	[no division into qirāʾāt throughout Deuteronomy]
F 2 (p. 533) = 4:16	F 2 (f. 166b) = 1:45	F 2 (f. 265b) = 4:16	F 2 (f. 391a) = 4:16	F 2 (f. 295b) = 4:16	F 2 (f. 376b) = 4:16		
F 3 (p. 541) = 7:17	F 3 (f. 170b) = 3:14	F 3 (f. 270a) = 7:17	F 3 (f. 399a) = 7:17	F 3 (f. 302a) = 7:17	F 3 (f. 384b) = 7:17	F 3 (f. 353b) = 7:17	
F 4 (p. 543) = 8:11	F 4 (f. 173a) = 4:32	F 4 (f. 271a) = 8:11	F 4 (f. 400b) = 8:11	F 4 (f. 303b) = 8:11	F 4 (f. 386a) = 8:11	F 4 (f. 355a) = 8:11	
F 5 (p. 544) = 9:1	F 5 (f. 175b) = 6:3		F 5 (f. 401b) = 9:1	F 5 (f. 304a) = 9:1	F 5 (f. 386b) = 9:1	F 5 (f. 355b) = 9:1	
F 6 (p. 550) = 10:12	F 6 (f. 178a) = 8:6	F 6 (f. 273a) = 10:12	F 6 (f. 405a) = 10:12	F 6 (f. 307a) = 10:12	F 6 (f. 390a) = 10:12	[MS breaks off after f. 356]	
F 7 (p. 552) = 11:10	F 7 (f. 179a) = 9:1	F 7 (f. 274a) = 11:10	F 7 (f. 406b) = 11:10	F 7 (f. 308a) = 11:10	F 7 (f. 391b) = 11:10		
F 8 (p. 553) = 11:13	F 8 (f. 183a) = 12:1	F 8 (f. 274a) = 11:13	F 8 (f. 407a) = 11:13	F 8 (f. 308b) = 11:13	F 8 (f. 392a) = 11:13		
F 9 (p. 555) = 12:1	F 9 (f. 185b) = 13:12	F 9 (f. 275a) = 12:1	F 9 (f. 408b) = 12:1	F 9 (f. 309b) = 12:1	F 9 (f. 393a) = 12:1		
F 10 (p. 556) = 12:20	F 10 (f. 188a) = 15:19	F 10 (f. 276a) = 12:20	F 10 (f. 410a) = 12:20		F 10 (f. 395a) = 12:20		
F 11 (p. 559) = 14:3	F 11 (f. 190b) = 18:1	F 11 (f. 277b) = 14:3	F 11 (f. 413a) = 14:3		F 11 (f. 397b) = 14:3		
	F 12 (f. 193a) = 20:5	F 12 (f. 278b) = 15:1	F 12 (f. 414b) = 15:1		F 12 (f. 399b) = 15:1		
F 13 (p. 563) = 15:19	F 13 (f. 195a) = 22:8	F 13 (f. 279b) = 15:19	F 13 (f. 416a) = 15:19		F 13 (f. 401a) = 15:19		
F 14 (p. 567) = 16:18	F 14 (f. 197b) = 24:5	F 14 (f. 280b) = 16:18	F 14 (f. 418a) = 16:18		F 14 (f. 402b) = 16:18		
F 15 (p. 569) = 17:16	F 15 (f. 200a) = 26:12		F 15 (f. 420b) = 18:9		F 15 (f. 405b) = 18:9		

F 16 (p. 570) = 18:9	F 16 (f. 202b) = 28:16	F 16 (f. 282a) = 18:15	F 16 (f. 421a) = 18:15		F 16 (f. 405b) = 18:15
F 17 (p. 570) = 18:17	F 17 (f. 205a) = 29:1	F 17 (f. 283a) = 19:15	F 17 (f. 422a) = 19:15		F 17 (f. 407b) = 19:15
F 18 (p. 574) = 20:1	F 18 (f. 207a) = 30:8		F 18 (f. 422b) = 20:1		F 18 (f. 408a) = 20:1
F 19 (p. 578) = 21:18	F 19 (f. 210a) 31:30	F 19 (f. 284b) = 21:18	F 19 (f. 425a) = 21:18		19 (f. 411a) = 21:18
F 20 (p. 579) = 22:1	F 20 (f. 212a) = 33:1	F 20 (f. 285a) = 22:1	F 20 (f. 425b) = 22:1		F 20 (f. 411a) = 22:1
F 21 (p. 582) = 23:1		F 21 (f. 286a) = 23:1	F 21 (f. 428a) = 23:1		F 21 (f. 413a) = 23:1
F 22 (p. 585) = 24:1		F 22 (f. 287a) = 24:1	F 22 (f. 429b) = 24:1		F 22 (f. 415a) = 24:1
F 23 (p. 587) = 25:1		F 23 (f. 288a) = 25:1	F 23 (f. 431a) = 25:1		[F] 23 (f. 416b) = 25:1
F 24 (p. 590) = 26:1		F 24 (f. 289a) = 26:1	F 24 (f. 432b) = 26:1		F 24 (f. 418a) = 26:1
F 25 (p. 592) = 27:1		F 25 (f. 289b) = 27:1	F 25 (f. 434b) = 27:1		[F] 25 (f. 419b) = 27:1
F 26 (p. 598) = 28:36		F 26 (f. 292a) = 28:36	F 26 (f. 438a) = 28:36		F 26 (f. 423b) = 28:36
F 27 (p. 601) = 28:58		F 27 (f. 293a) = 28:63	F 27 (f. 440a) = 28:63		F 27 (f. 425b) = 28:63
F 28 (p. 603) = 29:1		F 28 (f. 293b) = 29:1	F 28 (f. 441a) = 29:1		F 28 (f. 426a) = 29:1
F 29 (p. 606) = 30:1		F 29 (f. 294b) = 30:1	F 29 (f. 443a) = 30:1		F 29 (f. 428a) = 30:1
F 30 (p. 607) = 30:11		F 30 (f. 295a) = 30:11	F 30 (f. 444a) = 30:11		F 30 (f. 429a) = 30:11
		F 31 (f. 295b) = 30:19	F 31 (f. 444b) = 30:19		F 31 (f. 429b) = 30:19
F 32 (p. 609) = 31:14		F 32 (f. 296a) = 31:14	F 32 (f. 446a) = 31:14		F 32 (f. 431a) = 31:14
[F 33] (p. 616) = 32:48		F 33 (f. 298b) = 32:48	F 33 (f. 451a) = 32:48		F 33 (f. 435b) = 32:48

Among the consulted manuscripts in table III, six manuscripts reflect a similar chapter (*faṣl*) division with only occasional variations (underlined in the following table). MS Dayr Abū Maqār, Bibl. 1 is divided into sections named *qirāʾāt* over the course of the first four books of the Pentateuch, while Deuteronomy remains without such section division. The chapter division reflects the characteristic Coptic tradition (on which see Rhode, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 106–116). MS Carullah 3 is the only testimony among the consulted manuscripts of Arab$^{\text{Syr_Hex}}$ in which the term *aṣḥāḥ* is employed instead of *faṣl*. The chapter division in Genesis is nevertheless mostly identical with the majority of the other testimonies, while in Exodus and Leviticus it follows the East Syriac tradition. In Numbers, *faṣl* is used instead of *aṣḥāḥ*, and the chapter division is again identical with the majority of the manuscripts. The chapters of Deuteronomy are also labeled *faṣl*, yet the chapter division again follows closely that of the East Syriac tradition (with some variations), in contrast to most other manuscripts of Arab$^{\text{Syr_Hex}}$.

47. For a preliminary, partly incorrect, description of the manuscript, see Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 258f. The manuscript is paginated (not foliated as suggested by Vollandt, ibid., 258 n. 8). A later reader has added catchwords at the lower left corner of the verso side of most folios. The entire manuscript is incomplete throughout (not just Genesis, as suggested by Vollandt, ibid., 259): lacunae can be found after p. 6, prior to p. 9, prior to p. 13, after p. 220, after p. 356, after p. 398, after p. 408, after p. 524, after p. 540, after p. 562, after p. 594, after p. 608.

48. For a rudimentary, partly incorrect, description of the manuscript, see Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 256f. The codex is foliated, ff. 1–78 (Genesis), ff. 1–214 (Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy). Vollandt's remark that "[t]he foliation starts over again in the middle of Exodus" (ibid., 256, n. 7) is wrong.

49. For this manuscript, see Monferrer-Sala, "Plumbing the Depths," passim; Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 256.

50. For a brief description of the manuscript, see Vollandt, *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch*, 258. The codex was written by two different hands, with ff. 46–58 and ff. 310–340 being written by a different hand than the rest of the codex. Numerous folios throughout the codex were not included in the digitized microfilm copy at my disposal—as a result of water damage, those folios are glued together. This applies to ff. 181b–182a, 183b–185a, 186b–191a, 192b–194a, 195b–202a, 211b–212a, 216b–217a, 219b–221a, 222b–231a, 232b–233a, 235b–240a. The chapter numbering is not applied throughout the entire codex; it is lacking in those portions of the codex that were penned by a different hand (ff. 46–58, 310–340).

51. Lacuna following f. 7.

Chapter Seventeen
The *Rightly Guiding Epistle* (*al-Risāla al-Hādiya*) by ʿAbd al-Salām al-Muhtadī al-Muḥammadī: A Critical Edition

Sabine Schmidtke

Manuscript collections around the world hold a number of epistles written against Judaism by Ottoman Muslim authors writing between the late fifteenth and the late sixteenth centuries CE. Apart from the apparently widely read tract against Judaism by the prolific Ottoman scholar Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā Ṭāškubrīzāde (d. 968/1561),[1] two additional texts in Arabic have so far been encountered by the present writer, both of them written by Jewish converts to Islam. The shorter of these, entitled *Risālat Ilzām al-Yahūd fīmā zaʿamū fī l-Tawrāt min qibal ʿilm al-kalām*, was written by one al-Salām ʿAbd al-ʿAllām and is extant in a single, undated manuscript.[2] The second one, *al-Risāla al-Hādiya* by a certain ʿAbd al-Salām al-Muhtadī al-Muḥammadī or al-Daftarī, by contrast, seems to have been a popular text, as is suggested not only by the fact that it is described in Ḥāǧǧī Ḫalīfa's (d. 1067/1657) *Kašf al-ẓunūn*,[3] but also by the relatively large number of manuscripts preserved.[4] It is this second tract that is presented here in a critical edition. What *Risālat*

1. For an edition of the tract with an annotated translation, see Adang and Schmidtke, "Ṭāshkubrīzāde's Polemical Tract" [chapter 19 in the present volume].

2. MS Fatih 2994; for an edition of this tract, see Schmidtke, "Epistle Forcing the Jews" [chapter 21 in the present volume]. For a translation, see Adang, "Polemic against Judaism" [chapter 20 in the present volume]. The tract, as well as the *Risāla al-Hādiya* which is the focus of this and the following chapter 18, is also discussed in a recent PhD dissertation submitted to Boğaziçi University which was not accessible to me. See Ağlar, "Yahudi Mühtediler."

3. Ḥāǧǧī Ḫalīfa, *Kašf al-ẓunūn*, Beirut ed., 1/900 and 2/2027. See also Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur*, 64, no. 51.

4. References to and quotations from the text can also be found in contemporary Muslim literature on interreligious issues; see, e.g., http://arabic.islamicweb.com/christianity/besharat/b2 text.htm [accessed September 20, 2018], which contains a reference to *al-Risāla al-Hādiya* of ʿAbd al-Salām and

Ilzām al-Yahūd and *al-Risāla al-Hādiya* have in common is that they both contain conversion accounts that are included in their respective introductions, which both refer to Bāyazīd II (r. 886/1481–918/1512) as the sultan ruling at the time of composition. Thus, both texts predate Ṭāšკubrīzāde's tract by several decades. An additional indication of a more precise *terminus ante quem* for *al-Risāla al-Hādiya* is offered by the earliest dated manuscript of the text, MS Ahmed III (Topkapı) 1735, dated 902/1497.[5] Other than this, next to nothing is known on the life of either of the two authors.[6]

Al-Risāla al-Hādiya reflects the characteristic Muslim perspective on Judaism: its goal is to prove that the Qurʾān, containing the final divine dispensation, abrogates the earlier revelations, including the Torah, and that accordingly the Jewish claim of the eternity of the Mosaic law is to be rejected (*al-qism al-awwal: fī ibṭāl adillat al-Yahūd* [*ʿalā abadiyyat dīn Mūsā*]); that the Prophet Muḥammad has already been predicted in the Pentateuch (*al-qism al-ṯānī: fī iṯbāt nubuwwat sayyid al-kawnayn Muḥammad ʿalayhi al-ṣalāt wa-l-salām min nafs al-Tawrāt baʿda mā ġayyarahā l-Yahūd*); and that the divine revelation to Moses was later tampered with by the Jews (*al-qism al-ṯāliṯ: fī iṯbāt taġyīr baʿḍ kalimāt al-Tawrāt*). Despite the fact that the *Risāla* repeats the traditional arguments familiar from medieval polemical literature, it has a number of distinctive features, which can also be found in Ṭāšკubrīzāde's similarly structured polemic against Judaism.[7] In both tracts, the biblical material that is quoted or referred to is nearly exclusively taken from the Pentateuch. Moreover, in addition to the biblical material, both authors are evidently acquainted with a wider range of Jewish religious literature.[8] As is the case with Ṭāšკubrīzāde, ʿAbd al-Salām al-Muhtadī explicitly refers to Abraham b. Ezra (d. 1167 CE), "the most re-

a lengthy quotation from § 25 (no textual source is indicated), and www.ebnmaryam.com/monqith/monqith5/5.htm [accessed September 20, 2018], where ʿAbd al-Salām's *al-Risāla al-Hādiya* (specifically the discussion included in § 26) is referred to together with Samawʾal al-Maġribī's *Ifḥām al-Yahūd* (again, no textual source is given).

5. For a description of this manuscript (*non vidi*), see Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi*, 3/89, no. 4945.

6. For the scant biographical information on the author of *al-Risāla al-Hādiya*, see Adang, "Guided to Islam by the Torah" [chapter 18 in the present volume], which also contains an annotated translation of *al-Risāla al-Hādiya*.

7. *Faṣl* 1: *fī tazyīf dalāʾil al-taʿbīd wa-hiya sitta* (exposing the spuriousness of the proofs [adduced] for the eternity [of the religion of Moses], which are six in number); *faṣl* 2: *fī dalāʾil nubuwwat nabiyyinā Muḥammad ṣalʿam* (concerning the proofs of the prophethood of Muḥammad); *faṣl* 3: *fī bayān mā yadullu ʿalā taḥrīfihim al-Tawrāt* (explaining what indicates their distortion of the Torah). Only the very brief *faṣl* 4 of Ṭāšკubrīzāde's tract, *fī maṭāʿin al-Yahūd fī ḥaqq al-anbiyāʾ* (on the Jews' defamation of the prophets), has no equivalent in *al-Risāla al-Hādiya*. Al-Salām ʿAbd al-ʿAllām's *Risālat Ilzām al-Yahūd fīmā zaʿamū fī l-Tawrāt min qibal ʿilm al-kalām*, by contrast, is more independent from both *al-Risāla al-Hādiya* and Ṭāšკubrīzāde's polemic.

8. This is perhaps not surprising in the case of the converted Jew ʿAbd al- Salām al-Muhtadī, but it is in that of Ṭāšკubrīzāde.

nowned Jewish exegete" (*aʿẓam mufassirī al-Tawrāt min al-Yahūd*), in part 3 of the tract (§§ 28, 31), adducing some of the verses labeled the "mystery of the twelve"[9] by Ibn Ezra as evidence for the alteration of the Torah by the Jews (§§ 28–31).[10] While Ṭāškubrīzāde also explicitly refers to the commentary by Moshe ben Nahman (better known as Nahmanides, d. 1270 CE) and uses other, not further specified exegetical literature, ʿAbd al-Salām refers to other exegetical literature exclusively in a more general way: *mufassirū l-Yahūd* (§ 5), *mufassirū l-Yahūd min al-mutaqaddimīn* (§ 7), or, polemically, *al-qāṣirūn min mufassirī al-Yahūd* (§ 6).

Among the proofs adduced by the Jews for the eternity of the Mosaic law, ʿAbd al-Salām al-Muhtadī cites the typical biblical references that support the Jewish position. First he provides a transcription of the original Hebrew in Arabic characters; this is followed by an Arabic translation, and finally he adds a detailed refutation. Thus Exod. 31:16 ("Wherefore the Children of Israel shall keep the sabbath, to observe the sabbath throughout their generations, for a perpetual covenant") (§ 5) is followed by a detailed discussion on the point that the term *brit ʿolam* ("a perpetual covenant") may have a variety of meanings, only one of them being eternity—other possible meanings are an extended period of time or fifty years (§§ 6f.).[11] A similar discussion, which reflects the inner-Jewish debate on the various meanings of this term, is also included in Ṭāškubrīzāde's tract.[12] Other Jewish scriptural arguments that are refuted one by one by

9. What Ibn Ezra calls the "mystery of the twelve," specifically referring to Deut. 34:1–12, which describes Moses' death and burial, was one of several cases in the text of the Pentateuch which suggest that the entire Torah cannot have been written by Moses. In his exegesis on Deut. 1:2, Ibn Ezra also lists the following verses among the "mysteries": Gen. 12:6, Gen. 22:14, Deut. 3:11, and Deut. 31:22. This was later taken up in detail by Baruch Spinoza (d. 1677 CE) in chapter 8 of his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* (trans. Shirley, 162f.). References in the edition to Ibn Ezra are to his "Perush ha-Torah."

10. For similar ideas in Ṭāškubrīzāde's part 3, see Adang and Schmidtke, "Ṭāshkubrīzāde's Polemical Tract," 95–97 [Arabic], 110–113 [English] [chapter 19 in the present volume].

11. On this issue, see Saʿadya Gaon, *al-Amānāt wa-l-iʿtiqādāt* (= *Beliefs and Opinions*, 171), where the various positions are summarized: "Now some of the proponents of the theory of abrogation base their view on an analysis of the term 'forever' (*ʿolam*) concerning which they assert that they note that it has in the Hebrew language a variety of meanings. Our rejoinder is: yes, it has three possible meanings. One of these is 'fifty years.' The other is 'the lifetime of the thing referred to.' The third, again, is 'as long as the world will exist.' Now when we apply this term to the Sabbath law, the first two possibilities are at once eliminated, only the last being retained. For we note that Jeremiah, although he lived something like nine hundred years after Moses and the lapse of many centuries and generations of the offspring of the Children of Israel, exhorted them to observe the Sabbath and to refrain from working on it. Thus Scripture says: *Neither carry forth a burden out of your houses on the sabbath day, neither do ye any work, but hallow ye the sabbath day, as I commanded your fathers* (Jer. 17:22). Since, then, the period of fifty years, as well as that of the lifetime of the individuals in question, is eliminated, the only one of the [different] types [of meaning that can be applied to the term *ʿolam*] that remains is [that of] the duration of the world."

12. Part 1, "The sixth proof [of the Jews]"; see Adang and Schmidtke, "Ṭāshkubrīzāde's Polemical

ʿAbd al-Salām are Num. 23:19 (§§ 8f.),[13] Deut. 13:1, 3, 5 (§§ 10f.),[14] Deut. 5:22, 24 (§§ 12f.),[15] Deut. 12:32 (§§ 14f.),[16] and Deut. 33:4 (§§ 16f.),[17] followed by alleged instances of abrogation within the Torah (§ 18).[18]

As for the scriptural predictions of the Prophet Muḥammad, ʿAbd al-Salām al-Muhtadī adduces and discusses the following biblical passages: Deut. 18:17, 18f. (§§ 19–22),[19] Deut. 34:10 (§ 23),[20] Deut. 33:2 (§ 24),[21] Gen. 49:1, 10 (§ 25),[22] and Gen. 17:15, 20 (§§ 26f.).[23]

Again, the similarity of most of these discussions to Ṭāškubrīzāde's tract is striking, although the latter often argues in a more refined manner than does ʿAbd al-Salām al-Muhtadī. Moreover, there are also some issues mentioned in *al-Risāla al-Hādiya* that have no parallel in Ṭāškubrīzāde's tract and vice versa. ʿAbd al-Salām adduces, for example, the legend of the Septuagint among the proofs for the alteration of the Bible at the hand of the Jews, stating that it is mentioned in the Talmud (§ 32).[24] While this legend is not mentioned by Ṭāškubrīzāde, the latter has a nearly verbatim quotation from the Talmud (Baba Bathra) which has no parallel in *al-Risāla al-hādiya*.[25] Moreover, when refuting the Jewish argument for the eternity of the Mosaic law on the basis of Deut. 12:32 ("... thou

Tract," 89–91/103–105. The page references in the following are to chapter 19 in the present volume. The first number indicates the pages of the Arabic text, the second those of the English translation.

13. This verse is discussed by Ṭāškubrīzāde in part 1, "The second proof [of the Jews]"; see Adang and Schmidtke, 87f./99f..

14. This verse is discussed by Ṭāškubrīzāde in part 2, "The third proof [provided by the Muslims]"; see Adang and Schmidtke, 93/107f.

15. Cf. Ṭāškubrīzāde's discussion in part 1, "The third proof [of the Jews]"; see Adang and Schmidtke, 88f./100f..

16. Cf. Ṭāškubrīzāde's discussion in part 1, "The first proof [of the Jews]"; see Adang and Schmidtke, 87/98f.

17. Cf. Ṭāškubrīzāde's discussion in part 1, "The fourth proof [of the Jews]"; see Adang and Schmidtke, 89/101.

18. Cf. a similar discussion at the end of part 1 of Ṭāškubrīzāde's polemical tract; see Adang and Schmidtke, 91f./105.

19. Cf. Ṭāškubrīzāde's discussion in part 2, "The first proof [provided by the Muslims]"; see Adang and Schmidtke, 92/106.

20. Cf. Ṭāškubrīzāde's discussion in part 2, "The second proof [provided by the Muslims]"; see Adang and Schmidtke, 93/107.

21. Cf. Ṭāškubrīzāde's discussion in part 2, "The fifth proof [provided by the Muslims]"; see Adang and Schmidtke, 94/108f.

22. Cf. Ṭāškubrīzāde's discussion in part 2, "The third proof [provided by the Muslims]"; see Adang and Schmidtke, 93/107f.

23. Cf. Ṭāškubrīzāde's discussion in part 2, "The sixth proof [provided by the Muslims]"; see Adang and Schmidtke, 94f./109.

24. On the Islamic versions of the legend of the Septuagint, see Wasserstein and Wasserstein, *Legend of the Septuagint*, 174–273 (chapter 7: "The Muslims and the Septuagint").

25. See Adang and Schmidtke, "Ṭāshkubrīzāde's Polemical Tract," 96f./112.

shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it"), Ṭāškubrīzāde refers to Ibn Ezra's interpretation of the verse, according to which the meaning is "do not add nor diminish *on your own account*" (*min ʿinda anfusikum*), which thus does not exclude the possibility of *God* abrogating His revealed law.[26] ʿAbd al-Salām al-Muhtadī, by contrast, argues that what is meant in this verse is that abrogation of the conditions of what has been commanded (*šurūṭ al-maʾmūrāt*) is rendered impossible, but not abrogation of the precept itself (*nafs al-maʾmūr*) (§§ 14f.). Despite the similarity between the two tracts it is therefore unlikely that Ṭāškubrīzāde used *al-Risāla al-Hādiya* as his source.

The edition is based on the following manuscript copies of the tract in their apparent chronological order:

- MS Leiden Or. 17.054, ff. 125b–127b [هـ]. The copy is incomplete in the beginning and contains only a fragment of part 1 of the text. It is part of a collective volume with texts in Persian, Turkish, and Arabic, transcribed by several copyists, one being dated 876/1568.[27] The copy is replete with omissions and mistakes.
- MS Manisa 8061/1, ff. 1b–16b [م]. The copy, which is dated 905/1499–1500 (f. 16b), is often unreliable as words are omitted on numerous occasions.
- MS Laleli 3706/36, ff. 385a–393a [ل]. The manuscript represents a slightly different recension of the text and the introduction is completely missing, so that neither the title of the treatise nor its author is identified in the manuscript. On the title page (f. 386a) that precedes the beginning of the text on f. 386b, it is stated: *taštamilu ʿalā iṯbāt mā ġayyara aḥbār al-Yahūd min kalimāt al-Tawrāt wa-inkārihim li-nubuwwat Muḥammad ṣalʿam*. At the end of the text, there is a scribe's colophon, dated 7 Ṣafar 989/March 13, 1581, in Qusṭanṭaniyya, signed by Imām al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Qāsim al-Baṭāʾiḥī al-Ḫalīlī.
- MS Esad Efendi 6/5, ff. 1a–7a (each item having its own foliation) [أ]. The copy concludes with a colophon (f. 7a), dated 1205/1790–91, stating that it was copied by the *mudarris* Fayḍ Allāh al-ʿAfīf. The same codex contains other texts copied by the same scribe, and in one of the colophons the scribe provides some additional information (f. 39a) when he states: *ḥarrarahu l-faqīr Fayḍ Allāh al-ʿAfīf al-mudarris bi-Dār al-salṭana al-ʿāliya fī sanat 1205 ...* ; *Dār al-salṭana al-ʿāliya* here doubtless refers to Istanbul.[28]
- MS Princeton, Garrett 974H/3, ff. 68b–78a [ب].[29] The copy concludes with a colophon stating that the text was transcribed by Muṣṭafā b. Aḥmad Falyūzī and that it was completed in Ğumādā I 1267/March 1851. The collective manuscript,

26. See Adang and Schmidtke, "Ṭāshkubrīzāde's Polemical Tract," 87/98f.
27. For a brief description of the manuscript, see Witkam, "Inventory of Persian Manuscripts," 242.
28. The text of the colophon is as follows:

حرره الفقير فيض الله العفيف المدرس بدار السلطنة في سنة خمس ومائتين وألف ... سنة 1205 في 13 ج

29. This is the only manuscript copy of this text that is listed by Brockelmann; see his *Geschichte der*

entirely written in the hand of the same scribe, has another colophon (f. 68a), in which Falyūzī provides additional information on his descent.[30] أ and ب represent the same version of the text; both contain a lengthy paragraph toward the end of the text that cannot be found in any of the earlier manuscripts, as well as some further brief additions throughout the tract. Moreover, although ب was certainly not copied from أ, it was evidently collated at some stage with أ, as is suggested by the numerous corrections and notes throughout ب.

The orthography has been silently modernized, e.g., صلاة for صلوة. The various abbreviations used in most of the manuscripts such as تع for تعالى, ع م for عليه السلام, الظ / ظ for الظاهر, بط for باطل, ايضا for ايض, حينئذ / ظاهر for ح were not specifically mentioned in the footnotes.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وبه ثقتي[31]

1 الحمد لله الذي منّ على عباده في آخر الزمان برسالة حبيبه المبعوث من بني عدنان، نبيّ أمّيّ هاشمي عربي، بُعث إلى الإنس والجانّ، وخُتم به النبيّون، وبأمّته[32] الشهداء والصدّيقون، صلى الله وسلّم وبارك على رسولنا محمد الذي خصّص بستّ لم يؤتهنّ المرسلون، وعلى آله وصحبه الذين جاهدوا في سبيل الله بمهجتهم وإن[33] لامهم اللائمون.

2 وبعد، فيقول المفتقر إلى اللطف الأبدي الأحمدي[34]، عبد السلام المهتدي المحمدي: ساعدتني[35] السعادة الأبدية بموجب سابق[36] العناية الأزلية، فقذف في قلبي حبّ الإسلام والمسلم وبغض مَن ليس بعالمٍ ولا متعلمٍ[37]، ونظرتُ في أسفار التوراة سفراً بعد سفرٍ، فرأيتُ فيها [أدلّة] على دجاجية اليهود من الله تعالى[38] ومن موسى عليه السلام ذفراً على ذفرٍ[39]، حيث بدّلوا[40] نعمة الله كفراً، وأحلّوا قومهم دار البوار، جهنّم يصلونها وبئس القرار، رضوا بأن يكونوا[41] مع الخوالف، وطبع الله[42] على قلوبهم، فلا يؤمنون[43] حتى يروا العذاب الأليم، إذ جحدوا نبوة[44]

Arabischen Litteratur, suppl., 2/999, no. 10. For a brief description of the manuscript, see Houtsma, *Catalogue d'une collection*, 164, no. 974.

30. The text of the colophon is as follows:

كتبه الحقير الفقير بعون الله تعالى الملك العزيز القدير مصطفى بن أحمد فليوزي من قرية الكوجلوي من قضاء حصاراوني ... في السنة اربع وستين مائتين والف في آخر المحرم في يوم الخميس وقت الظهر تمته بالختام صلوات الله وسلامته على نبينا وسيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه بجميع الانبياء الكرام ...

31. وبه ثقتي: -، ب؛ وبه نستعين، أ.
32. وبأمته: وما منه، م.
33. وإن: إضافة فوق السطر، أ.
34. الحمد لله الذي منّ ... الأبدي الأحمدي: المتن منقطع من نسخة ه.
35. ساعتني: لما سعادتني، ب.
36. سابق: السابقة، ب؛ سابقة، أ م.
37. متعلم: بمتعلم، ب.
38. تعالى: -، م.
39. ذفراً على ذفرٍ: ذفراً على، ب (+ تصحيح في الهامش).
40. بدّلوا: بدّلو، ه.
41. يكونوا: يكونو، ه.
42. الله: -، ه.
43. يؤمنون: يؤمنوا، أ ب.
44. نبوة: بنبوة، ه.

خاتم النبيّين وهو في الحقيقة جحود نبوة الكليم، فما هادوا إلى الله، فكيف يمكن لهم أن يقولوا: إنا هدنا[45] إليك، فَيَا أيّها المعاند[46] للحقّ الصريح، ألق بالك إلى ما[47] يلقى عليك من التوراة كلام الله الصادق، القاذف بالحقّ على الباطل[48] فيدمغه، فإذا هو زاهق[49] وأنصف، وإلا فلَكَ الويل مما[50] تصف، واحذر بعد إقامة الحجّة من سيف سلطان سعى[51] سعي عيسى في الزمان، لظهور بوارق الأمن والأمان، سلطان جمع جوامع[52] خصاله[53] الحميدة، في مراتع[54] الفعال السديدة[55]، بين الغنم والسرحان، فشرر[56] صواعق حسامه ينقذك[57] من هوّة[58] الهاوية[59] لطفاً وإحساناً، وشفقةً وامتناناً[60].

3 وهذه الأدلّة[61] المستخرجة من كتاب موسى عليه السلام[62] في نبوة الخاتم محمد المصطفى[63]، فإن هُدتَ إلى الصواب، وعدتَ إلى الإيمان بالكتاب، فقد سلمتَ[64] بسلامة الإسلام، عن وخامة العقبى بين الأنام في الأيام[65]، وإن لم تُسلم[66] لم تَسلم من حدّ صارم[67] السلطان ابن سلطان[68]، سلطان بايزيد خان، أيّده[69] الله[70] لتأييد[71] الدين، وأيّد[72] دولته لقتال الكفرة والملحدين، من قال آمين أبقى الله[73] مهجته[74]، فإن هذا دعاء يشمل[75] البشر.

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45. هدنا: هدينا، ه.
46. المعاند: للعاند، ه.
47. ما: -، ه.
48. على الباطل: عالباطل، ه.
49. زاهق: ذاهق، ب (مع تصحيح في الهامش) م.
50. مما: بما، ه.
51. سعي: -، ه.
52. لظهور بوارق الأمن والأمان سلطان جمع جوامع: -، م.
53. خصاله: الخصال، ه.
54. مراتع: مراقع، ه.
55. السديدة: السريرة، ه.
56. فشرر: فشهر، ب (مع تصحيح في الهامش).
57. ينقذك: ينقذ قك، أ.
58. هوة: هوية، أ م ه.
59. الهاوية: المعاوية، ه.
60. وامتناناً: وامناناً، ب.
61. الأدلة: الآية، م ه.
62. عليه السلام: -، أ ب.
63. المصطفى: + صلعم، ب (هامش)؛ + صلى الله عليه وسلم، أ.
64. سلمت: اسلمت، ه.
65. في الأيام: -، أ.
66. تُسلم: تَسلم، ه.
67. صارم: الصارم، ه.
68. سلطان: السلطان، أ ه.
69. أيده: ايد، أ ب م ه.
70. الله: + تعالى، ه.
71. لتأييد: لتابيد، م ه.
72. وأيد: + الله تعالى، ه.
73. الله: + تعالى، م ه.
74. مهجته: + الى يوم الدين، أ.
75. يشمل: يشتمل، ه.

4 ولما جمعتُ الأدلة إقامةً للحجّة على الفرقة الأذلّة توسلتُ بها إلى خدمته[76] مُعَنْوِناً باسمه الكريم، استجلاباً بالمزيد [من] نعمته العميم، وسميتُها الرسالة الهادية مقسوماً أجزاؤها[77] على ثلاثة أقسام، وعلى الله[78] التوكّل في الإقسام[79]، القسم الأول في إبطال أدلة اليهود، القسم الثاني في إثبات نبوة محمد عليه الصلاة والسلام[80] من عبارة التوراة بعد ما غيّره[81] اليهود، القسم الثالث في بيان تغييرهم[82] بعض كلمات التوراة.

أما القسم الأول[83] [في إبطال أدلة اليهود]

5 زعم مفسرو[84] اليهود أن يكون دين[85] موسى عليه السلام أبدياً وقالوا: إنا وجدنا في التوراة كلاماً يدل على أبدية دين[86] موسى عليه السلام[87] كقوله تعالى[88]: وشَامْرُو بَنِي اسَرْاييل [...] هَشَ بَتْ[89] [...] لَذُورُسَمْ[90] بَرِيتْ عُولَام الآية[91,92] ومعناه[93] بلغة العرب: {قوم بني إسرائيل يحفظون[94] السبت في دهورهم[95] عهداً أبدياً}. فإن هذه الآية دالّة على أبدية تعطّل السبت. فإن أمر[96] الله تعالى في القرآن[97] العظيم عدم التعطّل في السبت[98] يلزم التناقض في كلام البارئ[99]، تعالى عن ذلك علواً كبيراً. فإذا كان كذلك لزم أبدية دين موسى عليه السلام، ولهذا قالوا[100]: لم نطع رسولًا أبطل ذلك الحكم.

76. خدمته: الخدمته، ه.
77. أجزاؤها: باجزائها، ه
78. الله: + تعالى، ه.
79. بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ... وعلى الله التوكل في الإقسام: -، ل.
80. عليه الصلاة والسلام: عليه السلام، م؛ صلى الله تعالى عليه وسلم، ه.
81. غيره: غيرها، ب.
82. في بيان تغييرهم: في تغيرهم، ه؛ في إثبات تغيّر، أ ب؛ في اثبات تغييرهم، ل.
83. أما القسم الأول: -، ه.
84. مفسرو: مفسر، ه؛ -، ل؛ مفسروا، أ م.
85. دين: مذهب، ل.
86. دين: مذهب، ل.
87. السلام: -، م.
88. كقوله تعالى: وهو، ه.
89. هَشَ بَتْ: هش لبن، ه.
90. لذورسم: لذوروشم، أ.
91. الآية: الى اخر الاية، أ؛ الآية، ب (+ حاشية) الى آخر الاية؛ -، ه.
92. ושמרו בני ישראל [את] השבת [לעשות את השבת] לדרתם ברית עולם (Ex. 31:16).
93. ومعناه: معناه، أ ه.
94. قوم بني إسرائيل يحفظون: يحفظون قوم بني إسراييل، ل.
95. دهورهم: ادهارهم، ل.
96. أمر: رفع، ل.
97. القرآن: الفرقان، ه.
98. عدم التعطّل في السبت: عدم التعطيل، م ه؛ ذلك الحكم، ل؛ عدم التعطيل في السبت، ب.
99. البارئ: الله تعالى، ه.
100. قالوا: -، ل ب (مع إضافة تحت السطر).

6 أقول: الجواب عن زعمهم أن الآية التي وقعت[101] في التوراة وإن كانت مقيدةً[102] بما[103] يفيد الأبدية[104] وهو عبارة عولام [עולם] على لغة عمران[105] لكن للأبد معنيين[106]، الأول طول المكث، والثاني عدم التناهي. والمراد بالأبد الذي وقع في هذه الآية هو المعنى الأول لا الثاني، فلم يلزم أبدية دين موسى عليه السلام بالمعنى الثاني[107] الذي هو[108] مقصودكم ولم[109] يلزم التناقض أيضاً، لأن كل أمر وقع من الله تعالى في مدّةٍ مخصوصةٍ لحكمةٍ ومصلحةٍ.

7 فإن اعترض[110] هؤلاء القاصرون[111] من مفسّري اليهود[112] وقالوا: ما[113] دليلكم في أن يكون[114] المراد من الأبد في هذه الآية المذكورة هو المعنى الأول دون الثاني؟ نقول: إنكم أخذتم المعنى الثاني من قوله تعالى[115] عُولَام وَاعِد [עולם ועד] في قوله تعالى[116] في التوراة: اذْوُنِيْ يَملَكْ عُولام وَاعِد،[117] ومعناه على لغة العرب {الله[118] ملك أبدي}، وقلتم: إذا قُيّد عُولَام بقيد وَاعِدْ يراد من المجموع الأبد بالمعنى الثاني، وأما إذا لم يُقيّد عولام بقيد واعد[119] فالمراد من عولام[120] هو الأبد بالمعنى الأول[121]. وفي[122] الآية المذكورة في قوله تعالى وشام رو غير مُقيّد[123] فعلم أن المراد منه هو[124] المعنى الأول لا الثاني. ونظيره ما اعترضتم في التوراة وقلتم: إن الله تعالى[125] قال في التوراة[126]: كِّيْ تِقْنَهْ[127] عَبَدْ عِبِرْي شَشْ

101. التي وقعت: الواقعة، ه.
102. كانت مقيدة: كان مقيداً، ل.
103. بما: إضافة تحت السطر، ب.
104. الأبدية: الأبد، ل.
105. على لغة عمران: كذا في كل المخطوطات.
106. معنيين: معنيان، ه.
107. الثاني: -، أ ب م ه.
108. الذي هو: التي هي، ل.
109. ولم: فلم، أ (مع تصحيح في الهامش).
110. اعترض: اعترضوا، أ ب م ه.
111. القاصرون: القاصرين، ل.
112. اليهود: إضافة تحت السطر، ب.
113. ما: -، ه.
114. يكون: -، م ه.
115. نقول إنكم أخذتم المعنى الثاني من قوله تعالى: إضافة في هامش ب.
116. عولام واعد في قوله تعالى: -، م.
117. יהוה ימלך לעלם ועד (Ex. 15:18).
118. الله: + تعالى، م ه.
119. عولام بقيد واعد: بواعد، ه.
120. من عولام: -، م.
121. الأول: + يعني المكث الطويل، ب.
122. وفي: ففي، ه.
123. مقيد: + به، ه.
124. هو: -، ل م.
125. تعالى: إضافة فوق السطر، م.
126. في التوراة: -، ه.
127. تقنه: ثقنه، ه؛ تقن، أ.

شَانِيمْ[128] يَعْبُدْ وَبَسَبيعتْ يَصَا حُفْشِي[129] [...] وَإِمْ يومَرْ[130] هَعَبَدْ اَحَبْتي[131] اَذُونِيْ وَاِشْتِي وَبَانِيْ[132] لُو اصَا حُفْشِي[133] [...] وَرَصَعْ اَذُونَو[134] أُذنُو[135] بَمْرصَعْ وَعَبَدُو[136]ا لْعُولَام[137]،[138] ومعناه على لغة العرب {إذا اشتريت عبداً عبرياً فليخدم ذلك العبد ست[139] سنين[140] وفي السابعة يخرج حرّاً، وإن قال العبد: أحببت[141] سيدي وزوجتي[142] وأبنائي[143]، أنا[144] لا أعتق، فيثقب سيده اذنيه[145] بمثقب فيخدمه أبداً}. وقال الله تعالى في موضع آخر من التوراة: وسفرت [...] سبع شانيم سَبْعَ فعَمِيمْ وَهَيُو [...] تِسَعْ واربَعِيمْ سَنَة [...] وَقَداسْتِمْ [...] تَنَتْ ها حَميشِمْ [...] اوْقرَا ثمْ[146] دَرُورْ بَارَصْ لَكُلْ[147] يُوشَبِه[148] [...] هِيَ وَهَاعَبَدْ [...] عَدْ[149] تَنَتْ هَيُوبَلْ يَعْبُدْ [...] وَيَصَا مَعِمَخْ[150] [...] لُو يماخَرْ ممْ[151] كَرَتْ عَبَدْ

128. شانيم: -، م.
129. خفشي: خفش، ه.
130. يومر: تومر، ل.
131. احبتي: اشتي، م.
132. وباني: وباقي، ه؛ وياني، أ.
133. لو اصا خفشي: -، م ه.
134. اذونو: اذونوا، ه.
135. اذنو: اذنوا، ه.
136. وعبدوا: وعبد، ه.
137. لعولام: عولام، ب، مع تصحيح في الهامش.
138. [2]כי תקנה עבד עברי שש שנים יעבד ובשבעת יצא לחפשי חנם: [3]אם בגפו יבא בגפו יצא אם בעל אשה הוא ויצאה אשתו עמו: [4]אם אדניו יתן לו אשה וילדה לו בנים או בנות האשה וילדיה תהיה לאדניה והוא יצא בגפו:] [5]ואם [אמר] יאמר העבד אהבתי [את] אדני [את] אשתי ו[את] בני לא אצא חפשי: [6]והגישו אדניו אל האלהים והגישו אל הדלת או אל המזוזה] ורצע אדניו [את] אזנו במרצע ועבדו לעלם (Ex. 21:2, 5–6).
139. ست: ستة، أ ب م.
140. سنين: سنةٍ، ه.
141. احببت: احب، أ م؛ احبت، ه.
142. وزوجتي: او زوجتي، أ.
143. وأبنائي: او ابنائي، أ.
144. أنا: وانا، أ؛ فانا، ب.
145. اذنيه: اذنه، ل.
146. اوقراثم: اوفراثمته، ه.
147. لكل: كل، ه.
148. يوشبه: يوشب، أ.
149. عد: عن، ه.
150. معمخ: قخمع، م ه.
151. مم: ميم، أ م.

الآية[152]، [153] ومعناه[154] على لغة العرب {تعد[155] سبعة[156] سنة وسبع[157] مرة[158] فيكون تسع وأربعون[159] سنة، ثم تقدس في سنة الخمسين[160] وينادى[161] ويقول المنادي: كل شخص من بعد تسع وأربعين سنة يصير حرّاً والعبد الذي[162] كان في سنة يوبل [**יובל**] يخرج حرّاً لا يباع بيعاً أبداً}. وبين الآيتين تناقض لأن مضمون الآية الأولى: إن[163] قال العبد في السنة السابعة: {أحببت[164] سيدي أنا لا أعتق} يخدم سيده[165] أبداً[166]، ومضمون[167] الثانية: كل عبد في سنة يوبل يخرج حرّاً، وبينهما تناقض صريح. وأجبتم عن[168] هذا الاعتراض بأن للأبد معنيين[169]، طول المكث وعدم[170] التناهي، والمراد من الأبد[171] المعنى الأول[172] لا الثاني، لأنه لم[173] يقيد لفظة عُولِمَ بقيد وَاعِد، فجوابكم[174] جواباً.

8 ثم قالوا[175]: إن كان دين محمد عليه الصلاة والسلام[176] حقّاً يكون ناسخاً ودين موسى عليه السلام[177] منسوخاً[178]، لأن أحكام الفرقان

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152. الآية: -، م.

153. [8]וספרת [לך שבע שבתת שנים] שבע שנים שבע פעמים והיו [לך ימי שבע שבתת השנים] תשע וארבעים שנה: [9]והעברת שופר תרועה בחדש השבעי בעשור לחדש ביום הכפרים תעבירו שופר בכל ארצכם:] [10]וקדשתם [את] שנת החמשים [שנה] וקראתם דרור בארץ לכל ישביה [יובל הוא תהיה לכם ושבתם איש אל אחזתו ואיש אל משפחתו תשבו ... [40]בשכיר כתושב יהיה עמך] עד שנת היבל יעבד [עמך:] [41]ויצא מעמך [הוא ובניו עמו ושב אל משפחתו ואל אחזת אבתיו ישוב: [42]כי עבדי הם אשר הוצאתי אתם מארץ מצרים] לא ימכרו ממכרת עבד (Lev. 25:8, 10, 40, 41, 42).

154. ومعناه: معناه، ب.

155. تعد: عد، ه؛ بعد، م.

156. سبعة: سبع، أ ب ه.

157. سنة وسبع: سبع، م؛ سنة سبع، ب ل.

158. وسبع مرة: سبع مرات، أ ب؛ سبع مرة، ل م ه.

159. وأربعون: واربعين، م ه.

160. سنة الخمسين: خمسون سنة، ل؛ خمسين سنة، أ ب م ه.

161. وينادي: + في الأرض، ل؛ فيناد، ه.

162. الذي: التي، ل.

163. إن: -، أ.

164. أحببت: احبّ، م؛ احبت، ه.

165. سيده: لسيده، أ ب.

166. أبداً: -، ل.

167. ومضمون: + الاية، ه.

168. عن: من، ه.

169. معنيين: + احدهما، أ ب (هامش).

170. وعدم: والثاني عدم، أ ب (هامش).

171. الأبد: الايد، أ (مع تصحيح في الهامش) + ههنا؛ + ههنا، ب (إضافة تحت السطر).

172. الأول: الاولي، ل.

173. لم: لمن، ه.

174. فجوابكم: فما هو جوابكم وهو، أ ب (تصحيح في الهامش).

175. قالوا: لوا، ه.

176. عليه الصلاة والسلام: عليه السلام، م؛ صلى الله تعالى عليه وسلم، ه.

177. السلام: الصلوة والسلام، ب ه.

178. منسوخاً: -، م.

العظيم مخالفة[179] في أكثر[180] المسائل لأحكام[181] التوراة فيلزم الندامة في البارئ[182] تعالى، والله تعالى[183] منـزّه عن ذلك، تعالى عنه[184] علواً كبيراً. ومع هذا قال[185] في التوراة[186]: لُو ايِشْ اَلْ وكَذَبْ وَبَنِ ادَمْ ويتَنَخَمْ الآية[187]،[188] ومعناه[189] على لغة العرب {ليس الله[190] رجلًا [...] و[من] بني آدم حتى يكون نادماً}، فعلى هذا لزم[191] أبدية دين موسى عليه السلام[192].

9 أقول[193] في الجواب عن هذا الاعتراض: لا نسلم لزوم الندامة لله تعالى[194]، لأن معنى الندامة أن يفعل النادم فعلًا، ثم يعتقد عدم أولوية ذلك الفعل بل أولوية خلافه، ويقول: يا ليت لم أفعل هذا، والله تعالى[195] بريء منه لأنه يعلم من الأزل جميع ما كان وما يكون و﴿بِيَدِهِ مَلَكُوتُ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ﴾[196],[197] ومنشأ الاعتراض عدم العلم بمعنى الندامة، ونظيره مثلًا إذا قال الطبيب[198] للمريض: لا تأكل اللحم لمضرته لك، ثم إذا مضت[199] مدة وتغيرّ حال المريض وقال له الطبيب[200]: كل اللحم، فهذا الاختلاف لا يكون راجعاً إلى علم الطبيب، بل إلى تغيّر[201] حال المريض وتبدّل مصلحته، فكذا هاهنا[202]. تأمل.

10 ثم اعترضوا وقالوا: إن الله تعالى[203] قال في التوراة: كِي يَقُوم بَقِرْبَكَه[204] نَابِي أُو حُولَم حَلُومْ[205] وَنَتْنْ اَلَيْكَ أُوتْ أُو مُوفَتْ [...] لَمُورْ[206]

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179. مخالفة: مخالف، أ ب ل؛ يخالف، م ه.
180. أكثر: -، أ.
181. لأحكام: لان احكام، ه.
182. في البارئ: للباري، ه.
183. تعالى: سبحانه وتعالى، ه؛ -، أ ب.
184. عنه: الله، م؛ الله عن ذلك، ه.
185. قال: -، ه؛ + الله تعالى، أ.
186. التوراة: + دليل قال، ه؛ إضافة فوق السطر، م.
187. الآية: -، م.
188. [19]לא איש אל ויכזב ובן אדם ויתנחם [ההוא אמר ולא יעשה ודבר ולא יקימנה] (Num. 23:19).
189. ومعناه: معناه، ه.
190. الله: + تعالى، م ه.
191. لزم: يلزم، ه.
192. السلام: الصلوة والسلام، ل.
193. أقول: فنقول، ه.
194. تعالى: + الله عنه علوا كبيرا، ل.
195. تعالى: سبحانه وتعالى، ه.
196. وبيده ملكوت كل شيء: مع ما نطق به الكلام القديم ﴿وَاللهُ بِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ عَلِيمٌ﴾ [سورة البقرة (2): 282 وغيرها]، أ، وكذا التصحيح في هامش ب.
197. سورة المؤمنون (23): 88 وغيرها.
198. الطبيب: -، م.
199. مضت: مضى، أ ب ل م ه.
200. له الطبيب: الطبيب له، م ه.
201. تغيّر: تغيير، ه.
202. هاهنا: -، م ه.
203. تعالى: سبحانه وتعالي، ه.
204. بقربكه: بقربك، م.
205. حلوم: حولم، م.
206. لمور: نموز، ه.

نِلْخَهْ اَحَرِي لُوهَمْ اَحَرِيمْ [...] ونَعْبُدُمْ لُو تِشْمَعْ لُو [...] وَهَنَبِي هَاهُو يُومَثْ الآية.[207] ومعنى[208] هذه الآية على لغة العرب[209]: {إذا قام[210] نبيّ من بينكم[211] أو رأى واقعة ويعطي إليكم دليلًا وبرهاناً وقال: هلموا[212] واعبدوا معبوداً آخر، لا ترضوه ولا تطيعوه ولا تشفقوه بل اقتلوه[213]}. فهذه الآية تدل[214] على[215] عدم الإطاعة لفردٍ من أفراد الإنسان، أيّ فردٍ كان، إذا[216] قال: أنا نبيّ فأطيعوني واعبدوا بعبادة أخرى[217]، لأنه يخالف التوراة. فعلى هذا يلزم أبدية دين موسى عليه السلام.

11 وأنا أقول في الجواب: إن هذا خطأ فاحش وخبط عظيم لا يشتبه على من له أدنى تمييز[218]، وأنتم غلطتم في معنى معبود آخر كمن[219] ليس له بصر ولا بصيرة أصلاً، لأنكم أخذتم من معبودٍ آخر عبادة[220] أخرى[221]، وقلتم: إذا ادّعى رجل وقال: أنا نبيّ فاطيعوني واعبدوا بعبادة أخرى[222]، لا نرضى بكلامه[223] ولا نطيعه[224] بل نقتله[225]، لا[226] نشفق عليه[227] أصلًا، لأن دعواه تخالف[228] لما[229] وقع في التوراة كما وهم اليهود[230]، لعنة الله[231] عليهم أجمعين، ألا لعنة الله على[232] الظالمين. واعلموا، يا قوم اليهود[233]: ليس[234] المراد من معبود آخر

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207. [1]כי יקום בקרבך נביא או חלם חלום ונתן אליך אות או מופת: [[2]ובא האות והמופת אשר דבר אליך] לאמר נלכה אחרי אלהים אחרים [אשר לא ידעתם] ונעבדם: [3]לא תשמע [אל דברי הנביא ההוא או אל חולם החלום ההוא כי מנסה יהוה אלהיכם אתכם לדעת הישכם אהבים את יהוה אלהיכם בכל לבבכם ובכל נפשכם: [4]אחרי יהוה אלהיכם תלכו ואתו תיראו ואת מצותיו תשמרו ובקלו תשמעו ואתו תעבדו ובו תדבקון:] [5]והנביא ההוא [או חלם החלום ההוא] יומת [כי דבר סרה על יהוה אלהיכם המוציא אתכם מארץ מצרים והפדך מבית עבדים להדיחך מן הדרך אשר צוך יהוה אלהיך ללכת בה ובערת הרע מקרבך:] (Deut. 13:1, 3, 5).
208. ومعنى: فمعنى، ب ل؛ لمعنى، أ.
209. على لغة العرب: بالعربية، ه.
210. قام: -، م.
211. بينكم: نبيكم، ه.
212. هلموا: سَلِّمُوا، ه.
213. اقتلوه: اقتتلوه، ه.
214. تدل: يدل، ل.
215. على: -، ه.
216. إذا: اذ، م.
217. فاطيعوني واعبدوا بعبادة اخرى: -، ل.
218. تمييز: تميز، ب م ه.
219. كمن: لمن، ه.
220. عبادة: بعبادةٍ، ه.
221. أخرى: اخر، ل.
222. أخرى: اخر، ل.
223. بكلامه: لكلامه،أ ب ل.
224. نطيعه: نطيع اليه، أ ب ل م ه.
225. نقتله: تقتله، ه.
226. لا: ولا، أ.
227. عليه: اليه، أ ب ل م ه.
228. تخالف: يخالف، أ ب م ه.
229. لما: ما، ل.
230. اليهود: + اللعين، أ.
231. الله: + تعالى، ه.
232. على: + القوم، أ م.
233. اليهود: -، ه.
234. ليس: كلمة لا تقرأ وهي مشطوبة، ب (مع تصحيح في الهامش).

عبادة أخرى[235] كما زعمتم، بل المراد إله[236] آخر[237]، وهو منصوص في القرآن العظيم[238]: ﴿فَمَن[239] كَانَ يَرْجُو لِقَاءَ رَبِّهِ فَلْيَعْمَلْ عَمَلًا صَالِحاً وَلاَ يُشْرِكْ بِعِبَادَةِ رَبِّهِ أَحَداً﴾.[240] فإذا كان كذلك لم يقل سيدنا ومولانا وسيد الأنبياء محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم: أنا نبيّ، تعالوا واعبدوا إلهاً[241] آخر، حتى تقولوا: لا نطيع سيد المرسلين[242] صلى الله عليه وسلم. ثم قالوا: إنا لا نطيع أحداً[243] بعد موسى عليه السلام[244] وإن[245] كان كلامه[246] موافقاً للتوراة ما لم يأت بمعجزة، أما المعجزة[247] التي[248] أتى بها[249] النبيّ عليه الصلاة والسلام[250] وادّعى أنها[251] من عند ربّي رأيناه وسمعناه فليست[252] بمعجزة ولا[253] دليل عندنا، بل هي[254] فصاحة وبلاغة ويحتمل[255] أن يجيء بعده أفصح وأبلغ[256]. ألا ترى[257] أن أفلاطون وأرسطو وإقليدس[258] وبطلميوس جاءوا في زمن[259] من الأزمنة[260] مع أن كلامهم[261] متّصف بالفصاحة والبلاغة مع أن أحداً منهم ليس بنبيّ[262]؟ قلنا: النسبة التي بين الحكماء ليست كالنسبة التي بين النبيّ وغيره، لأن كمال[263] الحكماء وإن كان متفاوتاً لكن البعض

235. أخرى: اخر، ل.
236. إله: آلها، أ ل م ه.
237. أخرى كما زعمتم بل المراد إله آخر: إضافة تحت السطر في نسخة ب.
238. العظيم: -، م ه؛ + كما زعمتم بل المراد الله تعالى (مشطوب)، ب؛ + قال الله تبارك وتعالى، أ.
239. فمن: ومن، أ.
240. سورة الكهف (18): 110.
241. إلهاً: باله، ل.
242. المرسلين: الأنبياء، ل.
243. أحداً: -، أ.
244. السلام: الصلوة والسلام، ه.
245. وإن: ولو، ب.
246. كلامه: -، ه.
247. أما المعجزة: والمعجزة، ه؛ -، م.
248. التي: -، ه.
249. بها: به، م ه.
250. عليه الصلاة والسلام: عليه السلام، ب؛ صلى الله عليه وسلم، أ ه.
251. أنها: انه، ه.
252. فليست: ليست، ه.
253. ولا: فلا، أ ب.
254. هي: -، م ه.
255. ويحتمل: يحتمل، ه.
256. وأبلغ: + منه، إضافة تحت السطر في ب.
257. ترى: يرى، أ ب ل م ه.
258. وإقليدس: واقليديس، أ.
259. زمن: زمان، م ه.
260. الأزمنة: الازمان، + (حاشية) ما، ل.
261. كلامهم: كلًا منهم، ب ل.
262. بنبي: نبي، ه.
263. كمال: كذا في كل المخطوطات.

كان[264] نظير البعض الآخر[265]، وأما الكمال[266] الذي أتى به النبيّ عليه السلام[267] لم يؤت أحد[268] من الآحاد بنظير[269] لهذا الكمال[270] في زمن من الأزمنة، ولو كان من عند غيره ﴿لَوَجَدُوا فِيهِ اخْتِلَافاً كَثِيراً﴾[271] وقياسكم هو[272] قياس مع الفارق، تأمل.

12 ثم قالوا: إنا لا نطيع فرداً من أفراد[273] الإنسان ما لم نسمع صوت[274] الله[275] ولو كان أحكامه موافقةً[276] لأحكام التوراة، لأن الله تعالى قال في التوراة: هَدَوَارِيمْ[277] هَاءَلُه دِبَّرْ آذُونِيَ اَلْ [...] قَهَلَكَمْ [...] قُولْ جَاذُولْ [...] وَايِكْدَوَمْ عَلْ[278] سَنَ[279] لُوحَتْ آبَه نِيمْ [...] وَاتمْرْ وَهِنْ [...] قُولْ آذُونِيَ سَمَعْنُ مِتُوخْ هَاءَشْ الآية[280]،[281] ومعنى[282] هذه الآية على لغة العرب: {هذه الكلمات التي[283] تكلم[284] الله[285] بها[286] إلى جماعتكم بصوت كبير، وكتب الله[287] هذه الكلمات على لوحين من الحجارة وقلتم: هنا[288] سمعنا صوت الله[289] من بين النار}. فهذه الآية تدل[290] على أنه ما لم نسمع صوت الله[291] لا ينبغي أن نطيع نبيّاً من الأنبياء بدلالة[292] إلزام الله تعالى على عدم إطاعتهم لموسى عليه السلام

264. كان: -، م ه.
265. نظير البعض الآخر: نظيرا لبعض آخر، ب ل ؛ نظير لبعض آخر، م ه؛ نظيراً، أ.
266. كمال: كذا في كل المخطوطات.
267. عليه السلام: صلى الله عليه وسلم، أ ب ل.
268. أحد: لأحد، أ ب ل م ه.
269. بنظير: نظيرا، ب ل م ه.
270. كمال: كذا في كل المخطوطات.
271. سورة النساء (4): 28.
272. هو: هي، ل؛ هذا، أ م ه.
273. أفراد: الافراد، ه.
274. صوت: صلوة، ه.
275. الله: + تعالى، أ ب ل؛ + سبحانه وتعالى، ه.
276. موافقةً: موافقاً، أ ب ل م ه.
277. هدواريم: هذاوريم، ه؛ هداوريم، م.
278. عل: على، ه.
279. سن: سنه، أ م ه.
280. الآية: -، م.
281. [[22]את] הדברים האלה דבר יהוה אל [כל] קהלכם [בהר מתוך האש הענן והערפל] קול גדול [ולא יסף] ויכתבם על שני לחת אבנים [ויתנם אלי: [23]ויהי כשמעכם את הקול מתוך החשך וההר בער באש ותקרבון אלי כל ראשי שבטיכם וזקניכם] [24]ותאמרו הן [הראנו יהוה אלהינו את כבדו ואת גדלו ואת] קלו שמענו מתוך האש [היום הזה ראינו כי ידבר אלהים את האדם וחי]. (Deut. 5:22, 24).
282. ومعنى: فمعنى، أ ب ل.
283. التي: -، أ ب ل.
284. تكلم: + بها، ه.
285. الله: + تعالى، أ ب (هامش) م ه.
286. بها: -، أ ل.
287. الله: + تعالى، أ م ه.
288. هنا انقطع المتن في نسخة ه.
289. الله: + تعالى، أ ب (هامش).
290. تدل: يدل، م.
291. الله: + تعالى، أ.
292. بدلالة: + الا (مشطوب)، ل.

بعد ما سمعوا صوت الله[293] وأقرّوا عليه[294]، وقالوا: ولو[295] سمعنا صوت الله[296] في زمان نبيّ آخر كما سمعنا في زمان موسى عليه السلام لأطعنا ولكن ما سمعناه ولهذا ما أطعناه.

13 قلنا في الجواب: إن في ذلك الزمان قال بنو[297] إسرائيل لحضرة موسى عليه السلام: ادع لنا[298]، يا[299] نبيّ الله[300]، من الله تعالى حتى لا نسمع صوت الله[301] وإلا نموت دفعة[302] كما[303] قال الله تعالى في التوراة: وَيُومْرُو[304] بني اسْرايِيل [...] اِمْ يُوسْفِيمْ اَنَحْنُ لسْمُوعَ [...] قُولْ اَدُونِيَ عَوْدْ وَمَتْنْ [...] قَرَب[305] [...] وَسَمَعْ [...] كُلْ اَشْرِ يُومَرْ اَدُونِيَ [...] اَلَخَهْ وَسَمَعْنُ [...] وَيومَر اَدُونِيَ [...] هَطِيبُو [...] اَشْرَ دِبَرُو،[306] ومعنى هذه الآية بلغة[307] العرب: {قال بنو[308] إسرائيل: إذا سمعنا صوت الله مرة أخرى فنموت، اقرب أنت واسمع كل الذي يأمر الله تعالى[309] إليك ونحن نسمع منك. وقال الله تعالى: أحسنوا فيما قالوا}. فيظهر عنه أن الله تعالى قبل مرادهم في عدم إسماعهم صوت الله تعالى، ولهذا قال: {أحسنوا فيما قالوا}.

14 ثم قال[310] اليهود: قال الله تعالى في التوراة: كل هَدَاوَار[311] اَشْر اَنِي مَصَوْ اتْخَه [...] لُو تُوضِف[312] عَلَوْ وَلُو تِغْرَعْ مِمَنُو الآية[313]،[314] ومعناه[315] على لغة العرب[316]: {كل أمر[317] الذي أنا آمرك لا تزد عليه ولا تنقص عنه}، فكيف نزيد عليه[318] وننقص عنه[319]؟ فإذا أطعنا لزمنا

293. الله: + تعالى، أ.
294. عليه: عليهم، ب + (حاشية) ساقط؛ -، أ.
295. ولو: لو، م.
296. الله: + تعالى أ ب م.
297. بنو: بني، ب (مع تصحيح تحت السطر) ل.
298. ادع لنا: دعا لنا + علامة غير واضحة ولعلها مشطوبة، ل.
299. يا: -، أ.
300. الله: + تعالى، أ.
301. الله: + تعالى، أ.
302. Cf. Ex. 20:19
303. كما: كمال، ل.
304. ويومرو: ويومر، م.
305. قرب: قرت، ل.
306. [24]ותאמרו [הן הראנו יהוה אלהינו את כבדו ואת גדלו ואת קלו שמענו מתוך האש היום הזה ראינו כי ידבר אלהים את האדם וחי: [25]ועתה למה נמות כי תאכלנו האש הגדלה הזאת] אם יספים אנחנו לשמע את קול יהוה אלהינו עוד ומתנו: [62כי מי כל בשר אשר שמע קול אלהים חיים מדבר מתוך האש כמנו ויחי:] [27]קרב [אתה] ושמע את כל אשר יאמר יהוה [אלהינו ואת תדבר אלינו את כל אשר ידבר יהוה אלהינו] אליך ושמענו [ועשינו: [28]וישמע יהוה את קול דבריכם בדברכם אלי] ויאמר יהוה [אלי שמעתי את קול דברי העם הזה אשר דברו אליך] היטיבו [כל] אשר דברו (Deut. 5:24, 25, 27, 28).
307. بلغة: بلغت، ب.
308. بنو: بني، ب (مع تصحيح تحت السطر) ل.
309. تعالى: -، أ م.
310. قال: قالت، م؛ قالوا، ب.
311. هداوار: هداور، م.
312. توصف: توصفه، ل.
313. الآية: -، ب (مع تصحيح تحت السطر) م.
314. [23את] כל הדבר אשר אנכי מצוה אתכם [אתו תשמרו לעשות] לא תסף עליו ולא תגרע ממנו (Deut. 12:32).
315. ومعناه: ومعنى هذه الآية، أ؛ ومعناه، ب + (حاشية) ومعنى هذه الاية.
316. على لغة العرب: بلغة العرب، ب؛ -، ل م.
317. أمر: إضافة فوق السطر، ل.
318. عليه: -، م.
319. فكيف تزيد عليه وتنقص عنه: -، أ ب.

الزيادة والنقصان لأن بعض أحكام الفرقان[320] تخالف[321] أحكام التوراة.

15 قلنا: الجواب عنه أن المراد من عدم جواز الزيادة والنقصان عدم الزيادة والنقصان في شروط المأمورات لا في نفس المأمور[322]، ونظيره كان في التوراة صوم واحد[323]، ثم زاد بعد ذلك يرمياء النبيّ عليه السلام أربع صيامات وأطعتم له، وسليمان النبيّ عليه السلام زاد أمراً واحداً مسمى بلغة عمران[324] بالعروبين [ערוביז]، ومثياء النبيّ عليه السلام[325] زاد[326] أمراً مسمى بحنكة[327] [חנוכה] وأطعتم في كلّه[328]، وأمثاله أكثر من أن تحصى[329]. واعترضتم عليه بأنه كيف نطيع بأمر لم يؤمر في التوراة وقد نهي في التوراة[330] من الزيادة على مأموراتها[331]؟ وأجبتم عنه بأن المراد من[332] "كل أمر" شروط كل أمر، يعني لا تزيدوا في الشروط ولا تنقصوا عنها[333]، ومثلتم له بأمر بركة الإمام وهي مشروطة[334] بثلاثة آيات مخصوصة كما بيّن في التوراة، وقلتم بأن بركة الإمام لا يجوز بآيتين ولا بأربع آيات. وأيضاً، لا يجوز تبديل هذه الآيات المخصوصة بآيات أخر[335]، وكذلك في كل أمر من مأمورات التوراة. هكذا أجبتم، فجوابكم بعينه[336] جوابنا.

16 ثم قال[337] اليهود: إن الله تعالى قال في[338] التوراة: تُورَا صِوَا لَنُو مُوسَى[339] مُورَاشَه قهلث[340] يَعقوب.[341] ومعناه على لغة العرب: إن حضرة[342] موسى عليه السلام حين انتقل قال في[343] التوراة: {صار[344] ميراثاً[345] لجماعة يعقوب[346]}. فهذه الآية تدل[347] على أنه لا ينبغي أن[348]

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320. الفرقان: القرآن، ب (مع تصحيح تحت السطر) ل.
321. تخالف: يخالف، أ ب ل م.
322. لا في نفس المأمور: -، م؛ المأمور: المامورات، أ ب.
323. صوم واحد: صوماً واحداً، أ ب ل م.
324. بلغة عمران: كذا في كل المخطوطات.
325. عليه السلام: -، ل.
326. زاد: -، أ ب ل.
327. بحنكة: خنكه، ل.
328. في كله: لكلّه، أ.
329. تحصى: يحصي، أ ب ل م.
330. وقد نهي في التوراة: -، م.
331. مأموراتها: مأمورات التوراة، ل.
332. من: في، أ.
333. عنها: عنه، ل.
334. وهي مشروطة: الذي كان مشروطاً، ل.
335. أخر: أخرى، أ ب.
336. بعينه: -، م.
337. قال: قالت، أ ب م.
338. في: -، ب.
339. موسى: + هي، ل.
340. قهلث: لهث، م؛ تلهث، أ.
341. [4]תורה צוה לנו משה מורשה קהלת יעקב (Deut. 33:4).
342. حضرة: حضرت، أ ب ل.
343. في: -، أ ب م.
344. صار: صارت، أ.
345. ميراثاً: كلمة لا تقرأ وهي مشطوبة، ب (مع تصحيح في الهامش).
346. يعقوب: + عليه السلام، أ ب (إضافة تحت السطر).
347. تدل: يدل، م.
348. أن: + لا، م.

يطاع لغير[349] أحكام التوراة، ولهذا قالوا[350]: ما أطعنا لمن[351] يخالف[352] أحكام التوراة.

17 قلنا: لا نسلم أن المراد من كلام موسى عليه السلام ما ذكرتم، بل مراد موسى عليه السلام[353] من هذا الكلام أن أولاد يعقوب عليه السلام أطاعوا التوراة وأن الإطاعة للتوراة منحصرة[354] فيهم، وليس مراد موسى عليه السلام أن جماعة يعقوب عليه السلام[355] منحصرة[356] في الإطاعة في التوراة[357] ولا يجوز إطاعتهم لغير التوراة. وأما سائر[358] الاعتراضات التي اعترضوها[359] ضعيفة جدّاً فلا فائدة في ذكرها[360].

18 ثم أقول لهم: يا قوم اليهود، إن [ما] أبيتم من النسخ فيردّ عليكم أيضاً، ألا ترى[361] أن بعض الأمور الثابتة في نفس التوراة قد نسخت بعينه في نفس التوراة لسبب ما، كعبادة هارون النبيّ عليه السلام في داخل القبة كل يوم؟ ثم متى أدخل أبناء هارون النبيّ[362] عليه السلام ناراً أجنبياً أماتها[363] الله تعالى،[364] ثم أمر الله تعالى لموسى عليه السلام[365]: {قل لأخيك لا يدخل القبة إلا في سنة مرّة واحدة[366] ولا يدخل في كل[367] وقت}، وأمثاله كثيرة. فما أبيتم من النسخ في نفس التوراة، فكيف تأبون نسخ القرآن بعض أحكام التوراة؟ وهذا ظاهر لمن أنصف وترك العناد[368].

القسم الثاني في إثبات نبوة سيد الكونين[369] محمد عليه الصلاة والسلام من نفس التوراة بعد ما غيرّه[370] اليهود

19 الدليل الأول: قوله تعالى في التوراة: وَيومَرْ اَذُوِنَيْ [...] نَابِي اَقِيمْ لَهَمْ مِقَرَبْ اَحِيهِمْ كامُوخَهْ ونَتَتِي دَبَرَي[371] بَفِيوْ وَدَبَر اَلِيهِمْ [...] كُلْ اَشَرْ اَصَوَنُو وَهَيَه هَايِشْ اَشَرْ لُو يِسْمَعْ اَلْ بَرَيْ اَشَرْ يَدَبَرْ بِسْمِي اَنُوخِي اَدْرُوشْ معَمُو الآية[372],[373] ومعنى هذه الآية[374] على لغة العرب: {قال

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349. لغير: -، م.
350. قالوا: -، أ ب ل.
351. لمن: من، ل.
352. يخالف: + احكامه، ل.
353. ما ذكرتم بل مراد موسى عليه السلام: -، أ ب.
354. منحصرة: منحصر، ب ل.
355. أن جماعة يعقوب عليه السلام: -، م.
356. منحصرة: منحصر، ل.
357. الإطاعة في التوراة: اطاعة التورية، أ؛ الاطاعة في التورية + (حاشية) اطاعة التورية، ب.
358. سائر: -، ل.
359. اعترضوها: اعترضوا، أ ب ل.
360. وأما الاعتراضات ... في ذكرها: إضافة في الهامش، ل.
361. ترى: يري، أ ب ل م.
362. النبي: -، م.
363. أماتها: أماتهما، أ ب ل م.
364. Cf. Lev. 10:2
365. عليه السلام: -، ب.
366. واحدة: -، أ ب م.
367. كل: + سنة (مشطوب)، ل.
368. العناد: + والله الهادي، أ ب (إضافة تحت السطر).
369. سيد الكونين: إضافة في الهامش، ل.
370. غيره: غيرها، أ ب م.
371. دبري: بري، م.
372. الآية: -، م.
373. [17]ויאמר יהוה [אלי היטיבו אשר דברו] [18]נביא אקים להם מקרב אחיהם כמוך ונתתי דברי בפיו ודבר אליהם את כל אשר אצונו: [19]והיה האיש אשר לא ישמע אל דברי אשר ידבר בשמי אנכי אדרש מעמו. (Deut. 18:17, 18–19).
374. الآية: إضافة فوق السطر، ب.

الله تعالى[375]: أقيم نبيّ[376] لبني إسرائيل من إخوتهم مثلك وأعطي كلماتي في فيه وتكلم النبيّ إليهم كل الكلمات التي أمرت[377] لهم، والرجل الذي لا يسمع الكلمات التي[378] يتكلم النبيّ[379] باسمي فأنا أطلب منه}. وفي[380] هذه الآية ثلاثة أوجه، كل واحد منها يدل على حقية[381] نبوة محمد عليه الصلاة والسلام.

20 الوجه الأول: إن كلمة {من إخوتهم} تدل[382] على نبوة محمد عليه الصلاة والسلام[383] لأن المراد من الإخوة في قوله[384] {من إخوتهم} إخوة بني إسرائيل، وهم[385] أولاد إسماعيل عليه السلام، وليس من الأنبياء من ذلك النسل إلا نبيّنا محمد عليه الصلاة والسلام[386]، فعلم أن هذه الآية في حقّ نبوته عليه السلام[387].

21 الوجه الثاني: إن كلمة {مثلك} تدل[388] عليه[389] لأن {مثلك} خطاب إلى[390] موسى عليه السلام[391]، والمراد منه مثلك في أن يكون منـزلًا عليه الكتاب الذي فيه الأوامر والنواهي، وما قام مثل موسى[392] في أن يكون منـزلًا عليه الكتاب من الأنبياء ممن[393] يعترف بهم[394] اليهود، فعلم أنه محمد عليه الصلاة والسلام[395]. وليس لقائل أن يقول: فمن أين علمت أن المراد[396] من {مثلك} «مثلك[397]» في أن يكون منـزلًا عليه الكتاب الذي فيه الأحكام، ويحتمل أن يكون المراد منه[398] «مثلك[399]» في[400] وصف آخر من أوصافه؟ لأنا نقول: قال الله تعالى[401] قبل هذه الآية ما[402] معناه بالعربية: {قل يا موسى لبني إسرائيل: لا تطيعوا لما يطيع له العوام لأنهم يطيعون السحرة والمنجمين وأنتم لستم كذلك بل يقيم الله لكم نبيّاً من إخوتكم مثلي فاطيعوا له}[403] ومحصله أطيعوا لنبيّ مثلي يأتي بأحكام ضدّ أحكام السحرة والمنجمين. وهذه الآية تدل

375. تعالى: + وتبارك، أ.
376. نبيّ: نبياً، أ ب.
377. أمرت: امر، ل.
378. الكلمات التي: كلمات الذي، ل.
379. النبي: + عليه السلام، أ م.
380. وفي: في، أ.
381. حقية: -، ل؛ حقيقة، ب.
382. تدل: يدل، ل.
383. الصلاة والسلام: السلام، م.
384. قوله: -، ل؛ قوله تعالى، م.
385. وهم: وهو، ل؛ وهي، أ ب م.
386. الصلاة والسلام: افضل الصلوة والسلام واكمل التحيات والاكرام، ل؛ صلى الله عليه وسلم، أ.
387. السلام: الصلوة والسلام، أ.
388. تدل: يدل، ل.
389. عليه: + ايضا، أ ب (إضافة تحت السطر).
390. إلى: على، أ ب م.
391. السلام: الصلوة والسلام، ل.
392. مثل موسى: مثله، أ ب م.
393. ممن: فيمن، أ ب ل م.
394. يعترف بهم: يعترفهم، أ ب ل م.
395. عليه الصلاة والسلام: صلى الله عليه وسلم، أ.
396. المراد: -، أ م.
397. مثلك مثلك: مثلك، أ ب.
398. المراد منه: من، أ.
399. منه مثلك: + (حاشية) من مثلك، ب.
400. في: فمن، ب (مع تصحيح تحت السطر).
401. تعالى: + في التوراة، أ ب (إضافة تحت السطر).
402. ما: التي، م.
403. Cf. Deut. 18:9, 14–15

على أن يكون[404] المراد من المثل المثل[405] في نزول الأحكام له[406].

22 الوجه الثالث: إن قوله تعالى: {وأجعل كلماتي في فيه} يدل على أن يكون ذلك النبيّ منـزلاً عليه الكتاب، فيكون ذلك النبيّ محمد[407] عليه الصلاة والسلام، وليس المراد من ذلك النبيّ هو يوشع بن نون[408] كما توهّم أحبار اليهود ووجّهوا هذه الآية به لأن هذه الوجوه الثلاثة يدل[409] كل واحد منها[410] على أن لا[411] يكون المراد منه يوشع[412] لأن يوشع[413] كان من بني إسرائيل وما كان من إخوتهم[414]. وأيضاً، ما كان[415] مثل موسى عليه السلام لأنه ما أنزل عليه الكتاب، وأيضاً لم يجعل كلماته[416] في فيه، وهذا بيّن جدّاً.

23 الدليل الثاني: قال الله تعالى في التوراة: ولُو قَامْ نابِي عُودْ باسْرايَيل كَمُوشِيَ اَشَرَ يَدعُو اَذُنَيْ فَانِيمْ الفَانِيمْ الآية[417]،[418] ومعناه[419] على لغة العرب: {ولا يقوم نبيّ من بني إسرائيل مثل موسى[420] الذي عرفه الله تعالى على وجه المواجهة}. وهذه[421] الآية تدل على أن يجيء مثل موسى عليه السلام[422] من غير بني إسرائيل، وما وجدنا أحداً[423] مثل موسى عليه السلام[424] من غير بني إسرائيل إلا محمداً عليه الصلاة والسلام[425]. وأما مفسّرو[426] اليهود من المتقدّمين قالوا: إن النبيّ الذي جاء من غير بني إسرائيل هو بلعم بن باعورا[427]، وهو خطأ فاحش وكذب صريح لأن بلعم، ولو كان نبيّاً على رأيهم، ولكن ما كان مثل[428] موسى عليه السلام، لأن موسى عليه السلام كان رسولًا أنزل عليه الكتاب[429]، وبلعم ما كان رسولاً على رأيهم أيضاً، وخصوصاً[430] لا نسلم نبوته أيضاً، بل كان وليّاً وسلب[431] عنه الولاية ومات في آخر الوقت كافراً، فكيف يكون

404. يكون: تكون، م.
405. المثل المثل: المثل، م.
406. له: -، أ.
407. محمد: محمداً، أ ب ل م.
408. نون: + عليه السلام، م.
409. يدل: تدل، أ ب ل م.
410. منها: منهما، ب.
411. لا: إضافة فوق السطر، أ.
412. يوشع: + بن نون، م.
413. لأن يوشع: لانه، أ ب م.
414. إخوتهم: اخواتهم، أ ب.
415. كان: + من + (حاشية) ساقط، ب.
416. كلماته: كلمات، أ؛ كلماته + (حاشية) كلمات، ب.
417. الآية: -، م.
418. ולא קם נביא עוד בישראל כמשה אשר ידעו יהוה פנים אל פנים (Deut. 34:10).
419. ومعناه: ومعنى هذه الآية، أ.
420. موسى: + عليه السلام، أ.
421. وهذه: هذه، ب.
422. عليه السلام: -، ل.
423. أحداً: -، م؛ وجدنا أحداً: وُجد احدٌ، أ؛ وجدنا احداً + (حاشية) وجد احد، ب.
424. السلام: الصلوة والسلام، ل.
425. عليه الصلاة والسلام: صلى الله عليه وسلم، أ.
426. مفسرو: مفسروا، ل م؛ مفسري، أ؛ مفسروا + (حاشية) مفسري، ب.
427. بن باعورا: بن باغور، ل؛ بن باعور، أ ب؛ باعور، م.
428. مثل: مكرر في ل.
429. لأن بلعام ولو ... عليه الكتاب: إضافة في الهامش، ل.
430. وخصوصاً: خصوصاً، أ ب م.
431. وسلب: سلب، م.

مثل موسى عليه السلام[432]؟

24 الدليل الثالث: إن الله تعالى قال في التوراة: اَذُونِيْ مِسِينَا باء وَزَرَحْ مِسَاعِيرْ لَمُوْ هُوفِيغَهْ مِهَرْ فَارَنْ وَاتَهْ مَرْبُوثْ[433] قُودَسْ[434] الآية[435]،[436] ومعناه على لغة العرب: {قدرة الله[437] جاءت من طور سينا وطلعت من جبل ساعر وأشرقت من جبل فاران[438] وأعطي من ربوة[439] القدس}. فهذه الآية تشتمل[440] على أربعة كتب نزلت من جانب الحقّ، الأول[441] التوراة نزلت على يد[442] موسى عليه السلام في طور سينا واتبعه اليهود[443]، والثاني[444] الإنجيل نزل[445] على يد[446] عيسى عليه السلام واتبعه النصارى، والنصارى كانوا[447] من نسل عيس[448] أخي[449] يعقوب، وهو كان ملكاً في[450] جبل ساعر كما ذكر في التوراة، والثالث القرآن[451] أنزل لمحمد عليه الصلاة والسلام[452]، وهو كان من نسل إسماعيل عليه السلام[453]، وإسماعيل كان صاحب جبل فاران[454] كما تبين[455] في التوراة، وجبل فاران[456] جبل من جبال الحجاز[457]، والرابع[458] الزبور الذي أنزل على يد[459] داود عليه السلام، وهو مسمى باسم ربوة القدس كما تبين[460] في قصص الأنبياء والزبور[461].

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432. عليه السلام: -، ل.
433. مربوث: مريوث، أ.
434. قودس: قودث، أ م.
435. الآية: -، م؛ الى آخر الاية، أ؛ الاية + (حاشية) الى آخر الاية، ب.
436. [²ויאמר] יהוה מסיני בא וזרח משעיר למו הופיע מהר פארן ואתה מרבבת קדש מימינו [אשדת למו] (Deut. 33:2).
437. الله: + تعالى، أ ب م.
438. فاران: فارن، أ ب ل م.
439. ربوة: ربوبة، ل؛ -، أ ب م.
440. تشتمل: يشتمل، ب (مع تصحيح) م.
441. الأول: الأولى، أ ب ل م.
442. يد: -، أ ب.
443. في طور سينا واتبعه اليهود: -، أ.
444. والثاني: الثاني، ل؛ والثانية، أ م.
445. نزل: نزلت، أ ب ل م.
446. يد: -، أ.
447. كانوا: كانت، أ ب ل م.
448. عيس: عيسى، م.
449. أخي: اخ، ل م.
450. في: من، أ.
451. القرآن: الفرقان، أ؛ + (حاشية) الفرقان، ب؛ + العظيم، ل.
452. الصلاة والسلام: السلام، م.
453. عليه السلام: -، أ ل.
454. فاران: فارن، أ ل م.
455. تبين: بين، ب ل م.
456. فاران: فارن، أ ب ل م.
457. الحجاز: حجاز، م.
458. والرابع: والرابعة، أ.
459. يد: -، أ ب م؛ + موسى (مشطوب)، ل.
460. تبين: بين، أ ب ل م.
461. والزبور: وفي الزبور، أ؛ والزبور + (حاشية) في الزبور، ب.

فإن اعترضوا بأنه كان ينبغي أن[462] يذكر الزبور بعد التوراة[463] قبل الإنجيل والفرقان كترتيبهم[464] في الإنزال[465]، قلنا: الجواب عنه بأن الزبور كان خالياً عن الأحكام، ولهذا أخّره وذكر الباقي على ترتيبهم[466] في الإنزال، فهذه الآية أقوى حجةٍ وأدلّ دليلٍ[467] على[468] نبوة محمد[469] وعيسى عليهما السلام[470]، لأنه ما طلعت من جبل ساعر وما أشرقت من جبل فاران[471] إلا هما، وليس لليهود أيضاً[472] توجيه في هذا المقام قطعاً[473].

25 الدليل الرابع: قوله تعالى في التوراة: وَيِقْراء[474] يعقوبْ اَلْ بَانَوْ[475] وَيُومَرْ اليهمْ هاصْفُو وَاَجِيذَ لكم اَشْر يقْرَاءْ[476] اَنْكَمْ بَاحْرِيثْ هَيَامِيم [...] لُو يَاسُورْ شَبَطْ مِن يَهُودَهْ وَمَحُوقَقْ مِبيَنْ رِجْلَوْ عَذْ كَيَ يَابُو شِيلُو وَلُو يِقْهَتْ عَمِيمْ الآية[477],[478] ومعناه[479] بالعربية: {أخبر يعقوب لأولاده وقال لهم[480]: اجتمعوا لأخبر لكم[481] الذي يعرض لكم في آخر الأيام[482]، لا يزول الحاكم[483] من يهودا[484] ولا راسم من بين رجليه حتى يجيء الذي له وإليه يجتمع الشعوب}. وفي هذه الآية دلالة على أن يجيء[485] سيدنا محمد عليه الصلاة والسلام بعد تمام حكم موسى وعيسى عليهما السلام[486]، لأن المراد من الحاكم هو[487] موسى عليه السلام، لأن بعد يعقوب[488] ما جاء صاحب شريعة[489] إلى زمان[490]

462. أن: مكرر في الأصل، ل.
463. بعد التوراة: -، م.
464. كترتيبهم: كترتبهم، ل؛ كترتيبها، أ.
465. كترتيبهم في الإنزال: -، م.
466. ترتيبهم: ترتيبه، أ ب م.
467. وأدل دليل: وسبيلًا وأولى برهاناً ودليلًا، أ؛ وادل دليلًا + (حاشية) وسبيلًا واولى برهاناً ودليلًا، ب؛ وادل دليلا، م.
468. على: + صحة، ل.
469. محمد: + صلى الله عليه وسلم، أ.
470. السلام: الصلوة والسلام، ل.
471. فاران: فارن، أ ب ل م.
472. أيضاً: -، أ.
473. قطعاً: -، م؛ غير هذا التوجيه قطعاً، أ؛ قطعاً + (حاشية) في هذا المقام غير هذا التوجيه قطعاً، ب.
474. ويقراء: ويقرء، م.
475. ال بانو: البانو، أ.
476. يقراء: يقرء، م.
477. الآية: -، ل م؛ الى آخر الاية، أ؛ الاية + (حاشية) الى اخر الاية، ب.
478. [1]ויקרא יעקב אל בניו ויאמר האספו ואגידה לכם את אשר יקרא אתכם באחרית הימים.... [10]לא יסור שבט מיהודה ומחקק מבין רגליו עד כי יבא שילה ולו יקהת עמים (Gen. 49:1, 10).
479. ومعناه: ومعنى هذه الاية، أ؛ ومعناه + (حاشية) ومعنى هذه الاية، ب.
480. وقال لهم: -، م.
481. لأخبر لكم: لاخبركم، أ ب م.
482. الأيام: الزمان، أ ب.
483. الحاكم: حاكم، م.
484. يهودا: يهودي، ل؛ من يهودا: -، م؛ من بين يهودى، أ ب.
485. يجيء: + حكم (إضافة فوق السطر)، ب.
486. السلام: الصلوة والسلام، ل.
487. هو: وهو، أ ب م.
488. يعقوب: + عليه السلام، أ.
489. شريعة: الشريعة، أ ب ل م.
490. زمن: زمن، ل.

موسى[491] إلا موسى[492] عليه السلام. والمراد من الراسم هو عيسى عليه السلام لأنه بعد موسى عليه السلام إلى زمان عيسى عليه السلام[493] ما جاء صاحب شريعة[494] إلا عيسى عليه السلام، وبعدهما ما جاء صاحب شريعة[495] إلا محمد عليه الصلاة والسلام[496]. فعلم أن المراد من قول يعقوب[497] {في آخر الأيام[498]} هو نبيّنا محمد[499] عليه الصلاة والسلام[500]، لأنه[501] في آخر الزمان بعد مضي[502] حكم الحاكم والراسم[503] ما جاء إلا سيدنا محمد عليه الصلاة والسلام[504]. ويدل عليه أيضاً قوله: {حتى يجيء الذي له[505]}، أي الحكم بدلالة مساق الآية وسياقها، وأما قوله: {وإليه يجتمع الشعوب} فهي[506] علامة صريحة ودلالة واضحة على أن المراد منها هو سيدنا محمد عليه الصلاة والسلام[507]، لأنه ما اجتمع الشعوب إلا إليه. وإنما لم يذكر الزبور لأنه لا أحكام فيه، وداود النبيّ عليه السلام تابع لموسى[508] عليه السلام، والمراد من خبر[509] يعقوب[510] هو صاحب الأحكام[511].

26 الدليل الخامس: من البيّن أن أكثر أدلة أحبار اليهود بحروف الجمل الكبير وهو حروف أبجد[512]، مثلًا استدلوا [على] مدة بقاء بيت المقدس بحروف أبجد، فإن[513] أحبار اليهود حين بنى سليمان النبيّ[514] عليه السلام[515] بيت المقدس اجتمعوا وقالوا: يبقى[516] هذا[517] البناء أربعمائة وعشر[518] سنين، ثم يعرض له الخراب، لأنهم حسبوا[519] لفظة بزات [בזאת] في قوله تعالى في التوراة: بزَاتْ يَابُوا هَارُون اَلْ

491. موسى: + عليه السلام، أ ب.
492. موسى إلا موسى: -، م.
493. عليه السلام: -، أ م.
494. شريعة: الشريعة، ب ل م.
495. شريعة: الشريعة، أ ب ل م.
496. عليه الصلاة والسلام: صلى الله عليه وسلم، أ.
497. يعقوب: + عليه السلام، أ م.
498. في آخر الأيام: -، أ.
499. محمد: -، م.
500. الصلاة والسلام: السلام، م.
501. لأنه: + جاء، أ ب (إضافة تحت السطر).
502. مضي: انقضاء، أ؛ مضي + (حاشية) انقضاء، ب.
503. والراسم: وان الراسم، أ.
504. الصلاة والسلام: السلام، ب م.
505. له: -، م.
506. فهي: فهو، أ.
507. محمد عليه الصلاة والسلام: -، ب؛ وسندنا، أ ب (هامش).
508. لموسى: لاحكام موسى، أ؛ لموسى + (حاشية) تابع لاحكام صح، ب.
509. خبر: غير، م.
510. يعقوب: + عليه السلام، أ.
511. الأحكام: + فافهم، أ ب (هامش).
512. هو حروف ابجد: إضافة في هامش ل.
513. فإن: + حروف (مشطوب)، ل.
514. النبيّ: -، ب م.
515. السلام: الصلوة والسلام، ل.
516. يبقى: تبقى، م.
517. هذا: هذه، أ ب ل م.
518. وعشر: وعشرين، م.
519. حسبوا: احتسبوا، أ.

هقُودَس،[520] ومعناه[521] بالعربية[522] {بزات يعبد[523] الإمام، وهو المراد من هارون[524]، في البيت المقدس}، فحكموا بأن مدة بقائه وحكومة الإمام[525] فيها بزات سنة، أي[526] أربعمائة وعشر[527] سنين. وأمثاله في أدلّتهم أكثر من أن تحصى[528].

27 فإذا[529] كان كذلك فأقول: إن الله تعالى[530] قال في التوراة: وَيُومَرْ اَذُونَيْ لابرَاهِيم [...] لاسماعيل سَمَعتِيخَهْ هِنَهْ بَرَكْتِ أُوتُو وَهِرْبَتِي أُوتُو[531] وَهِفْرَتِي أُوتُو بِمَاد مَاد،[532] ومعناه على لغة العرب[533]: {قال الله تعالى لإبراهيم[534]: أنا قبلت دعاءك لإسماعيل فباركته[535] وأكثره وأثمره بِماد ماد [במאד מאד]}، وحروف بِماد ماد إذا حوسبت[536] يخرج منها[537] اسم[538] نبيّنا محمد عليه الصلاة والسلام[539] لأن عدد كل منهما[540] اثنى وتسعون. ويدل على ما قلنا {فباركته[541] وأكثره وأثمره[542] بِماد ماد}، لأن بركة أولاد إسماعيل وإكثاره وإثماره ما كان[543] إلا به، وخصوصاً[544] كلما ذكر الله تعالى بركة إسماعيل وإثماره وإكثاره[545] جعله مقارناً بِماد ماد ولم يذكر في بركة أخيه إسحاق عليه السلام، فهذا دليل واضح[546]. واعترضوا على هذا الدليل[547] بأن الباء في بِماد ماد ليس[548] من[549] نفس الكلمة، بل هي أداة[550] وحرف جاء[551] للصلة، فلو

520. בזאת יבא אהרן אל הקדש (Lev. 16:3).
521. ومعناه: ومعنى هذه الاية، أ؛ ومعناه + (حاشية) ومعنى هذه الاية، ب.
522. بالعربية: + من لفظة، أ.
523. يعبد: بعد، م.
524. وهو المراد من هارون: إضافة في هامش ل.
525. الإمام: -، م.
526. أي: -، م.
527. وعشر: وعشرون، م.
528. تحصى: يحصي، أ ب م.
529. فإذا: واذا، أ.
530. تعالى: تبارك وتعالى، أ.
531. اوثو: اوثوا، م.
532. ויאמר אלהים אל אברהם ... 20ולישמעאל שמעתיך הנה ברכתי אתו והפריתי אתו והרביתי אתו במאד מאד [שנים עשר נשיאם יוליד ונתתיו לגוי גדול] (Gen. 17:15, 20).
533. على لغة العرب: بلغة العرب، أ ب ل.
534. لإبراهيم: + عليه السلام، م.
535. فباركته: + واكثرته، أ ب.
536. حوسبت: حوسب، ل م.
537. منها: منه، أ ب ل م.
538. اسم: -، أ.
539. الصلاة والسلام: السلام، م.
540. كل منهما: حروف كلا متهما، ل.
541. فباركته: فباركه، م.
542. وأكثره وأثمره: واكثرته واثمرته، أ ب؛ واكثره، م.
543. كان: + لاحدٍ، أ ب (هامش).
544. وخصوصاً: خصوصاً، أ؛ وخصوصاً + (حاشية تحت و) ساقط، ب.
545. وإثماره وإكثاره: واكثاره واثماره، أ ب م.
546. واضح: + فافهم، أ ب (هامش).
547. الدليل: -، م.
548. ليس: ليست، أ؛ ليس + (حاشية) ليست، ب.
549. من: إضافة فوق السطر، أ.
550. أداة: ادات، ب.
551. جاء. جيء، ل م؛ جيئت، أ؛ جيء + (حاشية) جيئت، ب.

أخرج منه اسم محمد[552] لاحتاج إلى باء ثانية ويقال[553] ببماد ماد. قلنا: من المشهور عندهم[554] إذا اجتمع الباءان[555] أحدهما للأداة[556] والآخر من نفس الكلمة تحذف[557] الأداة[558] وتبقى[559] التي[560] من نفس الكلمة، وهذا شائع عندهم[561] في مواضع غير[562] معدودة، فلا حاجة إلى إيراده هنا[563]، فكذلك[564] نجيب في الباء المحذوفة[565] في بماد ماد.

القسم الثالث[566] في إثبات تغيير بعض[567] كلمات التوراة وهو من وجوه

28 الوجه الأول: إنا وجدنا في التوراة الموجودة[568] عندهم أن في الزمان[569] الأول[570] ملكاً منسوباً إلى كنعان[571] يقال له كنعاني وكان[572] إبراهيم[573] في مملكته، وقد وقع القحط فيها، وانتقل[574] إبراهيم عليه السلام من طرفها[575] إلى طرفها[576] الآخر،[577] وهكذا وجدنا في التوراة الموجودة[578] عندهم[579]: وِيَعْبُوْرْ ابرَاهيم بَا ارضْ عَذْ مَقُوم شَخَمْ عَذْ ايلُنْ مُورَه وَهَكَنَاعَنِي اَزْ بَارَصْ،[580] ومعناه[581] بلغة العرب: {وسار إبراهيم في الأرض من بلاد شخم إلى صحراء موره والكنعاني حينئذ كان في الأرض}. ويفهم من قوله[582] {والكنعاني حينئذ كان في الأرض} أن

552. محمد: + عليه السلام، ب م؛ + عليه الصلوة والسلام، أ.
553. با ثانية ويقال: بآ ثان، ل؛ باء ثان ويقال + (حاشية) ثانية، ب؛ ان تقال، م.
554. عندهم: عند اهل التورية، أ؛ عندهم + (حاشية) عند اهل التورية، ب.
555. الباءان: الباءن، ب ل.
556. للاداة: للادات، ب.
557. تحذف: يحذف، أ ب م.
558. الأداة: الادات، ب.
559. وتبقى: ويبقى، ب ل م.
560. التي: + هي، أ ب (هامش).
561. عندهم: -، ب.
562. غير: -، م.
563. إيراده هنا: ايرادها، أ ب م.
564. فكذلك: وكذلك، أ ب ل.
565. نجيب في الباء المحذوفة: حذفت الباء الثانية، ل.
566. الثالث: الثاني، ب (مع تصحيح).
567. بعض: -، أ؛ بعض + (حاشية) ساقط، ب.
568. الموجودة: الموجود، أ ب ل م.
569. الزمان: -، م.
570. الأول: -، أ.
571. كنعان: + ولهذا، أ ب (هامش).
572. الكنعاني وكان: كنعان، ل.
573. إبراهيم: + عليه السلام، أ ب؛ الابراهيم يخرج، م.
574. في مملكته ... وانتقل: -، م.
575. طرفها: طرفه، ل؛ الطرف، أ.
576. طرفها: طرفه، ل.
577. Cf. Gen. 12:7–10
578. الموجودة: -، ل؛ الموجود، ب م.
579. عندهم: + وهو قوله تعالى، أ.
580. ויעבר אברם בארץ עד מקום שכם עד אלון מורה והכנעני אז בארץ (Gen. 12:6).
581. ومعناه: ومعنى هذه الاية، أ؛ ومعناه + (حاشية) معنى هذه الاية، ب.
582. من قوله: من، أ؛ منه، ب + (حاشية) من؛ من، م.

في زمان موسى عليه السلام[583] ما كان في الأرض[584]، وهو باطل لأن الكنعاني ما انتقل من مكانه ومملكته إلا في زمان يوشع بن نون، لأنه قال الله تعالى[585] في التوراة: {يا موسى أنت لا تخرج[586] الكنعاني[587] من مملكته وإنما يخرجه يوشع عليه السلام}. فإذا كان كذلك يكون قول: حينئذ، غلطاً وقع في كلام كتاب المتأخرين، وأعظم مفسّري التوراة من[588] اليهود، اسمه ابن[589] عزرا، فهم هذا التغيير[590] وقال: وفي كلمة: حينئذ، سرّ عظيم والعاقل سكت[591] عنه.[592]

29 الوجه الثاني: إنا وجدنا في التوراة الموجودة[593] عندهم[594]: وَيَاعَدْ[595] مُوسَى [...] اَلْ هَرْ نبو[596] [...] وَيَامُتْ شَمْ [...] وَيقْبُرْ اثُو [...] وَيَبكُو بني اسراييل اَتْ مُوسَى [...] ثْلُوشِمْ يُوم[597], [598] ومعناه[599] بلغة العرب: {وصعد موسى[600] على جبل نبو ومات ثمة وقبر فيه وبكوا بنو إسرائيل لموسى ثلاثين يوماً}. فمفهومات هذه القضايا التي أدت[601] بصيغة[602] الماضي تدل على وقوع هذه الأمور في الزمان الماضي، ومعلوم أن التوراة إنما أنزلت[603] على موسى عليه السلام[604] في زمان صحته وحياته، لا بعد حياته[605]، حتى[606] يقال: {مات ثمة ودفن وبكوا عليه}،

583. عليه السلام: -، ل.
584. في الأرض: فيه، ل.
585. تعالى: تبارك وتعالى، أ.
586. تخرج: + الى، م.
587. الكنعاني: كنعاني، ل؛ الى كنعاني، م.
588. مفسري التوراة من: مفسرو التورية من، أ؛ مفسر التورية من، ب؛ مفسر، م.
589. ابن: ابو، أ ب ل؛ -، م.
590. التغيير: التغير، أ؛ التفسير، م.
591. سكت: يسكت، أ ب ل.
592. عنه: + فافهم، أ. – راجع פירוש ראב"ע, ספר בראשית, ע' קנג: גם זה המקום 'שכם', משה קראו כן, כי שכם לא היה בימי אברהם. 'אלון'. כמו אלה, והם עצים, וי"א שדה, כמו איל פארן (יד ו). 'מורה'. י"א שהוא ממרא בעל ברית אברהם. ויתכן שהוא אחר. ויהי אלון מורה שם מקום. 'והכנעני אז בארץ'. יתכן שארץ כנען תפשה כנען מיד אחר. ואם איננו כן יש לו סוד. והמשכיל ידום.
593. الموجودة: الموجود، ب ل.
594. عندهم: + كما قال الله تعالى، أ.
595. وياعد: كذا في كل المخطوطات.
596. نبو: نبو، ل.
597. يوم: + الاية، أ ب (هامش).
598. [1]ויעל משה [מערבת מואב] אל הר נבו [ראש הפסגה אשר על פני ירחו ויראהו יהוה את כל הארץ את הגלעד עד דן: [2]ואת כל נפתלי ואת ארץ אפרים ומנשה ואת כל ארץ יהודה עד הים האחרון: [3]ואת הנגב ואת הככר בקעת ירחו עיר התמרים עד צער: [4]ויאמר יהוה אליו זאת הארץ אשר נשבעתי לאברהם ליצחק וליעקב לאמר לזרעך אתננה הראיתיך בעיניך ושמה לא תעבר:] [5]וימת שם [משה עבד יהוה בארץ מואב על פי יהוה:] [6]ויקבר אתו [בגי בארץ מואב מול בית פעור ולא ידע איש את קברתו עד היום הזה: [7]ומשה בן מאה ועשרים שנה במתו לא כהתה עינו ולא נס לחה:] [8]ויבכו בני ישראל את משה [בערבת מואב] שלשים יום [ויתמו ימי בכי אבל משה:] (Deut. 34:1–8).
599. ومعناه: ومعنى هذه الاية، أ؛ ومعناه + (حاشية) ومعنى هذه الاية، ب.
600. موسى: -، م.
601. أدت: أدى، ل؛ اديت، أ ب م.
602. بصيغة: بصيغ، أ ب م.
603. أنزلت: أنزل، أ ب (هامش) ل.
604. عليه السلام: -، م؛ - + (حاشية) انما انزل على موسى عليه السلام، ب.
605. حياته: مماته، م.
606. حتى: وحتى، م.

فهذا يدل[607] على تغييرهم[608] التوراة الموجودة[609] الآن.

30 الوجه الثالث: وجدنا في التوراة: ولُو[610] يدَعْ اِيشْ قَبْورَاتُو عَدْ هيُومْ هَذَه[611], [612] ومعناه على لغة[613] العرب: {لم يعلم رجل قبره[614]، أي قبر موسى عليه السلام[615]، حتى اليوم}. ويظهر من معناه تغييرهم لأن قوله[616] {حتى اليوم} يدل على ممات موسى عليه السلام[617] قبل هذا الكلام بزمان. فهذا يدل على كونه[618] غير منـزل على موسى عليه السلام[619]، وهذا[620] واضح، فيتأمل[621].

31 اعلم أن في التوراة الموجودة[622] عندهم أمثال هذه الكلمات كثيرة. ولهذا قال المفسرّ المذكور: إن تفهم سّر هذه الكلمات وأمثالها[623] تميز الحقّ،[624] فليطلب في تفسيره.

32 ثم اعلم أنا قد وجدنا في أشهر تفاسير التوراة المسمى عندهم بالتلموذ أن في زمان تلماي الملك وهو بعد بخت نصر[625] قد طلب من أحبار اليهود التوراة، فهم خافوا على إظهارها[626] لأنه كان ينكر لبعض أوامرها[627]، فاجتمع سبعون رجلًا من أحبار اليهود فغيروا[628] ما شاءوا من الكلمات التي كان ينكرها ذلك الملك خوفاً منه. فإذا أقرّوا على تغييرهم[629]، فكيف يؤتمن[630] ويعتمد على آية واحدة؟ فالله المستعان

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607. فهذا يدل: فهذه تدل + (حاشية) فهذا يدل، ب.
608. تغييرهم: + في، أ ب (هامش)؛ تغيرهم، ل.
609. الموجودة: الموجود، ب ل م.
610. ولو: + يادع، ل.
611. هذه: هزه، أ.
612. [ויקבר אתו בגי בארץ מואב מול בית פעור] ולא ידע איש את קברתו עד היום הזה (Deut. 34:66).
613. على لغة: بلغة، أ ب ل.
614. قبره: قبر، ل.
615. عليه السلام: -، ل.
616. قوله: + تعالى، أ ب م.
617. السلام: الصلاة والسلام، ل م.
618. كونه: كون هذه الآية، أ ب.
619. عليه السلام: -، ل؛ غير منزل على موسى عليه السلام: مكرر مشطوب في ب.
620. وهذا: هذا، ب.
621. واضح فليتأمل + (حاشية) واضح فليتأمل، ب؛ + وليس لقائل أن يقول لم لا يجوز أن يكون المراد من هذه الكلمات زمان الاستقبال وإن كانت [+ في الظاهر، أ؛ إضافة في هامش ب] بصيغة الماضي لأنا نقول أن من المشهور لم يجيء كلمة في التورية بصيغة الماضي ويراد منها زمان الاستقبال كما هو الاسلوب في الفرقان المجيد حيث عبر من الاستقبال بالماضي للدلالة على تحقق وقوعه ولهذا اختلف مفسرو اليهود فقال بعضهم أن يوشع كتب هذه الكلمات وقال بعضهم [+ قال، ب] أن عزير الكاتب كتب هذه الكلمات فإذا أقرّوا أن هذه الكلمات ليست من المنزل على موسى عليه السلام فثبت التغيّر في التورية البتة [+ فافهم، ب]، أ ب.
622. الموجودة: الموجود، ب ل م.
623. وأمثالها: -، م.
624. راجع פירוש ראב''ע, ספר דברים, ע' ד: ואם תבין סוד (השנים) [השנים] עשר, גם 'ויכתב משה' (דברים לא כב), 'והכנעני אז בארץ' (בראשית יב ו), 'בהר ה' יראה' (בראשית כב יד), 'והנה ערשו ערש ברזל' (דברים ג יא), תכיר האמת.
625. نصر: النصر، أ ب؛ + ان تلماني الملك، ل.
626. إظهارها: إظهارهم، ل.
627. أوامرها: اوامره، ب ل م.
628. فغيروا: وغيروا، م.
629. تغييرهم: تغيير، م.
630. يؤتمن: يؤمن، م.

على طلب الحقّ الذي ﴿لَا يَأْتِيهِ الْبَاطِلُ مِن بَيْنِ يَدَيْهِ[631] وَلاَ مِنْ[632] خَلْفِهِ﴾،[633] والحمد لله على التمام والصلاة على سيدنا[634] محمد سيد الأنام[635].

في آخر ل:

تم، ولله الحمد والمنة، قبل ظهر يوم الثلاثاء لسبع خلت من شهر صفر الخير أحد شهور [سنة] تسع [و]ثمانين وتسعمائة وعلقه بناني بنايشة (؟) أحوج خلق الله إلى عفوه وغفرانه إمام الدين بن محمد بن قاسم البطائحي الخليلي وذلك بقسطنطينية خلد الله ملك سلطانها وغفر لمؤلفه وكاتبه ومالكه والمسلمين وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وعلى آله وصحبته وسلم.[636]

في آخر م:

تأريخ 905

في آخر ب:

كتبه الحقير الفقير إلى رحمة ربّه القدير مصطفى بن أحمد فليوزي في سنة مأتين وألف وسبع وستين وتمت في شهر جمادى الأولى بعون الله الملك المولى وصلواته وسلامه بالأتم على خير الورى

في آخر أ:

تم نسخه بحمد الله العلّام في يد المدرس فيض الله العفيف تراب أقدام العلماء الأعلام سنة 1205 في غرة جا م

631. يديه: -، ل م.
632. ولا من: ومن، أ ب.
633. سورة فصلت (14): 24.
634. سيدنا: -، أ.
635. على التمام والصلاة على سيدنا محمد سيد الأنام: رب العالمين، ل.
636. إضافة في الهامش: بلغ مقابلةً وتصحيحاً على أصله المنقول منه وصح لما وجد والحمد لله ...

Chapter Eighteen
Guided to Islam by the Torah: The *Risāla al-Hādiya* by ʿAbd al-Salām al-Muhtadī al-Muḥammadī

Camilla Adang

The present chapter offers an English translation of *al-Risāla al-hādiya*, a polemical tract written by ʿAbd al-Salām al-Muhtadī al-Muḥammadī, a Jewish convert to Islam who lived in Istanbul in the early Ottoman period. Apart from the information provided by the author himself in the tract—from which we learn that he converted during the reign of Sultan Bāyazīd II (r. 886/1481–918/1512)—we find additional data in the well-known bibliographical survey *Kašf al-ẓunūn* by Ḥāǧǧī Ḫalīfa, also known as Kātib Çelebi (d. 1067/1657). In this work, which lists books according to the alphabetical order of their titles, two entries may be found on our author, or rather his tract: one under *al-Risāla al-Hādiya*, the other under *al-Hādiya*. The tract is described as a short refutation of Judaism in three parts (whose titles are given by Ḥāǧǧī Ḫalīfa); the author is named as ʿAbd al-Salām al-Muhtadī or al-Daftarī, who converted to Islam from Judaism, and who knew the entire Torah by heart. During the reign of Sultan Selim I (r. 918/1512–926/1520) he became a *daftarī* (that is, an official in the Ottoman financial administration), and he founded a mosque and a number of religious endowments.[1] Unlike other converts to Islam, ʿAbd al-Salām al-Muhtadī does not provide a detailed explanation of the reasons or circumstances of his conversion to Islam. As various others before and after him, he suggests that it was the very Torah that inspired him; if only people would understand it correctly, they would become convinced of the truth of Muḥammad's mission, as he himself had. He mentions the encouragement received from Sultan Bāyazīd, but it is not clear to what

1. Ḥāǧǧī Ḫalīfa, *Kašf al-ẓunūn*, Beirut ed., 1/900; 2/2027. Cf. Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur*, 64, § 51; Steinschneider, *Die arabische Literatur der Juden*, 268f., § 223. Steinschneider mentions the tract but does not seem to have been aware of the second entry in the *Kašf*, under *al-Hādiya*.

this amounted. An identical claim is made by the author of a very similar, though less sophisticated tract, who goes by the name of Salām ʿAbd al-ʿAllām.[2]

In his *Künhü l-aḫbār* the somewhat earlier writer Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī of Gallipoli (d. 1008/1600) lists a former Jew named ʿAbd al-Salām among the *defterdār*s (finance ministers) who served under Selim I.[3] The famous traveler Evliya Çelebi (d. 1095/1684), perhaps taking his cue from Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī, also mentions the Jewish convert ʿAbd al-Salām as *defterdār* during the reign of this sultan.[4] Although neither of these sources adds that this official is the author of *al-Risāla al-Hādiya*, it is very tempting to attribute the tract to him, for how many former Jews named ʿAbd al-Salām could have been attached to the imperial treasury under the same ruler?

In the Ottoman records, the *defterdār* ʿAbd al-Salām is mentioned as the owner of various properties, some of them purchased from Jews in different quarters of Istanbul and attached to his own *waqf*.[5] Some of these transactions seem to have benefited the Jewish community,[6] and it may well be to this patronage that the Jewish author Yosef Sambari refers in his *Divre Yosef*, completed in 1673, when he describes a *talmid hakham* in Istanbul who went over to the religion of Ishmael and changed his name to ʿAbd al-Salīm Efendi. In this position he was able to help and support the Jews at the time of their sorrow and to cancel a number of harsh enactments that had been imposed on them. He wrote a letter to the Jews in which he said, referring to himself: "The Lord has created every thing for its own end, even the wicked for the day of evil" (Prov. 16:4).[7] Sambari's statement suggests that ʿAbd al-Salām enjoyed considerable influence with the authorities.

According to Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, ʿAbd al-Salām, the author of *al-Hādiya*, was not ʿAbd al-Salām the *defterdār* and property owner; the latter apparently hailed from Egypt and came to Istanbul after Selim's conquest of Egypt. The *Hādiya* was written earlier and dedicated to the previous sultan, Bāyazīd II. However, İhsanoğlu has another candidate: İlyās b. Abram (Eliahu ben Avraham), a Jewish doctor and scholar from Spain who came

2. See on this tract Sadan, "Convert in the Service," and Sadan, "Naïveté, Verses of Holy Writ, and Polemics, which is a somewhat revised English version of the first article, as well as Adang, "Polemic against Judaism" [chapter 20 in the present volume]. This tract, as well as the *Risāla al-Hādiya* which is the focus of this chapter, is also discussed in a recent PhD dissertation submitted to *Boğaziçi* University which was not accessible to me. See Ağlar, "Yahudi Mühtediler."

3. See Schmidt, *Pure Water*, 260, 355; Epstein, *Ottoman Jewish Communities*, 36.

4. Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi seyāḥatnāmesı*, 1/345.

5. Ḥāǧǧī Ḫalīfa mentions the establishment of *waqf*s, but without naming them. However, the Defterdar Abdüsselam Camii in Izmit, ca. 100 km east of Istanbul, and the Defterdar Abdüsselam Bey Medresesi in the Istanbul suburb of Küçükçekmece, both attributed to the famous imperial architect Sinan (d. 996/1588) and his school, may be associated with him. If he was able to commission Sinan, he must have been wealthy as well as influential.

6. See Akyalçın, "Jewish Communities," 60f.

7. Sambari, *Sefer divrei Yosef*, 389f.

to Istanbul after the expulsion of 1492 and soon converted to Islam.[8] Eliahu ben Avraham is the author of a well-known Arabic tract about the bubonic plague, which he dedicated to Sultan Selim I after his move to Istanbul. Attractive though İhsanoğlu's theory may be, there is no evidence linking Eliahu to ʿAbd al-Salām al-Muhtadī.[9] Further research is needed to decide conclusively whether al-Muhtadī and the *defterdār* are one and the same person, but this is beyond the scope of this contribution.

The Rightly Guiding Epistle[10]

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Beneficent, in whom I put my faith.

[1] Praise be to God who in the end of time graciously bestowed upon his servants the message of His Beloved who was sent from among the Banū ʿAdnān, the illiterate Hāšimite Arab prophet who was sent to men and jinn alike, and by whom the [sequence of] the prophets was sealed, and whose nation includes the martyrs and the righteous. May God bless our messenger Muḥammad, and grant him benediction and salvation—[he] who was exclusively granted six things that the [other] messengers were not given[11]—and his family and companions, who strove in the way of God with their hearts and souls, even if the critics scolded them.[12]

[2] Now then, ʿAbd al-Salām al-Muhtadī al-Muḥammadī,[13] the poor soul who is desirous of the eternal benevolence of Aḥmad,[14] says: His Eternal Happiness[15] supported me

8. İhsanoğlu, *Büyük Cihad'dan Frenk fodulluğuna*, 89–96; see also Süreyya, Akbayar, and Kahraman, *Sicill-i Osmanî*, 1/139.

9. On Eliahu ben Avraham and his work, see Barkai, "Between East and West."

10. The present translation is based on the edition by Sabine Schmidtke in "*Rightly Guiding Epistle*" [chapter 17 in the present volume], for which five manuscripts were used. The relatively large number of manuscripts, dating from different periods, is an indication of the tract's continued popularity. The numbering of the paragraphs follows that in Schmidtke's edition.

11. The authoritative *ḥadīṯ* collections of al-Buḫārī and Muslim contain traditions according to which the Prophet listed not six, but five things that were exclusively granted to him among God's messengers: he was sent to all of humanity rather than to any particular nation; the spoils of war were made lawful for him, which had not been the case for his predecessors; the whole earth was made pure for him and a source of purification (namely, with sand in the absence of water), as well as a suitable place for prayer; God rendered him victorious by instilling fear in his enemies, even those at a month's journey's distance; and he was given the right of intercession.

12. Possibly a reference to the Šīʿites, who are known for their hostility to those of the Prophet's Companions who did not support the candidacy of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib for the succession to Muḥammad.

13. These names were not chosen fortuitously: *al-muhtadī* means the one who has been rightly guided, viz. to Islam, in other words, a convert, while al-Muḥammadī seems to be a name that is common for converts, like al-Islāmī. Perhaps the translation "the Muslim convert" might be justified. We do not know what the author's original, preconversion name was.

14. I.e., Muḥammad.

15. The sultan.

and cast into my heart the love of Islam and the Muslim, and hatred of those who are neither scholars nor students. I perused the books of the Torah, one after the other, and found therein evidence of how the Jews are thwarting God, exalted is He, and Moses, peace be upon him, one foul thing after another, when "trading the grace of God for unbelief. They established their people in the house of perdition: Gehenna, exposed to its flames; a wretched abode."[16] "They are content to be with ones who stayed behind. God sealed their hearts, so that they did not believe"[17] until they saw the painful punishment, for they rejected the prophethood of the Seal of the Prophets, which is tantamount to rejecting the prophethood of the *Kalīm*[18] and they did not turn to God in repentance, so how can they say: "We have turned unto you"?[19] O you who stubbornly oppose the clear truth, be mindful of that which has been imposed upon you in the Torah, the truthful words of God, He who hurls the truth against falsehood and shatters it, for He is the annihilator [of falsehood] who dispenses justice,[20] and if you do not, woe to you from what you ascribe [to Him], and beware, after the establishment of proof, of the sword of a sultan who walked the path of Jesus in time (?), resplendent with the gleam of trust and protection; a sultan who accumulated all his praiseworthy qualities in the rich pastures of sound action, between the sheep and the wolves, lightning sparking off his sword's edge. He will deliver you from the gaping chasm through [his] benevolence and charity, solicitude and graciousness.

[3] These are the proofs excerpted from the book of Moses, peace be upon him, concerning the Seal of the Prophets, Muḥammad the Chosen One. If you repent and return to belief in [the true contents of] this book,[21] you will be safe in the security of Islam from the evil nature of the end that will come upon humanity in the course of time. But if you do not embrace Islam, you will not be safe from the edge of the sword of the sultan, son of the sultan, Sultan Bāyazīd Khān, may God assist him in perpetuating the religion and may He assist his empire in fighting the unbelievers and the heretics. He who says Amen!, God will save his soul. This call encompasses all of humanity.

[4] When I gathered the proofs setting forth the evidence against the despicable sect, I used it as a means to enter [the sultan's] service by addressing it to his noble name, seeking to obtain the greatest measure of his all-embracing grace. I entitled it "The Rightly Guiding Epistle." It is divided into three sections, and on God we rely for the [just] division.

16. Q 14:28f.
17. Cf. Q 9:87, 94.
18. I.e., Moses, the one who was addressed by God and conversed with Him.
19. See Q 7:155. The verb *hāda/yahūdu* of course echoes the word *Yahūd*, Jews.
20. Cf. Q 21:18.
21. I.e, the Torah.

The first section deals with the invalidation of the proofs of the Jews; the second with the confirmation of the prophethood of Muḥammad, prayer and peace be upon him, on the basis of phrases [taken] from the Torah after its alteration by the Jews; and the third section demonstrates that they have altered certain words in the Torah.

[5] As for the **first section** [on the invalidation of the proofs of the Jews], the exegetes of the Jews claim that the religion of Moses, peace be upon him, will be eternally valid, and say: We have found [certain] sayings in the Torah that demonstrate the eternal validity (*abadiyya*) of the religion of Moses, peace be upon him, such as the words of the Exalted, *Wašāmrū banī Isrāyīl haša baṯ laḏūrusam barīṯ ʿūlām*,[22] till the end of the verse. [In Arabic[23]] this means: "The nation of the Children of Israel shall observe the Sabbath throughout their times as an eternal covenant (*ʿahdan abadiyyan*)." Now this verse [so they say] demonstrates the eternal validity (*abadiyya*) of [the commandment of] refraining from work on the Sabbath. If God, exalted is He, would order an end to inactivity on the Sabbath in the Glorious Qurʾān, this would imply a contradiction in the words of the Creator, far is He exalted above this!

This being the case [so they say], the religion of Moses, peace be upon him, must be eternally valid, and therefore they say: We shall not obey a messenger who abolishes this precept.

[6]I say: [Our] reply to their claim is that even if the verse which occurs in the Torah is qualified by something that according to the Hebrew language[24] conveys [the concept of] eternity, namely, the expression *ʿūlām*, [this] *abad* has two meanings; the first is that of a lengthy duration, and the second absence of finiteness. What is meant by [the expression] *abadiyya* that is mentioned in this verse is the first sense, not the second one, and the eternal validity of the religion of Moses, peace be upon him, is not implied by the second sense, which is what you mean, and no contradiction is implied either, because every commandment comes down from God, exalted is He, for a particular period because of a certain wisdom and a benefit.

[7] If these incompetent people among the exegetes of the Jews object, saying, "What is your proof that what is meant by *abadiyya* in the verse quoted is the first sense rather than the second one?" we say: You have taken the second sense from the saying of the Exalted *ʿūlām wāʿid*, where He says in the Torah, *Aḏūnay yamlak ʿūlām wāʿid*,[25] which [in Arabic] means: "God reigns forever." And you say: If *ʿūlām* is combined with *wāʿid*, this combination [of words] means *abadiyya* in the second sense, but if *ʿūlām* is not combined

22. Exod. 31:16.

23. *Wa-maʿnāhu bi-luġat al-ʿArab*.

24. All the manuscripts consulted actually read *luġat ʿImrān*, which would mean "the language of Amram," Moses' father. Since this is a highly unusual way to refer to the Hebrew language, which is obviously what is meant here, preference is given to the reading *luġat al-ʿIbrān*, the language of the Hebrews.

25. Exod. 15:18.

with *wāʿid*, then what is meant by *ʿūlām* is *abadiyya* in the first sense. Now, in the above-mentioned verse the saying of the Exalted *washāmrū* is not [thus] combined, so know that the intended meaning is the first sense, not the second one.

Similar to this is what you [Jews] object with regard to the Torah, saying: God, exalted is He, says in the Torah: *Kī tiqnah ʿabad ʿibrī šaš šānīm yaʿbud wabasabīʿat yaṣā ḥufšī waim yūmar haʿabad aḥabtī aḏūnay waištī wabānay lū aṣā ḥufšī* [...] *waraṣaʿ aḏūnaw uḏunū bimarṣaʿ waʿabadū l ʿūlām*.[26] This means [in Arabic]: "If you buy a Hebrew slave, this slave shall serve for six years, and in the seventh he shall go free, but if the slave says: 'I love my master, my wife and my sons; I will not be set free,' then his master will pierce his ears with an awl and he will serve him forever (*abadan*)."

Elsewhere in the Torah God, exalted is He, says: *Wa-safart sabʿ šānīm sabʿa faʿamīm wa-hayū tisaʿ wa-arbaʿīm sana wa-qadastim ṯanaṯ hā ḥamīšim aw qarāṯim darūr bāraṣ la-kul yūšabih hiya wa-hā-ʿabad ʿad ṯanaṯ ha-yūbal yaʿbud wa-yaṣā maʿimaḥ lū ymāḫar mim karaṯ ʿabad*, until the end of the verse.[27]

This means [in Arabic]: "Count seven years seven times, so that they shall be forty-nine years, then [in] the fiftieth year you shall hallow and proclaim in the land, and the herald shall say: After forty-nine years every person shall become free, and the slave who was in the jubilee year shall go free, and shall not ever be sold (*abadan*)." There is a contradiction between these two verses, because the purport of the *first* verse is that if in the seventh year the slave says, "I love my master, I will not be set free," he will forever serve his master (*abadan*), whereas the meaning of the *second* [verse] is that in the jubilee year *every* slave will be set free, and there is a clear contradiction between these two [statements].

You reply to this objection that *abad* has two meanings, that of lengthy duration and that of absence of finiteness, but what is meant by *abad* [in these two verses] is the first sense, not the second, because the expression *ʿūlām* is not combined with *wāʿid*, so [in the end] your reply is in fact [identical to] our reply.

[8] Then [the Jews] say: If the religion of Muḥammad, prayer and peace be upon him, were true, it would be abrogating and the religion of Moses, peace be upon him, abrogated, because on most issues the precepts of the Glorious Furqān[28] differ from those of the Torah, which would imply regret on the part of the Creator, exalted is He, and God, exalted is He, is far from that, and highly exalted above it. Moreover, He says in the Torah, *Lū īš al wa-kaḏab wa-bani Adam wayatanaḫam*,[29] until the end of the verse, which [in Arabic] means: "God is not a man [. . .] nor a son of man that he should be regretful." According

26. Cf. Exod. 21:2–6.
27. Cf. Lev. 25:8, 10, 40–42.
28. I.e., the Qurʾān.
29. Num. 23:19.

to this [verse], the eternity of the religion of Moses, prayer and peace be upon him, is required [so they say].

[9] In answer to this objection I say: We do not accept that this implies regret on the part of God, because the meaning of regret is that the one who regrets performs an act, and then realizes the inappropriateness of this act, and even the appropriateness of its opposite, and says, "If only I had not done that," and God, exalted is He, is free from this, because He knows from eternity all that was and all that will be, and in His hands is the dominion over all things.[30]

At the basis of [their] objection lies a lack of understanding of the meaning of regret. It is similar to when a doctor says to a sick person, for example, "Do not eat meat, for it is harmful to you"; then, after some time has passed and the condition of the sick man has changed, the doctor says to him, "Eat meat!" This distinction is not attributable to the doctor's knowledge, but rather to the shift in the patient's condition and the change in what is beneficial to him, and it is the same here. Consider this.

[10] Then they object and say: God, exalted is He, says in the Torah: *Kī yaqūm ba-qirbakah nābī ū ḥūlam ḥalūm wa-naṯan alayka ūṯ ū mūfaṯ lamūr nilḫah aḥarī lūham aḥarīm wa-naʿbudum lū tišmaʿ lū wa-hanabī hāhū yūmaṯ*,[31] and the rest of the verse. The meaning of this verse [in Arabic] is: "If a prophet should rise up from among you, or sees an event, and he brings you proof and evidence but says, 'Come and worship another deity (*maʿbūd*),' do not accept him, nor obey him, nor sympathize with him, but kill him." This verse [they say] proves that not a single human being must be obeyed, whoever he might be, if he says, "I am a prophet, so obey me, and worship with another [kind of] worship," because this contradicts the Torah. According to this [verse], then, the eternity of the religion of Moses, peace be upon him, must be accepted.

[11] I say in response: This is an abominable error and a tremendous misstep, as will be clear to anyone endowed with the slightest [degree of] discernment, and you err with regard to the meaning of "another deity" like someone who lacks any insight or understanding, because you have taken [the expression] "another deity" [which occurs in the verse] to mean "another [kind of] worship," and [in fact] say: "If a man should claim and say, 'I am a prophet, so obey me and worship with another [kind of] worship,'" we do not accept his words and will not obey him, but we will kill him; we will not sympathize with him at all, because his claims contradict what is stated in the Torah, as is imagined by the Jews—God's curse be on all of them; 'Surely God's curse is upon the evildoers.'"[32] And know, O Jewish people, that what is meant by "another deity" is not "another [kind of] worship" as you claim, but rather another god, as is stated in the Glorious Qurʾān: "Whoever hopes for the meeting with his Lord, let him do righteous work, and make none the

30. Cf. Q 23:88.
31. Cf. Deut. 13:2–6.
32. Q 11:18.

sharer of the worship due unto his Lord."[33] This being the case, our lord and master, and lord of the prophets, Muḥammad (may God bless him and grant him salvation) did *not* say, "I am a prophet, come and worship another god," which would allow you to say: "We do not follow the lord of the messengers, may God bless him and grant him salvation."[34]

Then they say: We shall not obey anyone after Moses (peace be upon him) even if what he says is in accordance with the Torah, as long as he does not produce a miracle. As for the miracle that [your] prophet, prayer and peace be upon him, produced, claiming, "This is from my Lord," we have seen it and heard it, and it is not a miracle and does not constitute proof in our eyes, but it is [just] eloquence and stylistic beauty, and it is possible that someone more eloquent and more stylistically gifted will appear after [Muḥammad]. Don't you see that [in the same way] Plato, Aristotle, Euclid, and Ptolemy [each] appeared [consecutively] at a certain point in time and that their speech was characterized by eloquence and stylistic beauty—even if none of them was a prophet?

We say: The relation between [these] sages is not like the relation that obtains between the prophet and others, because even if the sayings[35] of the sages are dissimilar, still one is comparable to the other. As for the sayings that were brought by the Prophet, may God bless him and grant him salvation, they were not matched by anyone at any time, and had it been from other than [God] "they would have found therein much incongruity."[36] Their analogy, then, is like an analogy with a discrepancy.[37] Consider!

[12] Then they say: We do not obey a single human being as long as we have not heard the voice of God, exalted is He, even if his precepts should be in agreement with those of the Torah, because God, exalted is He, says in the Torah: *Ha-dawārīm haʾaluh dibbar aḏūnay al qahalkam qūl ǧāḏūl wāyikdawam ʿal sana lūḥaṯ ābah nīm wātmr wa-hin qūl aḏūnay samaʿnu mitūḫ hāʾiš*, and the rest of the verse.[38] The meaning of this verse [in Arabic] is: "These are the words God spoke to your congregation with a great voice, and God wrote these words on two tables of stone, and you said: Here we have heard the voice of God from the midst of the fire." Now this verse demonstrates that as long as we do not hear the voice of God

33. Q 18:110.

34. The point made by the author is that while the Torah condemns the worship of another god, this does not apply to a different way of worshipping the same deity, who is the one and only God worshipped by Muslims and Jews alike. There is no reason not to accept Muḥammad, since he never called to worship another god; on the contrary.

35. All manuscripts have *kamāl* here instead of *kalām*, which is obviously required by the context, as is shown also by the Qurʾānic verse in the next sentence.

36. Q 4:82. According to Muslim belief, the Qurʾān is God's word and neither the Prophet nor any other person had had a hand in its composition; it is inimitable and no one will be able to match it, unlike products of the human mind. The inimitability of the Qurʾān is regarded as a miracle.

37. In Islamic legal theory this is regarded as a faulty and invalid type of reasoning by analogy; see Kamali, *Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence*, 273f.

38. Cf. Deut. 5:22–24.

we are not required to obey any prophet, which is indicated by the fact that God, exalted is He, enjoined [the Israelites] not to obey Moses [until] after they had heard the voice of God and acknowledged it saying: If we were to hear the voice of God during the time of another prophet, like we heard it in the time of Moses, peace be upon him, we would obey, but we did not hear it and therefore we do not obey him.

[13] We say in response: At that time the Children of Israel said to *Ḥaḍrat* Moses, peace be upon him: "O prophet of God, beseech God, exalted is He, on our behalf so that we shall not hear the voice of God [again] or else we shall die at once," as God says in the Torah: *Wa-yūmrū banī Isrāyīl im yūsfīm anaḥnu lsmūʿa qūl aḏūnay ʿawd wa-matnu qarab wa-samaʿ kul ašir yūmar aḏūnay alaḥah wa-samaʿnu wa-yūmar aḏūnay haṭībū ašar dibarū*.[39]

The meaning of this [in Arabic] is: "The Children of Israel said: 'If we hear the voice of God another time we shall die. Draw you near [to Him] and listen to all that God, exalted is He, shall command you, and we shall hear it from you.' And God said: 'They spoke well.'" From this it becomes clear that God, exalted is He, accepted their wish that He, exalted is He, refrain from making His voice heard, which is why He said, "They spoke well."

[14] Then the Jews say: God, exalted is He, said in the Torah: *kl hadāwār ašar anī maṣaw atḫah lū tūḍif ʿalaw wa-lū tiġraġ mimanū*, and the rest of the verse,[40] which [in Arabic] means: "Every commandment that I shall command you, do not add to it nor detract from it." So how can we [possibly] add to it or detract from it? But if we obey [your Prophet Muḥammad] we are bound to add and detract [some], because some precepts of [your] Furqān differ from the precepts of [our] Torah.

[15] We say: The answer to this is that the adding and subtracting that is not permitted is adding to or subtracting from the *conditions* of the commandments, not to or from the [essential] commandment itself. It is like the fact that in the Torah there was just *one* fast, then afterward the prophet Jeremiah, peace be upon him, added four fasts [to that one], and you obeyed him;[41] the prophet Solomon, peace be upon him, added one commandment which in the Hebrew language is called *ʿerubin*;[42] and the prophet Mattathias,[43] peace be upon him, added a commandment called Hanukkah, and you obeyed in all of that, and similar cases are too numerous to be counted.

You object to [the new dispensation], saying, How can we obey a commandment not imposed upon us in the Torah, when it is prohibited in the very Torah to add to its commandments? But you [yourselves] answer that what is meant by [the expression] "every

39. Cf. Deut. 18:16f., Deut. 5:24, 25, 27, 28, and Exod. 20:19.

40. Cf. Deut. 12:32.

41. It is Zechariah rather than Jeremiah who is credited in the Hebrew Bible with the institution of four additional fasts; see Zech. 8:19.

42. See the Talmudic tractate Eruvin.

43. The text has Maṭṭiyāʾ, but the context makes it clear that Mattathias is intended, the father of the Maccabee brothers who revolted against Seleucid rule in Judea in the second century BCE. Cf. 1 Macc. 4. Neither in Judaism nor in Islam is Mattathias regarded as a prophet.

commandment" is the *conditions* of every commandment, that is, "do not add to the conditions or detract from them." As an example, you mentioned the commandment of the priestly blessing (*barakat al-imām*) which was laid down in three specific verses, as He has clarified in the Torah,[44] and you say that the blessing of the priest may consist neither of two, nor of four verses. Also, it is not allowed to exchange these specific verses for other ones, and it is likewise with regard to every one of the commandments of the Torah. Thus you replied, and your reply is essentially [the same as] our reply.

[16] Then the Jews say: God, exalted is He, says in the Torah: *Tūrā ṣiwā lanū Mūsā hiya mūrāšah qhlth Yaʿqūb.*[45] [In Arabic] this means that when *Ḥaḍrat* Moses, peace be upon him, passed on, he said, with regard to the Torah, that it became the heritage of the community of Jacob. This verse demonstrates that it is not required to obey anything but the precepts of the Torah, and therefore they say: We do not obey anyone whose precepts differ from the precepts of the Torah.

[17] We say: We do not accept that what is meant by the [abovementioned] saying of Moses, peace be upon him, is what you mention, but rather [hold] that what Moses, peace be upon him, meant by these words is that the children of Jacob, peace be upon him, obeyed the Torah, and that obedience to the Torah is confined to them [alone]; Moses, peace be upon him, does not mean that the community of Jacob, peace be upon him, is confined to obedience to the Torah [alone] or that their obedience cannot be to anything but the Torah.[46] As for the counterarguments they put forward, they are very weak so there is no point in mentioning them.

[18] Then I say to them: O Jewish people, if you refuse [to acknowledge] abrogation, this will be refuted as well. Don't you see that certain commandments that are laid down in the very Torah have for some reason themselves become abrogated, such as the daily worship of the prophet Aaron, peace be upon him, inside the tabernacle; when the sons of the prophet Aaron, peace be upon him, introduced a foreign [i.e., unholy] fire [into the tabernacle], God, exalted is He, caused them to die, and then God, exalted is He, commanded Moses, peace be upon him: "Say to your brother that he should not enter the tabernacle except once a year and not go in at all times."[47]

Similar things are numerous. So why do you deny that abrogation exists in the very Torah, and how can you deny that the Qurʾān abrogates certain precepts of the Torah? This is manifest to whoever contemplates and abandons obduracy.

44. Cf. Num. 6:24–26.

45. Cf. Deut. 33:4.

46. The point is, of course, that Jews may, or rather should, also accept other laws, viz. that of Muḥammad.

47. Cf. Lev. 10:1f.; 16:1, 34.

The second section, on the confirmation of the prophethood of the lord of both worlds, Muḥammad (prayer and peace be upon him), from the Torah itself, [even] after the Jews had altered it

[19] The **first proof** is God's saying in the Torah: *Wa-yūmar aḏūnay nābī aqīm la-ham mi-qarab aḥīhim kāmūḫah wa-naṯitī dabaray ba-fīw wa-dabar alīhim kul ašar aṣawanū wa-hayah hāyiš ašar lū yismaʿ al baray ašar yadabar bi-smī anūḫī adrūš mʿamū*, and the rest of the verse.[48] Now, the meaning of this verse [in Arabic] is: God, exalted is He, said: "I will raise up a prophet for the Children of Israel from among their brethren, like you, and I will put My words into his mouth; and the prophet shall speak to them all the words that I shall command them, and the man who will not listen to the words that the prophet shall speak in My name, I will require [it] of him." There are three aspects to this verse, each of which demonstrates the truth of the prophethood of Muḥammad, prayer and peace be upon him.

[20] The **first aspect** is that the expression "from among their brethren" points to the prophethood of Muḥammad, prayer and peace be upon him, because the ones that are meant by the "brethren" in [the phrase] "from among their brethren" are the brethren of the Children of Israel, who are the Children of Ishmael, peace be upon him, and there is no one among the prophets of that descent except our Prophet Muḥammad, prayer and peace be upon him, so know that this verse indicates the truth of his prophethood, peace be upon him.

[21] The **second aspect** is that the expression "like you" points to him, for "like you" is addressed to Moses, prayer and peace be upon him, and what is meant by it is that he is "like you" in that he received the scripture containing commandments and prohibitions, and among the prophets who are acknowledged by the Jews none rose up who was like Moses in that he was given the scripture. Know, therefore, that it is Muḥammad [who is being referred to here]. No one can say: How do you know that what is meant by the expression "like you" is "like you" in the sense that he, too, received the scripture containing precepts, when it is possible that what is intended is that he is "like you" in another one of his characteristics?

For we say: Before this verse God, exalted is He, says something which [in Arabic] means: "Say, O Moses, to the Children of Israel: Do not obey that which the masses obey, because they obey sorcerers and astrologers, and you are not like that; rather, God will raise up for you a prophet from among your brethren like me, so obey him."[49] This in fact means, "Obey a prophet like me who shall bring precepts that contradict the precepts of the sorcerers and the astronomers." This verse, now, demonstrates that what is meant by "like" is the likeness that is in the revelation of precepts to him.

48. Cf. Deut. 18:18f.
49. Cf. Deut. 18:14f.

[22] The **third aspect** is that God's words, exalted is He, "I will put my words into his mouth" indicate that the scripture will be revealed to this prophet, and this prophet is [therefore] Muḥammad, prayer and peace be upon him, and the one who is meant by this prophet is not Joshua ben Nun as the Jewish scholars imagine when applying this verse to him, for these three aspects each indicate that the one intended is not Joshua, for Joshua belonged to the Children of Israel, and was not from among their *brethren*. In addition, he was not "like" Moses, peace be upon him, because the scripture was not revealed to him. Moreover, [God] did not put His words into [Joshua's] mouth, and this is very clear.

[23] The **second proof**: God, exalted is He, says in the Torah: *Wa-lū qām nābī ʿūḏ bāsrāyīl kamūšīya ašar yadʿū adūnay fānīm alfānīm*, and the rest of the verse.[50] [In Arabic] its meaning is: "No prophet will rise up from among the Children of Israel like Moses, whom God, exalted is He, knew face to face." This verse indicates that someone like Moses will come from among others than the Children of Israel, and we have not found anyone like Moses, peace be upon him, from others than the Children of Israel, except Muḥammad, prayer and peace be upon him. As for the leading exegetes of the Jews, they said that the prophet who came from among others than the Children of Israel was Balaam ben Beor, but this is an absurd error and a patent lie, for Balaam, even if he would be a prophet in their view [which he is not], is not like Moses, peace be upon him, for Moses, peace be upon him, was a messenger [of God] to whom the scripture was revealed, while Balaam was not a messenger in their view either. In particular, we do not accept that he was a prophet; rather, he was a governor who was divested of his position, and in the end he died an unbeliever, so how could he be like Moses?[51]

[24] The **third proof**: God, exalted is He, says in the Torah: *Adūnay mi-sīnā bāʾ wa-zaraḥ mi-sāʿīr lamū hūfīǧah mi-har fāran wa-aṭah marbūṭ qūdas*, and the rest of the verse.[52] [In Arabic] this means: "The might of God[53] came from Mount Sinai and rose up from Mount Seir and shone from Mount Paran and came from the multitude of holiness." This verse, now, includes [a reference to] four books that were sent down on the part of God. The first is the Torah, which was sent down to Moses, peace be upon him, on Mount Sinai, and the Jews followed him; the second is the Gospel (*al-Inǧīl*, Evangel), which came down to Jesus, peace be upon him, and the Christians followed him. The Christians, now, were from the lineage of Esau, the brother of Jacob, and he was king on Mount Seir, as is mentioned in the Torah.[54] The third [scripture] is the Glorious Qurʾān, which was sent down to Muḥammad, prayer and peace be upon him, who was from the lineage of Ishmael,

50. Deut. 34:10.

51. For the enigmatic figure of Balaam, the "gentile prophet," see Num. 22–24.

52. Cf. Deut. 33:2.

53. *Qudrat Allāh*, "the might of God," an expression that avoids an anthropomorphism. A similar solution was used by Ibn Qutayba/Ibn Ḥazm who have *waḥy* instead of *qudra*. See chapter 5, n. 21, above.

54. Cf. Gen. 33:16.

peace be upon him, and Ishmael was associated with Mount Paran, as is made clear in the Torah.[55] Mount Paran is a mountain in the Hijaz. The fourth [scripture] is the Psalter (*al-Zabūr*), which was sent down to David, peace be upon him, and it is indicated by the expression "the multitude of holiness" as is clear from the tales of the prophets[56] and the Psalter [itself]. If [the Jews] object that the Psalter should have been mentioned after the Torah and before the Gospel and the Furqān, according to the [chronological] order of their revelation, we say: The reply to this is that the Psalter was devoid of precepts, and therefore [God] put it last and mentioned the other [books] according to their order of revelation. This verse is the strongest evidence and the most convincing indication of the truth of the prophethood of Muḥammad and Jesus, prayer and peace be upon both of them, because no one rose up from Mount Seir and shone forth from Mount Paran except the two of them, and here, too, the Jews have absolutely nothing to go on.

[25] The **fourth proof** is the saying of the Exalted in the Torah: *Wa-yiqrāʾ Yaʿqūb al bānaw wa-yūmar ilayhim hāṣfū wa-aǧīḍa lakum ašar yiqraʾ aṯkam bāḥrīṯ hayyāmīm lū yāsūr šabaṭ min Yahūdah wa-maḥūqaq mi-bin riǧlaw ʿaḏ kay yābū Šīlū wa-lū yiqhaṯ ʿamīm*.[57] [In Arabic] this means: "Jacob spoke to his sons, saying to them: 'Gather together and I will tell you what will happen to you in the last days. The judge will not depart from Judah nor a ruler from between his feet until the coming of the one for whom and unto whom the nations will gather.'" In this verse there is an indication that our master Muḥammad, prayer and peace be upon him, will come after the termination of the rule of Moses and of Jesus, prayer and peace be upon the two of them, because the one who is meant by "the judge" is Moses, peace be upon him, since after Jacob there was no lawgiver until the time of Moses except Moses [himself], peace be upon him. The one meant by "the ruler" is Jesus, peace be upon him, for after Moses, peace be upon him, until the time of Jesus, peace be upon him, there was no lawgiver except Jesus [himself], peace be upon him, and after the two of them there was no lawgiver except Muḥammad, prayer and peace be upon him.

And know that the one meant by Jacob's saying "in the last days" is our prophet Muḥammad, prayer and peace be upon him, because in the last days, after the rule of the judge and the ruler elapsed, no one has appeared except our master Muḥammad, peace be upon him. [God's] words "until the coming of the one for whom . . . ," meaning the rule, also point to him, as is indicated by the wording of the verse and by its context. As for His saying, "and unto whom the nations will gather," it is an obvious sign and a clear indication that the one intended is our master Muḥammad, prayer and peace be upon him, because the nations did not gather except unto him. The only reason the Psalter is not mentioned is that it does not contain precepts, and [moreover] the prophet David,

55. Cf. Gen. 21:21.

56. Arabic *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*; probably the biblical books of the prophets are intended, rather than the popular islamicized accounts known under that name.

57. Cf. Gen. 49:10.

peace be upon him, was [himself] a follower of Moses, peace be upon him, and the announcement of Jacob [specifically] refers to a [new] lawgiver.

[26] The **fifth proof**: It is clear that most proofs of the Jewish scholars are based on numerology, that is, the letters of the alphabet. Thus, for example, they looked for an indication of the length of the continued existence of the Temple in the letters of the alphabet, and when the prophet Solomon, prayer and peace be upon him, built the Temple the Jewish scholars gathered and said: This building will remain standing for 410 years, then destruction will befall it, because they calculated the word *bi-zāt* (*be-zot*) in God's words in the Torah, *bi-zāt yabū Hārūn al ha-qūdas*,[58] whose meaning [in Arabic] is "*bi-zāt* the priest (*al-imām*)—who is indicated by the name of Aaron—worships in the Temple," and they ruled that the length of its stay and the rule of the priests there is *bi-zāt* years, that is, 410 years. Similar proofs of theirs are too numerous to be counted.

[27] Now if it is like that, then I say:[59] God, exalted is He, says in the Torah: *Wa-yūmar Aḏūnay li-brāhīm li-smāʿīl samaʿtīḫah hinah barakti ūṯū wa-hirbaṯī ūṯū wa-hifraṯī ūṯū bi-mād mād*,[60] which [in the language of the Arabs] means: "God, exalted is He, said to Abraham: Behold, I have accepted your plea with regard to Ishmael and I will bless him and multiply him and make him fruitful *bi-mād mād*." Now, when the numerical value of the letters [in the expression] *bi-mād mād* is calculated, the outcome is the name of our prophet Muḥammad, prayer and peace be upon him, because the numerical value of [each of] these two expressions[61] is ninety-two. That which demonstrates what we have said is the phrase "I will bless him and multiply him and make him fruitful *bi-mād mād*, "because the blessing of the children of Ishmael, his multiplication, and his fruitfulness occurred only through [Muḥammad], and there is one word in particular in which God, exalted is He, mentions the blessing of Ishmael, his being multiplied and rendered fruitful: [the expression] *bi-mād mād*, which He did not mention in [His] blessing of his brother Isaac, peace be upon him, and this is a clear proof.

They object to this proof, saying that the [letter] *bāʾ* in [the expression] *bi-mād mād* is not an integral part of the word but rather an auxiliary letter that establishes a connection. If the [numerical value of the] name of Muḥammad is to result from it, a second *bāʾ* is needed, and it would have to say *bi-bi-mād mād*.

We say: It is well known among them that if two *bāʾ*s come together, one auxiliary and one an integral part of the word, the auxiliary one is elided and the one that forms part of the actual word remains. This is common among them in countless places, and there is no need to mention it here, and this is what we reply with regard to the second *bāʾ* in *bi-mād mād*.

58. Cf. Lev. 16:3.
59. Meaning: If they can use numerology to argue their point, so can I.
60. Cf. Gen. 17:15, 20.
61. I.e., of *bi-mād mād* (Hebrew: *bi-meʾod meʾod*), on the one hand, and *Muḥammad*, on the other.

The third section, demonstrating the alteration of some words in the Torah, from a number of respects

[28] The **first aspect**: We have found in the Torah that they possess that in the early days there was a king who was associated with Canaan who was called "the Canaanite," and Abraham [lived] in his kingdom. It was struck by a famine and Abraham, peace be upon him, moved from one corner [of the kingdom] to another, and thus we find in the Torah they possess: *Wa-yaʿbūr Ibrāhīm bā ariṣ ʿaḏ maqūm Šaḫam ʿaḏ Aylun Mūrah wa-ha-Kanāʿanī az ba-ard*.[62] [In Arabic] this means: "Abraham went in the land from the town of Shekhem to the desert of Moreh while the Canaanite was in the land at that time." From his words "while the Canaanite was in the land *at that time*" one may understand that at the time of Moses, he was *not* in the land, but this is untrue, because the Canaanite never moved away from his place and from his kingdom except in the time of Joshua ben Nun, because God, exalted is He, says in the Torah: "O Moses, you will not oust the Canaanite from his kingdom; [only] Joshua, peace be upon him, will oust him." Now if that were so, the expression "at that time" is a mistake which occurred in the wording of the book of the later [scholars]. The greatest of the exegetes of the Torah among the Jews, whose name is [Abraham] Ibn Ezra, understood this alteration and said: "In the expression 'at the time' there is a great secret regarding which the one with understanding keeps silent."

[29] The **second aspect**: In the Torah they possess we found: *Wa-yaʿal Mūsā al Har Nabū wa-yamuṭ šam wa-yaqbur uṭū wa-yabkū banī Isrāyīl aṭ Mūsā ṯalūšim yūm*.[63] [In the language of the Arabs] this means: "And Moses climbed Mount Nebo and died there, and he was buried there, and the Children of Israel mourned Moses for thirty days." What is to be understood from these accounts, which are presented in the past tense, is that these events took place in the past, but it is well known that the Torah was revealed to Moses when he was healthy and alive, not *after* his life, and it is even said, "He died there and was buried and they mourned him," which points to their alteration of the Torah which is found nowadays.

[30] The **third aspect**: We have found in the Torah: *Wa-lū yādaʿ īš qabūr āṭū ʿad hayūm haḏah*.[64] [In Arabic] its meaning is: "No man knows his grave, i.e., the grave of Moses, peace be upon him, until this day." From its meaning their alteration is clear, because His saying "until this day" shows that Moses, prayer and peace be upon him, died *before* this statement was made. This in turn shows that it was not revealed to Moses, peace be upon him, and this is obvious, so one should consider it.

62. Cf. Gen. 12:6; 13:7.
63. Cf. Deut. 34:1, 5, 6, 8.
64. Cf. Deut. 34:6.

[31] Know that the Torah that the Jews possess contains many examples of such sayings. For this reason the abovementioned exegete [Ibn Ezra] said: "If you understand the secret of these words and the like of them, you will distinguish the truth," and one should look at his interpretation.

[32] Know, furthermore, that we have already found in the most famous interpretation of the Torah called by them the Talmud[65] that in the days of King Ptolemy (Talmāy), who lived after Nebuchadnezzar, the king had asked the Jewish scholars for the Torah, and they were afraid to show it, because he objected to some of its commandments, so seventy men from among the Jewish scholars gathered together and altered whatever they wished of the words which this king objected to out of fear of him. Now, if they admit to the alteration carried out by them, how can it be believed and how can one rely on a single verse? God is the one whose help we seek in the search for the truth at which "falsehood cannot come [. . .] from before or from behind."[66] Praise be to God, the Lord of the worlds, and our perfect prayer be upon our lord Muḥammad.

65. Cf. Babylonian Talmud, tractate Megillah 9 a–b. The reference is to the production of the Septuagint; see Wasserstein and Wasserstein, *Legend of the Septuagint*.

66. Q 41:42.

Chapter Nineteen
Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā Ṭāškubrīzāde's (d. 968/1561) Polemical Tract against Judaism

Camilla Adang and Sabine Schmidtke

I.

Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā Ṭāškubrīzāde (901/1495–968/1561) was one of the most prolific Ottoman scholars of the tenth/sixteenth century[1] and authored numerous theological, encyclopedic, and biographical works. He is mostly renowned for his biographical work on Ottoman scholars, *al-Šaqāʾiq al-nuʿmāniyya fī ʿulamāʾ al-dawla al-ʿuṯmāniyya*,[2] which later served Ḥāǧǧī Ḫalīfa (or Kātib Çelebi, 1609–1657) as a major source when compiling his *Kašf al-ẓunūn*,[3] and for his encyclopedic survey of disciplines of knowledge, *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda wa-miṣbāḥ al-siyāda fī mawḍūʿāt al-ʿulūm*.[4] What is less known is that his literary oeuvre includes a brief polemical treatise against Judaism, apparently his only work in the field of interreligious polemics. Although the major biographical reference works do not mention the tract among his writings, its authenticity is beyond doubt; the text is extant in five manuscript copies, four of which explicitly mention him as the author.[5]

The doctrinal intention of the treatise reflects the characteristic Muslim perspective on Judaism: it is to prove that the Qurʾān, containing the final divine dispensation, abrogates the earlier revelations, including the Torah, and that accordingly the Jewish claim of the eternity of the Mosaic law is to be rejected (*faṣl* 1: *fī tazyīf dalāʾil taʾbīd dīn Mūsā*); that the Prophet Muḥammad had already been predicted in the Bible (*faṣl* 2: *fī dalāʾil nubuwwat*

1. On his life and work, see Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, 2nd ed., 2/425f.; Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur: Supplementbände*, 2/633f.; EI2, s.v. "Ṭaşhköprüzāde, 2. ʿIṣām al-Dīn Aḥmed," 10/351f. (B. Fleming); Tahir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, 1/346f.; Uğur, "Taškoprīzāde Aḥmed ʿIṣāmeddin Ebu'l-Ḫayr Efendi"; Köker, *Taşköprülü zâde Ahmet Efendi*; Sürün, "Taşköprizâde Ahmed Efendi'nin Tefsir Risâleleri."

2. Published in 1927 as *Eš-Šaqâʾiq en-Noʿmânijje von Taşköprüzâde*.

3. Ḥāǧǧī Ḫalīfa, *Kašf al-ẓunūn*.

4. Ḥāǧǧī Ḫalīfa, *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda*.

5. See below, Section III.

nabiyyinā Muḥammad); and that the divine revelation to Moses was later tampered with by the Jews (*faṣl* 3: *fī bayān mā yadullu ʿalā taḥrīfihim al-Tawrāt*).[6]

The characteristic doctrinal intention of the tract notwithstanding, Ṭāškubrīzāde's polemic has a number of features that clearly set it apart from earlier Muslim polemical writings against Judaism. The range of sources the author uses is wide and comprehensive, although the biblical material he quotes or refers to is almost exclusively taken from the Pentateuch.[7] Yet within this corpus he uses material that goes beyond the standard pool of verses that are typically adduced in Muslim polemical writings. In addition to biblical material, the author seems to have been acquainted with a considerable number of Jewish religious texts and with the respective Jewish arguments relevant to the issues discussed. He frequently refers to and quotes from various commentaries on the Pentateuch; among them, the commentary of Abraham Ibn Ezra (d. 1167), one of the most esteemed authors among Jewish readers of the sixteenth-century Ottoman Empire,[8] figures most prominently. In addition, he explicitly refers to the commentary of Moshe ben Nahman (also known as Nahmanides, d. 1270) and uses other, not further specified exegetical literature. The author also has a nearly verbatim quotation from the Talmud (Baba Bathra), and his accounts of Jewish replies to Muslim charges and inner-Jewish discussions, particularly on the issue of abrogation and the theoretical possibility of *nasḫ* on rational grounds, echo arguments that can be encountered in Jewish writings such as Saʿadya Gaon's (d. 942) *Kitāb al-Amānāt wa-l-iʿtiqādāt*, al-Qirqisānī's (tenth century) *Kitāb al-Anwār wa-l-marāqib*, Maimonides' *Epistle to Yemen*, and ʿIzz al-Dawla Ibn Kammūna's (d. 1284) *Tanqīḥ al-abḥāṯ li-l-milal al-ṯalāṯ*.[9] The style of the treatise is very dense and concise, possibly because the author assumed his reader's familiarity with the arguments.

6. For a survey of the main topics of Muslim polemics against Judaism in their historical development, see Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds*; Adang, *Muslim Writers*; Adang, "Torah" [chapter 1 in the present volume].

7. For lists of biblical references typically adduced by Muslim polemicists, see Strauss, "Darkhe hapulmus ha-Islami"; Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 264–266 (appendix 2: "Biblical Passages Invoked as Testimonies to Muḥammad").

8. On the renewed interest in Ibn Ezra during the sixteenth century in the Ottoman Empire, see De Lange, "Abraham Ibn Ezra and Byzantium"; Miller, "At the Twilight of Byzantine Karaism." See also Ben-Menahem, "Mefarshei Ibn Ezra al ha-Miqra"; Simon, "Interpreting the Interpreter."

9. See Saʿadya Gaon, *al-Amānāt wa-l-iʿtiqādāt* (*The Book of Beliefs and Opinions*), particularly treatise 3, chapters 7 to 10; al-Qirqisānī, *al-Anwār wa-l-marāqib*, 1/298–301; Friedlaender, "Qirqisāni's Polemik gegen den Islam" [containing an edition of chapters 15 and 16 of the third discourse of al-Qirqisānī's *Anwār*]; Hirschfeld, "Ein Karäer über den Vorwurf"; Maimonides, *The Epistle to Yemen*, in *Epistles of Maimonides*, 91–131; Perlmann, *Saʿd b. Manṣūr Ibn Kammūna's Examination*; Perlmann, *Ibn Kammuna's Examination*; Nathanaʾel b. Fayyūmī, *Bustān al-ʿuqūl*, chapter 6; see also Ahroni, "From *Bustān al-ʿuqūl* to *Qiṣat* [sic] *al-batūl*," 311–330. On Jewish reactions to Muslim polemics, see also Ben-Shammai, "Attitude of Some Early Karaites"; Fontaine, *In Defence of Judaism*, passim; Cohen and Somekh, "In the Court of Yaʿqūb Ibn Killis"; Somekh, "Fragments of a Polemic Treatise"; Judah ben Eleazar, *Duties of Judah*, 537–545; Stroumsa, "Jewish Polemics against Islam and Christianity"; Sklare, "Responses to Islamic Polemics"; Alfonso, "Los límites del saber"; Frank, *Search Scripture Well*, 204–247; Chiesa and Schmidtke, "Jewish Reception

II.

It is not clear whether Ṭāškubrīzāde had immediate access to the sources he quotes from or refers to in his tract, or whether he relied only on secondary material. Following the introduction of Hebrew printing in Istanbul in 1504, prints of most of the sources and quotations he mentions were available in the Ottoman capital.[10] However, it is hard to imagine that a Muslim scholar could have acquired such a high level of Jewish learning independently, seeing that it would require thorough familiarity with Hebrew. It is therefore most likely that Ṭāškubrīzāde had secondary sources at his disposal.

The question of the originality of Ṭāškubrīzāde's tract, which cannot be decided at present, is also relevant in light of another polemical treatise against Judaism that was composed in Ṣafar 1016/May–June 1607, that is, some fifty years after Ṭāškubrīzāde's death, and is written in Ottoman Turkish. It is extant in numerous manuscript copies.[11] This treatise, which was composed by a certain Yūsuf Ibn Abī ʿAbd al-Dayyān,[12] a Jewish convert to Islam, is significantly longer and more detailed than Ṭāškubrīzāde's epistle; among other things, the treatise by Ibn Abī ʿAbd al-Dayyān contains a detailed autobiographical introduction, brief introductory remarks to each of the four chapters, and the original Hebrew Bible quotations transcribed in Arabic script. However, apart from these features, the two tracts are so similar in structure, contents, and argumentation that there cannot be any doubt that either Ibn Abī ʿAbd al-Dayyān had Ṭāškubrīzāde's tract in front of him when writing his own, or both writings go back to a common, so far unknown, source. Ibn Abī ʿAbd al-Dayyān even retains the Arabic rendering of the biblical

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of Samawʾal al-Maghribī." For Jewish reactions to the Muslim dogma of the inimitability of the Qurʾān specifically, see Sadan, "Identity and Inimitability."

10. See Rozen, *History of the Jewish Community*, 250ff.; Yaʿari, *Hebrew Printing*. The commentary on the Torah by Abraham Ibn Ezra was printed in 1514 (Yaʿari, *Hebrew Printing*, 70, no. 24), the commentary by Nahmanides in 1522 (Yaʿari, 84, no. 95). Also available in print were the commentaries by Rashi (d. 1105) (Yaʿari, 59, no. 2) and Yaʿaqov ben Asher (d. ca. 1340) (Yaʿari, 70, no. 25), Saʿadya's *al-Amānāt wa-l-iʿtiqādāt* in the original Arabic with Hebrew translation (Yaʿari, 112, no. 164), and Maimonides' *Responsa* (Yaʿari, 83, no. 87), to name just a few of the at least 126 books in Hebrew that were printed in Istanbul between 1504 and 1566.

11. These include MSS Giresun 102, ff. 128b–164a (copy dated Ḏū l-qaʿda 1245/April–May 1830; see colophon f. 159a:12–15), Giresun 171, ff. 30a–45b (undated), and Bagdatlı Vehbi Efendi 2022, ff. 101b–120b (copy dated 1177/1763–64; see colophon f. 120b:19). MS Giresun 171/2 contains a different version of the tract from that found in MSS Giresun 102 and Bagdatlı Vehbi Efendi 2022. Significant differences are particularly to be observed in chapters 3 and 4 of the treatise. It is only at the end of MS Bagdatlı Vehbi Efendi 2022 (f. 120b:16–18) that a dated colophon of the author is to be found. For brief descriptions of MSS Giresun 102 and 171/2, see *Türkiye Yazmaları Toplu Kataloğu*, 86, nos. 209 and 210. For an analysis of this tract, see Pfeiffer, "Confessional Polarization in the 17th-century Ottoman Empire."

12. The name of the author is mentioned explicitly in the introduction and the concluding remarks of the text (MSS Giresun 102, f. 128b:10f., 158b:9f.; Giresun 171, f. 30b:4; Bagdatlı Vehbi Efendi 2022, f. 101b:6) and, with a slight variation, as "Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Dayyān," in Bagdatlı Vehbi Efendi 2022, f. 120b:3.

quotations as they appear in Ṭāškubrīzāde's tract without translating them into Turkish. Moreover, what is apparently a mistake in most of the manuscripts of Ṭāškubrīzāde points likewise to the close connection with Ibn Abī ʿAbd al-Dayyān's treatise: in *faṣl* 2, Ṭāškubrīzāde adduces five biblical proofs (*dalāʾil*) as predictions of the Prophet Muḥammad, numbered as *dalīl* 1, 2, 3, 5, and 6—there is no *dalīl rābiʿ*. Comparison with Ibn Abī ʿAbd al-Dayyān's text shows that Ṭāškubrīzāde's proofs five and six correspond to proofs five and six in the latter's treatise. The scriptural testimony included in proof four of Ibn Abī ʿAbd al-Dayyān's text (Gen. 49:10) figures in Ṭāškubrīzāde's text as part of *al-dalīl al-ṯāliṯ* (see the following table).

	Ṭāškubrīzāde	**Ibn Abī ʿAbd al-Dayyān (MS Giresun 102, ff. 128b–164a)**	**Ibn Abī ʿAbd al-Dayyān (MS Giresun 171, ff. 30a–45b)**	**Ibn Abī ʿAbd al-Dayyān (MS Bagdatlı Vehbi Efendi 2022, ff. 101b–120b)**
Autobiographical Introduction	./.	128b–131a:12	30b–31b:21	101b–103a:18
Overview of Contents	pp. 375–76	131a:12–131b:3	31b:21–32a:7	103a:18–103b:5
Faṣl 1	pp. 376–79	131b:3–144a:2	32a:7–[37a:10]	103b:5–111b:19
Introduction to *Faṣl*	./.	131b:3–132a:8	32a:7–16	103b:5–104a:4
Dalīl 1 (Deut. 4:2)	p. 376	132a:8–133a:3	32a:16–32b:16	104a:4–104b:7
Dalīl 2 (Num. 23:19)	p. 376	133a:3–135b:5	32b:16–33b:2	104b:7–105b:9
Dalīl 3 (Deut. 5:22–24)	pp. 376–77	135b:5–136b:9	33b:2–34b:1	105b9–107a:4
Dalīl 4 (Deut. 33:4)	p. 377	136b:9–137b:1	34b:1–21	107a:4–107b:5
Dalīl 5 (Deut. 34:10)	p. 377	137b:1–138b:7	34b:22–35a:15	107b:5–108a:16
Dalīl 6 (Exod. 31:16)	pp. 377–78	138b:7–144a:2	35a:16–37a:10	108a:16–111b:19
Faṣl 2	pp. 379–81	144a:2–152a:2	[37a:10]–41b:21	111b:19–116b:13
Introduction to *Faṣl*	./.	144a:2–10	37a:10–17	111b:19–112a:7
Dalīl 1 (Deut. 18:18f.)	pp. 379–80	144a:10–146a:12	[37a:17]–38a:14	112a:7–113a:16
Dalīl 2 (Deut. 34:10)	p. 380	146a:12–147b:8	38a:14–38b:21	113a:16–114a:9
Dalīl 3 (Deut. 13:1–5)	p. 380	147b:8–148b:3	38b:21–39a:13	114a:9–115a:6
Dalīl 4	./.	148b:3–150a:1	39a:13–39b:10	115a:6–115b:2
Dalīl 5 (Deut. 33:2)	pp. 380–81	150a:1–151a:12	39b:10–40a:15	115b:2–116a:15
Dalīl 6 (Gen. 16:7–16, 25:12–16, 17:2, 17:20)	p. 381	151a:12–152a:2	40a:15–41b:21	116a:15–116b:13
Faṣl 3	pp. 381–83	152a:2–155a:6	41b:21–45a:7	116b:14–119b:3
Faṣl 4	p. 383	155a:6–159a	45a:7–45b	119b:3–120b

III.

In what follows, we present an edition and translation of Ṭāškubrīzāde's polemical tract against Judaism. The edition is based on the five known manuscript copies of the tract:

- Veliyüddin (Bayezid) 3275/9, 13.6 × 21 cm, ff. 40b–44b, 23 lines per page [و]. The author is mentioned in the table of contents (p. IIIa). The treatise itself is not dated, but many of the thirty writings contained in the *mağmūʿa* (of 158 folios plus three unfoliated leaves at the beginning of the collective codex) are dated, ranging from Ḏū l-qaʿda 963/September–October 1556 to Ǧumādā II 969/March–April 1562.
- Haci Beşir Ağa 666/33, 13 × 20.5 cm, ff. 197b–199b [ب]. The undated *mağmūʿa* was written by different hands. There is no indication as to the author.
- Carullah Efendi 2098/2, 15.3 × 21.8 cm, ff. 79b–88a [ج]. The codex consists of 276 folios and is written by different hands. This treatise, as well as all other treatises by Ṭāškubrīzāde contained therein, was copied by Yūsuf b. ʿAlī in 1125/1713–14 (see f. 160b).
- Şehid Ali Paşa 2767/2, ff. 12b–14a [ش]. The entire codex (which is undated) consists of eighteen treatises by Ṭāškubrīzāde; it has a table of contents on p. II with the heading *Mağmūʿat rasāʾil al-fāḍil al-šahīr bi-Ṭāškuprīzāde*.
- Nuruosmaniye 4902/3, ff. 19–24 [ن]. The *risāla* is preceded by a title page (f. 19a), where the name of the author is given. We had only a copy of this particular treatise (which is undated) at our disposal and have not seen the entire codex.

The orthography was silently modernized, e.g., صلاة for صلوة. The various abbreviations used in most of the manuscripts, such as تع for تعالى, ع م for عليه السلام, ظ / الظ for ظاهر / الظاهر, ايض for أيضاً, and بط for باطل, were not specifically mentioned in the footnotes. In the footnotes to the edition, references to the exegetical works of Abraham Ibn Ezra and Nahmanides (Ramban) on the Torah are according to the following edition: *Torat Ḥayyim: Ḥamishah ḥumshei Torah*.

[رسالة في الرد على اليهود][13]

لأحمد بن مصطفى طاشكبري زاده (م 1560/968)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم[14]

والحمد لله وحده والصلاة على مَن لا نبي بعده وعلى آله وصحبه

الرسالة مبنية على فصول أربعة: الفصل الأول[15] في تزييف تأبيد دين موسى عليه السلام، الفصل الثاني[16] في دلائل نبوة نبينا محمد صلى

13. رسالة في الرد على اليهود: رسالة في تزييف تأبيد دين موسى ع م، ج؛ -، ب ن و.
14. بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم: باسمه سبحانه، ش ن و.
15. الفصل الأول: -، ج.
16. الفصل الثاني: -، ج.

الله عليه وسلم[17]، الفصل الثالث[18] في وقوع التحريفات في التوراة، الفصل الرابع[19] في مطاعن اليهود.

الفصل الأول[20] في تزييف دلائل التأبيد وهي ستة

الدليل[21] الأول: قال في التوراة ما ترجمته: {كل ما أمرتكم به لا تزيدوا عليه ولا تنقصوا منه}[22].

هم يقولون: إن اتّبعنا شريعة أخرى يلزم أن نزيد على أحكام التوراة شيئاً وننقص منها[23] شيئاً، وإنه غير جائز بنص التوراة.

الجواب: المراد {لا تزيدوا عليه شيئاً ولا تنقصوا} من عند أنفسكم. صرّح بذلك مفسرو التوراة[24] ويؤيّده أسلوب هذا التعبير كما لا يخفى على الفطن اللبيب.[25] فلا يلزم منه النهي عن الاتّباع لنبي أتى بالزيادة والنقصان من قبل الله تعالى. وما وقع في كلام بعض[26] المفسّرين للتوراة: ومن ههنا قيل: لا يأتي نبي بأمر محدث بعد، يشير ببطلان ما حكاه بصيغة التمريض وبأسلوب التعبير: كما لا يخفى على الفطن الخبير.

الدليل الثاني: قال في التوراة: {ليس الرب رجلاً حتى يكذب وابن آدم حتى يصير نادماً}[27]، ولا يخفى أن النسخ هو الندامة لما سبق منه من الشريعة وأنه باطل عقلاً وكذا نقلاً بنص التوراة، فلا نسخ بعد دين موسى عليه السلام.

الجواب: معنى الندامة أن يفعل فاعل مختار فعلاً ثم رأى الخير في خلافه، وهذا محال في حقه تعالى عن ذلك علواً كبيراً. وإنما المراد من النسخ تبديل الأحكام بحسب تبدّل[28] أحوال الناس[29] وأطوارهم، كما يبدّل الطبيب المعالجة باختلاف أحوال المريض. وهذا ليس بمحال، بل هو عين الحكمة ومحض الرحمة، خصوصاً في تبديل دين موسى عليه السلام حكمة محضة مكشوفة على العلماء أيضاً وهي أن طائفة بني إسرائيل لاستيعاب الرقّ جميع أعمالهم ارتكز الغباوة في عقولهم وتقرر القصور في أفهامهم. ولهذا اقتصر في التوراة على الوعد والوعيد من جهة الدنيا فقط لكونهم بمعزل عن فهم الآخرة وأحوالها. ولما زاد في الناس الاستعداد لفهم أمور الآخرة بعد ذلك ورد أحوال الآخرة في الشرائع الباقية. على أن النسخ واقع في أحكام التوراة أيضاً، فما هو جوابهم فهو جوابنا.

الدليل الثالث: قال في التوراة: {هذه الكلمات التي يكلم الله بها إليكم بصوت عظيم وكتبها على لوحين من حجر وقلتم: سمعنا صوت الله من قعر النار}[30]. وجه الاستدلال أنهم، لما علّقوا إيمانهم بموسى عليه السلام بسماعهم كلام الله تعالى بآذانهم، أعطاهم الله تعالى ما راموه[31] وذكر الآية المذكورة لإلزامهم، فيفهم منه أن الإيمان لا بد وأن يعلّق بسماع صوت الله تعالى، ولم يقع هذا السماع بعد موسى عليه السلام.

والجواب: إن بني إسرائيل اعتذروا لموسى[32] عليه السلام: بأنا لا نقدر على سماع صوت الله تعالى[33] مرة أخرى وإلا نهلك بالكلية، فاسأل

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17. محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم: محمد عليه الصلوة والسلام، ش؛ عليه السلام، ج ن و.
18. الفصل الثالث: -، ج.
19. الفصل الرابع: -، ج.
20. الفصل الأول. -، ج.
21. الدليل: -، ش ج ن و.
22. لا תספו על הדבר אשר אנכי מצוה אתכם ולא תגרעו ממנו לשמר את מצות יהוה אלהיכם אשר אנכי מצוה אתכם. (דברים ד 2).
23. منها: منه، ب ج ش ن و.
24. راجع פירוש ראב"ע, ספר דברים, ע' לה: 'לא תספו' מדעתכם ותחשבו כי היא עבודה לה', גם כן 'לא תגרעו'.
25. راجع פירוש ראב"ע, ספר דברים, ע' לה: וטעם 'למדתי אתכם' אחר שאמר אשר אנכי מלמד אתכם)פסוק א) להוסיף 'כאשר צוני ה", כי המצוות הם מצוותיו שתעשו בארץ שיתן לכם ה' לירושה. ועוד, כי יעז לכם תפארת במצוותיו על כל הגוים. והטעם, כי עיקר כל המצוות יבינם המשכיל וידע למה נתנו. انظر أيضاً: פירוש ראב"ע, ספר דברים, ע' רסב: והמסכיל יבין; פירוש ראב"ע, ספר בראשית, ע' ב: והמסכיל יבין. انظر أيضا: פירוש רמב"ן, ספר דברים, ע' שכא: והמסכיל יבין.
26. بعض: -، ج.
27. לא איש אל ויכזב ובן אדם ויתנחם [ההוא אמר ולא יעשה ודבר ולא יקימנה]. (במדבר כג 19)
28. تبدّل: تبديل، ب.
29. الناس: مكرر في ن.
30. את הדברים האלה דבר יהוה אל כל קהלכם]בהר מתוך האש הענן והערפל[קול גדול]ולא יסף[ויכתבם על שני לחת אבנים]ויתנם אלי: ויהי כשמעכם את הקול מתוך החשך וההר בער באש ותקרבון אלי כל ראשי שבטיכם וזקניכם[: ותאמרו]הן הראינו יהוה אלהינו את כבדו ואת גדלו[ואת קלו שמענו מתוך האש]היום הזה ראינו כי ידבר אלהים את האדם וחי[. (דברים ה 22–19)
31. راموه: راموهم، ب ج ش ن و.
32. لموسى: موسى، ب ج ش ن و.
33. تعالى: -، ش.

ربك أن لا يفعل ذلك بعد هذا. ولهذا قال في التوراة: {قال بنو إسرائيل: إن سمعنا صوت الله مرة أخرى نموت}[34] {ادن أنت واسمع كل ما يأمرك به}[35]. ثم إن الله تعالى استحسن كلامهم هذا[36] وقال في التوراة: {وقال الله تعالى[37]: واحسنوا فيما قالوا}[38]، والظاهر أنهم لم يقترحوا ما ذكر لأجل نبوة موسى عليه السلام، بل لأنهم كانوا منكرين لأصل النبوة لأنهم كانوا[39] متّبعين لحكماء هند، وهم كانوا يقولون لهم: إن البشر لا يقدر على سماع كلام الله تعالى. ولهذا كانوا يريبون في نبوة موسى عليه السلام مع مشاهدة المعجزات الباهرة في يده، وقد فضّلها[40] **ابن عذرا** في تفسيره. ثم إن الله تعالى قال في التوراة حكاية عن بني إسرائيل: {قد أعلمَنا الرب إلهنا عزّته وعظمته وأسمعَنا صوته من قعر النار رأينا اليوم أن الله يكلم ابن آدم وهو يبقى حياً}[41]. فيفهم من هذه الآية أنهم آمنوا بإمكان سماع البشر كلام الله تعالى واعترفوا بالنبوة. فإذا كان تعليق الإيمان بسماع الصوت في الإيمان بأصل النبوة لا في نبوة خصوص موسى عليه السلام لم تدل[42] الآية التي احتجوا بها على مطلوبهم على تعليق الإيمان بسائر الأنبياء بسماع الصوت.

الدليل الرابع: قال في التوراة[43]: {إن التوراة صار ميراثاً لجماعة يعقوب}[44]، فيفهم من هذا الكلام اختصاص جماعة يعقوب عليه السلام[45] بالتوراة.[46]

الجواب: إن المفهوم منه اختصاص اتّباع التوراة ببني إسرائيل لا اختصاص بني إسرائيل باتّباع التوراة.

الدليل الخامس: قال في التوراة: {ولا يقوم نبي مثل موسى من بني إسرائيل}[47] فيفهم منه أنه لا نبي بعده. الجواب: إن المذكور في التوراة لفظ ولا قم [**ולא קם**] وهذا اللفظ موضوع في اللغة العبرانية للماضي فتفسيره الصحيح: ولا قام نبي مثل موسى[48] من بني إسرائيل. وتفسيرهم بمعنى المضارع مناف لقاعدة لغتهم، وإنما قصدوا بهذا التفسير التلبيس في إثبات دعواهم الباطلة وهي تأبيد دين موسى عليه السلام. وما أورده **رجل مسمى بلوي** في تفسير لفظ ولا قم أنه بمعنى المضارع وأيّده بعدة كلمات من صحف الأنبياء، فمن قبيل التلبيس لأن ما وقع في صحف الأنبياء[49] إنما هو لفظ ولا قام بألف بين القاف والميم، ولهذا يكون بمعنى الاستقبال بخلاف الآية المذكورة إذ ليس فيها الألف المذكورة فيكون بمعنى الماضي بحسب قواعد لغتهم. على أنه لو كان بمعنى المضارع أيضاً فلا يتم الدليل لأن في الآية قيد من بني إسرائيل. فمدلول الآية حينئذ نفي نبي آخر من بني إسرائيل خاصةً لا مطلقاً، بل يدل على مجيء نبي من غير بني إسرائيل بطريق مفهوم المخالفة الذي هو مقبول عند علمائهم حتى بنوا كثيراً من أحكامهم الشرعية على تلك الطريقة.

الدليل السادس: قال في التوراة: {ليحفظ[50] بنو إسرائيل السبت في دهورهم أبداً}[51]. قالوا: فلو اتّبعنا غير شريعة موسى عليه السلام[52] يلزم عدم حفظ السبت مع أن حفظ السبت مؤبّد في حقنا، فيلزم حينئذ أن نحفظ السبت وأن لا نحفظه في زمان واحد وأنه تكليف بما لا يطاق

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34. ועתה למה נמות כי תאכלנו האש הגדלה הזאת אם יספים אנחנו לשמע את קול יהוה אלהינו עוד ומתנו. (דברים ה 12).
35. קרב אתה ושמע את כל אשר יאמר יהוה אלהינו ואת תדבר אלינו את כל אשר ידבר יהוה אלהינו אליך ושמענו ועשינו. (דברים ה 23).
36. هذا: -، ج.
37. تعالى: -، ب.
38. וישמע יהוה את קול דבריכם בדברכם אלי ויאמר יהוה אלי שמעתי את קול דברי העם הזה אשר דברו אליך היטיבו כל אשר דברו. (דברים ה 24)
39. كانوا: + منكرين لأصل النبوة، ج.
40. فضّلها: فصله، ب ج ش ن.
41. ותאמרו הן הראנו יהוה אלהינו את כבדו ואת גדלו ואת קלו שמענו מתוך האש היום הזה ראינו כי ידבר אלהים את האדם וחי. (דברים ה 20)
42. تدلّ: يدل، ج ش ن.
43. قال في التوراة: -، ج.
44. תורה צוה לנו משה מורשה קהלת יעקב. (דברים לג 4)
45. عليه السلام: -، ب ج ن و.
46. راجع פירוש ראב"ע, ספר דברים, ע' שב: וכן היא מורשה לקהלת יעקב, כמו 'והנבואה עודד הנביא' (דה"ב טו ח). ויהי מורשה מורשה קהלת יעקב.
47. ולא קם נביא עוד בישראל כמשה]אשר ידעו יהוה פנים אל פנים[. (דברים לד 10)
48. موسى: + عليه السلام، ش.
49. الأنبياء: مكرر في ن.
50. ليحفظ: + حفظ السبت مع أن حفظ السبت (مشطوباً)، ج.
51. ושמרו בני ישראל את השבת לעשות את השבת לדרתם ברית עולם. (שמות לא 16)
52. عليه السلام: -، ب ن و.

وأنه محال قطعاً.

والجواب: إن هذا كذب صريح لأن التأبيد لا يفهم من لفظ عولام [**עולם**] الذي وقع في[53] التوراة، بل ذلك في لغتهم بمعنى المكث البعيد. وقد صرح بذلك **ابن عذرا** في تفسير بعض الآيات وأيّده بما وقع في صحف بعض[54] الأنبياء عليهم السلام[55] من أنه يجئ بمعنى مطلق الزمان ونقل ما وقع في صحف سليمان بن داود عليهما السلام حيث أريد هناك الزمان السابق وما وقع في صحف داود عليه السلام حيث أريد هناك معنى مدة ما. ووقع[56] في تفسير بعض آيات التوراة أن عولام عبارة عن يُوبَل [**יובל**]، والمراد بيُوبَل زمان معروف عندهم يقع في خمسين سنة مرة حتى ينفسخ فيها البياعات وسائر العقود ويُعْتَق[57] العبيد.[58] وروى **موشى بن نهمان** أن منتهى عولام خمسون سنة[59]، واستشهد بعضهم على أن عولام في حق السبت يجئ بمعنى التأبيد بما وقع في التوراة في حق السبت أيضاً حيث قال {هذا سبت لله في جميع مساكنكم}[60] أي ما دمتم ساكنين في الأرض.[61]

ويجاب بأن ما ذكر عموم الأمكنة وأنه لا يستلزم عموم الأزمنة، والأصل في ذلك أن أحكام التوراة بعضها مخصوص للقدس[62] الشريف[63] وبعضها مخصوص لغيرها[64] وبعضها عام لجميع الأمكنة، ومعنى قوله: {في جميع مساكنكم} أن السبت من القسم الثالث.

وقد يقال: قد ورد لفظ عولام في حقه تعالى فلا احتمال لغير الأبدية. والجواب عنه: إن المذكور في حقه تعالى لفظ عولام مع قيد وهو لفظ

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53. في: -، ج.
54. بعض: -، ب ج ن و.
55. عليهم السلام: -، ب ش ن و.
56. هناك الزمان السابق وما وقع في صحف داود عليه السلام حيث أريد هناك معنى مدة ما. ووقع: -، ج.
57. ويعتق: ويعتقد، ج ن.
58. إشارة إلى ויקרא כה 8–14. – راجع פרוש ראב"ע האורך, ע' ח (בנוגע לשמות כא 6): 'ועבדו לעולם', ידענו כי מלת 'לעולם' בלשון הקדש הוא זמן, כמו כבר היה לעולמים (קהלת א י), זמנים, וישב שם עד עולם (ש"א א כב), עד זמן שיהיה גדול. וכן 'ועבדו לעולם', לזמנו של יובל, שאין זמן מועדי ישראל ארוך ממנו. ויציאת חירות, כאילו עולם מתחדש, או יהיה פירושו שישוב לזמנו הראשון שהיה חפשי. - פרוש ראב"ע הקצר, ע' ח-ט (בנוגע לשמות כא 6): 'ועבדו לעולם', אמרו חכמינו כי הוא עולמו של יובל. ובפרשת הר סיני מפורש עד שנת היובל (ויקרא כה ם). וכן אם מת אדוניו יצא לחפשי, כי הכתוב אומר 'ועבדו'. והנה מצאנו וישב שם עד עולם (ש"א א כב), והיה זמן קצוץ. – פירוש ראב"ע, ספר דברים, ע' רעג (בנוגע לדברים לב 7): 'עולם', זמן שעבר
59. راجع פרוש רמב"ן, ספר שמות, ע' ח (בנוגע לשמות כא 6): 'ועבדו לעולם', פירושו רבותינו כי הוא עד היובל. ואמר ר"א כי פי' עולם זמן בלשון הקדש, כבר היה לעולמים אשר היה מלפנינו (קהלת א י), זמנים, וישב שם עד עולם (ש"א א כב), ולכן אמרו 'ועבדו לעולם', לזמנו של יובל, שאין במועדי ישראל זמן ארוך ממנו, ויציאת חירות כאילו עולם מתחדש לו, ויהיה פירושו שישוב לזמנו הראשון שהיה חפשי. והמשכיל יבין, כי 'לעולם', כמשמעו, כי העובד עד היובל עבד כל ימי עולם, ולשון מכילתא רבי אומר בא וראה שאין עולם אלא חמשים שנה שנא' 'ועבדו לעולם', עד היובל. ושכח ר"א מה שהשכיל וכתב במקום אחר.
60. [ששת ימים תעשה מלאכה וביום השביעי שבת שבתון מקרא קדש כל מלאכה לא תעשו] שבת הוא ליהוה בכל מושבתיכם. (ויקרא כג 3)
61. راجع

Saʿadya Gaon, *Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, 171: "Now some of the proponents of the theory of abrogation base their view on an analysis of the term 'forever' (*olam*) concerning which they assert that they note that it has in the Hebrew language a variety of meanings. Our rejoinder is: Yes, it has three possible meanings. One of these is 'fifty years.' The other is 'the lifetime of the thing referred to.' The third, again, is 'as long as the world will exist.' Now when we apply this term to the Sabbath law, the first two possibilities are at once eliminated, only the last being retained. For we note that Jeremiah, although he lived something like nine hundred years after Moses and the lapse of many centuries and generations of the offspring of the Children of Israel, exhorted them to observe the Sabbath and to refrain from working on it. The Scripture says: *Neither carry forth a burden out of your houses on the sabbath day, neither do ye any work, but hallow ye the sabbath day, as I commanded your fathers* (Jer. 17:22). Since, then, the period of fifty years, as well as that of the lifetime of the individuals in question, is eliminated, the only one of the [different] types [of meaning that can be applied to the term *olam*] that remains is [that of] the duration of the world."

62. للقدس: لقدس، ب ش ن و.
63. الشريف: الشريفة، ج ن و.
64. لغيرها: بغيرها، ن و.

واعظ [**ועד**][65]، والتأبيد إنما يفهم من لفظ واعظ لا من لفظ عولام، واعترض عليه بأن لفظ عولام جاء في الجزء العاشر من السفر الخامس[66] بلا قيد لفظ واعظ مع أنه في حقه تعالى أيضاً.[67]

ونجيب بأن عامة المفسرين قالوا بأن لفظ عولام في ذلك الموضع ليس بمعنى الزمان ولا بمعنى المكث الطويل ولا بمعنى الأبد، بل بمعنى الكائنات، فيكون لفظ عولام لفظاً مشتركاً ولا فساد فيه. والمذكور في هذا الموضع هو {أن الله تعالى يقول في زمان أرفع يدي إلى عرش وكرسي وأقول بحق كوني حياً وقيوماً للعالمين في زمان أصقل فيه سيفي وأقبض قبضته للانتقام[68] وأنتقم [من] المشركين وأنتصف من الأعداء[69]}[70] فلفظ عولام ههنا بمعنى زمان مبهم لا غير.

ثم إن طائفة اليهود ينكرون النسخ[71] أشد الإنكار مع أنه واقع في التوراة في كثير من المواضع، منها أن أكل اللحوم كان حراماً في شريعة آدم عليه السلام[72] ثم أمر[73] في زمن نوح عليه السلام،[74] ومنها أن الختان كان واجباً لبني إسرائيل[75] ثم نهي عنه في التيه[76] ثم أمروا بذلك بعد أربعين سنة،[77] ومنها أن الميراث لم يكن للبنات أولًا ثم أمر بالميراث لهن، وإذا لم توجد[78] البنات يُعطى لإخوتهن،[79] ومنها أن هرون عليه السلام كان مأموراً بالعبادة في داخل القبة كل يوم[80]، ثم نهي عن الدخول إليها إلا في السنة مرةً.[81]

الفصل الثاني[82] في دلائل نبوة نبينا محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم[83]

الدليل الأول: قال في التوراة: {نبي أقيم لهم من قرابة إخوتهم مثلك وأعطي أحكامي في فيه يكلم إليهم كل الكلمات التي أمرت لهم والذي لا يسمع تلك الأوامر ولا يطيعها فأنا أسأله}[84]. وفي هذه الآية دلالة على جواز إرسال الرسول بعد موسى عليه السلام وذلك ظاهر، وعلى أن ذلك النبي لا بد وأن يكون من أولاد إخوتهم لا من بني إسرائيل وعلى أن يكون ذلك النبي {مثلك} أي في إتيان الشريعة الجديدة بقرينة

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65. إشارة إلى שמות טו 18: יהוה ימלך לעלם ועד.
66. דברים לב 52–1 (האזינו).
67. إشارة إلى דברים לב 41–40.
68. للانتقام: الانتقام، ب ج ش ن و.
69. الأعداء: الأعداىٔ، ب.
70. כי אשא אל שמים ידי ואמרתי חי אנכי לעלם אם שנותי ברק חרבי ותאחז במשפט ידי אשיב נקם לצרי ולמשנאי אשלם. (דברים לב 41–40)
71. النسخ: للنسخ، ش ن و.
72. إشارة إلى ויאמר אלהים הנה נתתי לכם את כל עשב זרע אשר על פני כל הארץ ואת כל העץ אשר בו פרי עץ זרע זרע לכם לאכילה. (בראשית א 92) انظر أيضاً פרוש ראב"ע, ספר בראשית, ע' לג: 'ויאמר אלהים הנה נתתי לכם'. התיר לבני אדם ולכל שיש בו נפש חיה לאכול כל עשב, וכל פרי עץ מותר לאדם, והעשב הירק לחיות ולכל רומש. ועד כה לא הותר הבשר עד אחר המבול.
73. أمر: حرم، ش و.
74. إشارة إلى כל רמש אשר הוא חי לכם יהיה לאכלה כירק עשב נתתי לכם את כל. (בראשית ט 3) انظر أيضاً פרוש ראב"ע, ספר בראשית, ע' קבא: 'כל רמש.' שם כלל לחית השדה ולבהמות הישוב ולכל עוף ולכל דג. והנה הכל מותר לאכלה.
75. إشارة إلى ובן שמנת ימים ימול לכם כל זכר לדרתיכם יליד בית ומקנת כסף מכל בן נכר אשר לא מזרעך הוא: המול ימול יליד ביתך ומכנת כספך והיתה בריתי בבשרכם לברית עולם. (בראשית יז 13–12)
76. إشارة إلى זכור את יום השבת לקדשו: ששת ימים תעבד ועשית כל מלאכתך: ויום השביעי שבת ליהוה אלהיך לא תעשה כל מלאכה אתה ובנך ובתך עבדך ואמתך ובהמתך וגרך אשר בשעריך: כי ששת ימים עשה יהוה את השמים ואת הארץ את הים ואת כל אשר בם וינח ביום השביעי על כן ברך יהוה את יום השבת ויקדשהו. (שמות כ 11–8)
77. إشارة إلى . . .
78. توجد: يوجد، و.
79. إشارة إلى
80. إشارة إلى ויקרא בג 1–8.
81. إشارة إلى . . .
82. الفصل الثاني: -، ج.
83. صلى الله عليه وسلم: عليه السلام، ج ن.
84. נביא אקים להם מקרב אחיהם כמוך ונתתי דברי בפיו ודבר אליהם את כל אשר אצונו: והיה האיש אשר לא ישמע אל דברי אשר ידבר בשמי אנכי אדרש מעמו. (דברים יח 18)

قوله: {واعطي أحكامي في فيه}. ولا يخفى أن نبينا محمدا[85] صلى الله عليه وسلم[86] من نسل إسماعيل[87] عليه السلام وهو أخ يعقوب[88] عليه السلام وأنه صاحب شريعة جديدة. ولا يخفى أن يوشع عليه السلام كان من بني إسرائيل وكذا سائر أنبياء بني إسرائيل لا من قرابة إخوتهم، وأيضاً كان خليفة موسى عليه السلام ولم يكن صاحب شريعة جديدة. وأيضاً لا يمكن أن يكون النبي عيسى عليه السلام إذ ليس في الإنجيل شريعة جديدة غير ما وقع في التوراة. فتعين أن يكون ذلك النبي نبينا محمد المصطفى[89] عليه الصلاة والسلام[90].

الدليل الثاني: قال في التوراة: {لم يقم نبي من بني إسرائيل يعرفه الله تعالى وجاهاً}[91]. اختلفوا فيه. قال **بعضهم**: لفظ لا قام [**לא קם**] في التوراة بمعنى: لم يقم في العربية، فيكون لنفي الماضي. و**بعضهم** قال: إنه بمعنى: لا يقوم، فعلى هذا يدل على تأبيد دين موسى عليه السلام.

والجواب: إنه وإن كان بمعنى: لا يقوم، لكنه مقيد بكونه من بني إسرائيل فلا يدل على عدم قيام النبي من غيرهم.

قال **بعضهم**: ذلك النبي يوشع عليه السلام[92]، وإنه باطل لوجوه، أحدها أنه عادة التوراة أن يوشع عليه السلام لا يذكر إلا بصريح اسمه، وثانيها أنه من بني إسرائيل، وثالثها أنه ليس له شريعة جديدة، بل هو خليفة لموسى عليه السلام، والمفهوم مما ذكر في الآية المذكورة من قوله[93] {يعرفه الله وجاهاً} أن يكون صاحب وَحي وشريعة. وقال **بعضهم**: إنه بلعام بن باعورا، وذلك باطل لوجهين، أحدهما أن بلعام لم يكن نبياً، بل كان ساحراً، وثانيهما أنه كان كافراً قتل في زمن يوشع عليه السلام بالسيف وقد قتل على كفره.[94]

الدليل الثالث: قال في التوراة: {إذا قام نبي من بينكم أو رآني في الرؤيا وأتى بالدليل والمعجزة وقال: هلمّوا اعبدوا معبوداً غير الله لا ترضوه ولا تطيعوه فاقتلوه}[95]. قالوا: قوله: {لا ترضوه ولا تطيعوه} دليل على أنه لا نبي بالحق بعد موسى عليه السلام.

والجواب: إن قوله: {وقال: هلمّوا واعبدوا معبوداً غير الله} يدل بطريق مفهوم المخالفة على أنه لو قال: اعبدوا الله، يقبل، ومفهوم المخالفة مقبول عندهم، ولا يخفى أن الأمر بالإطاعة إنما يكون إذا بدل الحلال الثابت في التوراة إلى الحرام[96] وبالعكس، ويعلم دعوته إلى الله من صدق دعوته. وقال في التوراة في حق ذرية يهودا: {لا يزول الحكم والسلطنة من بين رجليه حتى يجئ عظيم يجتمع إليه الأمم}[97]، ويفهم من هذا الكلام أنه يزول الحكم والسلطنة من أولاد يهودا وقد زالت الحكومة منهم في زمن نبينا محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم[98].

الدليل الرابع[99]: قال في التوراة: {إن الله جاء من طور سينا وطلع من جبل سعير وأشرق من جبل فاران}[100]، يعني جاء أحكام الله تعالى يعني التوراة. قالوا: إن الملائكة أطافوا التوراة كالعروس[101] وجاءوا بها أولًا إلى سعير، وهو مملكة[102] عيسى عليه السلام، فلم يقبل قومها التوراة، ثم جاءوا بها إلى فاران، وهو مملكة إسماعيل[103] عليه السلام فلم يقبل قومها إياها، ثم جاءوا بها إلى سينا، وهو مملكة موسى عليه

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85. محمدا: محمد، ج.
86. صلى الله عليه وسلم: عليه السلام، ج.
87. إسماعيل: إسمعيل، ب ش ن و.
88. يعقوب: كذا في كل المخطوطات.
89. المصطفى: -، ب ش.
90. عليه الصلاة والسلام: عليه السلام، ج.
91. ולא קם נביא עוד בישראל]כמשה אשר[ידעו יהוה פנים אל פנים. (דברים לד 10)
92. راجع פירוש ראב"ע, ספר דברים, ע' קס: 'נביא מקרבך', זה יהושע. והעד, שאמר אליו תשמעון, וכתוב 'וישמעו אליו בני ישראל' (דברים לד ט). ועוד ראיה אחרת, כי לא מצאנו נביא שנכנס עם ישראל לארץ כי אם יהושע, גם כן יתכן להיות זה כלל לכל נביא שיקום אחר משה.
93. قوله: قولهم، ب ج ش ن.
94. إشارة إلى במדבר כב 34–20, לא 8.
95. כי יקום בקרבך נביא או חלם חלום ונתן אליך אות או מופת :]ובא האות והמופת[אשר דבר אליך לאמר נלכה אחרי אלהים אחרים]אשר לא ידעתם ונעבדם:] לא תשמע אל דברי הנביא ההוא או אל חולם החלום ההוא]כי מנסה יהוה אלהיכם אתכם לדעת הישכם אהבים את יהוה אלהיכם בכל לבבכם ובכל נפשכם : אחרי יהוה אלהיכם תלכו ואתו תיראו ואת מצותיו תשמרו וקבלו תשמעו ואתו תעבדו ובו תדבקון[. (דברים יג 5–2)
96. الحرام: الحلال، ب ج ش ن و.
97. לא יסור שבט מיהודה ומחקק מבין רגליו עד כי יבא שילה ולו יקהת עמים. (בראשית מט 10)
98. صلى الله عليه وسلم: عليه السلام، ج.
99. الرابع: الخامس، ج ش ن و.
100. ויאמר יהוה מסיני בא וזרח משעיר למו הופיע מהר פארן ואתה מרבבת קדש מימינו אשדת למו. (דברים לג 2).
101. פירוש ראב"ע, ספר דברים, ע' רצח: 'מרבבות קדש' הם המלאכים. והטעם על השכינה שירדה.
102. مملكة: مكرر في ن.
103. إسماعيل: إسمعيل، ب ش ن و.

السلام فقبل قومه التوراة. فلا دلالة في الآية المذكورة على[104] ظهور نبي آخر بعد موسى عليه السلام.

والجواب: إن المفهوم من الآية خلاف ما ذكروه لأن ترتيبها لا يوافق ترتيب هذه الرواية، فالحق ما أورده **ابن عذرا** في تفسيره وإن أورده بصيغة التمريض، وهو[105] أن المراد من الأحكام التي جاء من[106] طور سينا هي التوراة التي اتّبعها قوم موسى عليه السلام ومن الأحكام التي طلع من سعير هي الإنجيل الذي اتّبعه النصارى وكون سعير مقام عيسى عليه السلام مصرّح به في التوراة، ومن الأحكام التي أشرق من جبل فاران هو القرآن الذي نزل على نبينا محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم[107] وكان فاران مقام إسماعيل[108] عليه السلام وهو مصّرح به في التوراة، ونبينا محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم[109] من أولاد إسماعيل[110] عليه السلام.

الدليل الخامس[111]: فهو[112] أن أحبار اليهود يعتبرون حساب الجمل مثلًا قال الملك لهاجر حين حملها: ستجيء[113] اثنا عشر ملكاً من ذريتك، وأشار إلى هذا العدد بلفظ زه [זה] وهو اثنا عشر[114]. وأشار[115] في آخر الجزء الخامس من السفر الأول[116] إلى أن زمان عمارة القدس الشريف لفظ بزات [זאת][117] وهو بحساب الجمل أربع وأربعمائة وكان كذلك،[118] وأخبر عن نبينا محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم بلفظ بمادماد [במאד מאד] في ثلاث مواضع[119] ولفظ بمادماد بحساب الجمل اثنان وتسعون، وهو عدد الاسم الشريف أعني اسم محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم[120].

الفصل الثالث في بيان ما يدلّ على تحريفهم التوراة

وذلك في عدة مواضع لم يقدروا على توجيهها إلا بتعسفات باردة وتكلفات شاردة حفظاً لدينهم عن طعن العوام حتى قال بعض مفسريهم بطريق الوصية: من كان من العرفان يحفظ عرضه في هذه المواضع عن طعن العوام والجهال،[121] منها {سار إبراهيم في الأرض إلى مقام شَحْم

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104. على: إلى، ب ج ش ن و.

105. راجع פירוש ראב"ע, ספר דברים, ע' רצח: וחסרי אמונה אמרו, כי טעם 'משעיר' על דת אדום, 'ופארן' על דת ישמעאל, ואלה תועים. הלא ראו, כי לא החל בתחילה כי אם לברך ישראל לבדם ...

106. من: إلى، ب ج ش ن و.

107. صلى الله عليه وسلم: عليه السلام، ج و.

108. إسماعيل: إسمعيل، ب ش و.

109. صلى الله عليه وسلم: عليه السلام، ج.

110. إسماعيل: إسمعيل، ب ش ن و.

111. الخامس: السادس، ج ش ن و.

112. فهو: هو، ج و.

113. ستجيء: سيجيء، ج ش ن.

114. إشارة إلى וימצאה מלאך יהוה על עין המים במדבר על העין בדרך שור: ויאמר הגר שפחת שרי אימזה באר ואנה תלכי ותאמר מפני שרי גברתי אנכי ברחת: ויאמר לה מלאך יהוה שובי אל גברתך והתעני תחת ידיה: ויאמר לה מלאך יהוה הרבה ארבה את זרעך ולא יספר מרב: ויאמר לה מלאך יהוה הנך הרה וילדת בן וקראת שמו ישמעאל כי שמע יהוה אל עניך: והוא יהיה פרא אדם ידו בכל ויד כל בו ועל פני כל אחיו ישכן: ותקרא שם יהוה הדבר אליה אתה אל ראי כי אמרה הגם הלם ראיתי אחרי ראי: על כן קרא לבאר באר לחי ראי הנה בין קדש ובין ברד: ותלד הגר לאברם בן ויקרא אברם שם בנו אשר ילדה הגר ישמעאל: ואברם בן שמנים שנה ושש שנים בלדת הגר את ישמעאל לאברם. (בראשית טז 7–16) ואלה תלדת ישמעאל בן אברהם אשר ילדה הגר המצרית שפחת שרה לאברהם: ואלה שמות בני ישמעאל בשמתם לתולדתם בכר ישמעאל נבית וקדר ואדבאל ומבשם: ומשמע ודומה ומשא: חדר ותימא יטור נפיש וקדמה: אלה הם בני ישמעאל ואלה שמתם בחצריהם ובטירתם שנים עשר נשיאם לאמתם. (בראשית כב 18–12)

115. وأشار: وذكر، ب ج ش ن و.

116. בראשית כג 1 – כה 18 (חיי שרה). وكذا في ب ج ش ن و.

117. إشارة إلى בזאת יבא אהרן אל הקדש בפר בן בקר לחטאת ואיל לעלה. (ויקרא טז 3)

118. راجع פרוש רש"י, ספר ויקרא, ע' קמג: 'בזאת' גמטריא שלו ארבע מאות ועשר, רמז לבית הראשון. פרוש רמב"ן, ספר ויקרא, ע' קמד.

119. إشارة إلى ואתנה בריתי ביני ובינך וארבה אותך במאד מאד (בראשית יז 2). והפרתי אתך במאד מאד ונתתיך לגוים ומלכים ממך יצאו (בראשית יז 6). ולישמעאל שמעתיך הנה ברכתי אתו והפריתי אתו והרביתי אתו במאד מאד שנים עשר נשיאם יוליד ונתתיו לגוי גדול. (בראשית יז 20)

120. صلى الله عليه وسلم: عليه السلام، ن و.

121. إشارة إلى . . .

إلى آلُون مُرَه والكنعاني كان حينئذ[122] في الأرض}[123]، والمراد من الأرض مملكة كنعان بن نوح ولم يزل أن يكون في أيدي الكنعانيين حتى فتحها يوشع عليه السلام والمدّة أزيد من ألف سنة، وتلك الأراضي هي أرض قدس وآلُون مُرَه من نواحي القدس، وإذا كانت تلك الأراضي في أيدي الكنعانيين عند مسير إبراهيم عليه السلام إليها يلزم أن لا يكون فتحها في يد يوشع عليه السلام مع أنه صرّح في التوراة أن تلك الأرض ستفتح في زمن يوشع عليه السلام. والظاهر أن مثل هذا التناقض لا يقع في كلام الله تعالى بل يكون ملحقاً.

وقال ابن عذرا وهو رئيس مفسريهم: وفي هذا سرّ يسكت فيه العاقل[124]. وقال في موضع آخر: إن أطلعت على سّر اثنى عشر[125]، وأراد بذلك اثنى عشر آية مكتوبة في آخر السفر الآخر[126] تدل[127] كلها على أن تلك الآيات مكتوبة بعد زمان موسى عليه السلام.[128]

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122. كان حينئذ: حينئذ كان، ش ن و.

123. ויעבר אברם בארץ עד מקום שכם עד אלון מורה והכנעני אז בארץ. (בראשית יב 6)

124. راجع פירוש ראב"ע, ספר בראשית, ע' קנג: גם זה המקום 'שכם', משה קראו כן, כי שכם לא היה בימי אברהם. 'אלון'. כמו אלה, והם עצים, וי"א שדה, כמו איל פארן (יד ו). 'מורה'. י"א שהוא ממרא בעל ברית אברהם. ויתכן שהוא אחר. ויהי אלון מורה שם מקום. 'והכנעני אז בארץ'. יתכן שארץ כנען תפשה כנען מיד אחר. ואם איננו כן יש לו סוד. והמשכיל ידום. انظر أيضاً

Spinoza, *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, 280f.: "Verba itaque Aben Hezræ, quæ habentur in suis commentariis supra Deuteronomium, hæc sunt: בעבר הירדן וגו ואם תבין סוד השנים עשר גם ויכתוב משה והכנעני אז בארץ בהר יהוה יראה גם הנה ערשו ברזל תכיר האמת *Ultra Jordanem etc. modo intelligas mysterium duodecim, etiam et scripsit Moses legem et Kenahanita tunc erat in terra, in Dei monte revelabitur, tum etiam ecce lectem suum lectum ferreum, tum cognosces veritatem*. His autem paucis indicat simulque ostendit non fuisse Mosen, qui Pentateuchon scripsit, sed alium quempiam, qui longe post vixit, et denique quem Moses scripsit librum, alium fuisse. Ad hæc inquam ostendendum, notat I. ipsam Deuteronomii præfationem, quæ a Mose, qui Jordanem non transivit, scribi non potuit.... Notat IV. locum Genes. cap. 12. v. 6., ubi narrando, quod Abrahamus terram Kanahanitarum lustrabat, addit historicus, quod *Kanahanita tum temporis erat in illa terra*: quibus tempus, quo hæc scripsit, clare secludit. Adeoque post mortem Mosis, et cum Kanahanitæ jam erant expulsi illasque regiones non amplius possidebant, hæc debuerunt scribi; quod idem Aben Hezra super hunc locum commentando etiam his significat, והכנעני אז בארץ יתכן שארץ כנען תפשה מיד אחר ואם איננו כן יש לו סוד והמשכיל ידום *et Kanahanita tum erat in illa terra: videtur, quod Kanahan* (nepos Noæ) *terram Kanahanitæ ab alio possessam cepit, quod si non verum est, inest huic rei mysterium, et qui id intelligit, taceat*. Hoc est, si Kanahan regiones illas invasit, tum sensus erit, *Kanahanitam jam tum fuisse in illa terra*, excludendo scilicet tempus præteritum, quo ab alia natione inhabitabatur. At si Kanahan regiones illas primus coluit (ut ex cap. 10. Genes. sequitur), tum textus tempus præsens, scriptoris scilicet secludit; adeoque non Mosis, cujus nimirum tempore etiamdum illas regiones possidebant; et hoc est mysterium, quod tadendum commendat."

125. راجع פירוש ראב"ע, ספר דברים, ע' ד: ואם תבין סוד (השדים)]השנים[עשר ...

126. إشارة إلى דברים לד 12–1. أنظر أيضاً

Spinoza, *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, 281f.: "Notat II., quod totus liber Mosis descriptus fuerit admodum diserte in solo ambitu unius aræ (vide Deuter. cap. 27. et Josuæ cap. 8. v. 32. etc.), quæ ex Rabinorum relatione duodecim tantum lapidibus constabat; ex quo sequitur librum Mosis longe minoris fuisse molis quam Pentateuchon: Hoc inquam puto authorem hunc significare voluisse per *mysterium duodecim*; nisi forte intellexit duodecim illas maledictiones, quæ in prædicto cap. Deut. habentur, quas fortasse credidit non fuisse in libro legis descriptas, idque propterea quod Moses præter descriptionem legis Levitas insuper recitare illas maledictiones jubet, ut populum jurejurando ad leges descriptas observandum adstringerent. Vel forte ultimum caput Deuteronomii de morte Mosis significare voluit, quod caput duodecim versibus constat. Sed hæc et quæ præterea alii hariolantur, non est opus curiosius hic examinare."

127. تدل: يدل، ن و.

128. راجع פירוש ראב"ע, ספר דברים, ע' שיז: 'ויעל משה'. לפי דעתי, כי מזה הפסוק כתב יהושע, כי אחר שעלה משה לא כתב, ובדרך נבואה כתבו.

ومنها إن موسى عليه السلام لما أتم التوراة أمر بحفظها في صندوق[129] يذكر وصفها في التوراة[130]، وأمر في التوراة أن يجتمعوا في كل سنة ثلاث مرات ويقرءوا التوراة[131]، ثم ذكر في التوراة أن موسى عليه السلام نادى العلماء أن يجتمعوا الكبراء وينصحهم ويخبرهم أنهم يطغون بعد وفاته[132]، وما ذكر من اثنى عشر آية يدل منطوقها أن الله تعالى دعا موسى عليه السلام وأراه القدس وما حولها من الجبل، ثم مات هناك بأمر الله تعالى ودفن هناك ولم يعلم قبره إلى الآن وتبع قومه يوشع عليه السلام[133]. قال ابن عذرا في تفسيره: إن اطلعت على هذا السّر تصل إلى مرتبة الحقيقة.[134] حتى قال يهودا: إن نزلت التوراة على موسى عليه السلام بتمامها[135] فكيف يصح ذكر خبر وفاته فيها؟ فيفهم منه أنها مكتوبة بعد وفاته عليه السلام كتبها يوشع عليه السلام[136]. واعترض عليه شمعون بأنه إذا صح إتمام موسى عليه السلام التوراة وأمره بحفظها فكيف يصح من يوشع عليه السلام الإلحاق؟ وقال بعضهم: إن شمعون يجتهد عندهم فكلامه نص عندهم[137] فلا يصح ما ذكره ابن عذرا من أن فيه سرّاً. وقال بعضهم: مبنى كلام ابن عذرا أن هذا الإلحاق ليس من يوشع ولا من[138] نبي آخر وإنما وقع من المتأخرين ولم يذكروا كيف كان الإلحاق.

الفصل الرابع في مطاعن اليهود في حق الأنبياء

منها إسنادهم الكبيرة إلى لوط عليه السلام بعد هلاك قومه مع أنهم قائلون بأن الأنبياء لا يصدر عنهم الكبائر، وهذا الإسناد، وأي شيء هي[139]، مذكور في الجزء الرابع من السفر الأول.[140] ومنها أنه قد ذكر في الجزء العاشر من السفر الأول إسناد الكبيرة إلى داود عليه السلام[141]، وأمثال ذلك كثيرة فلا نطول بها الكلام.

تمت[142].

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129. إشارة إلى ויהי ככלות משה לכתב את דברי התורה הזאת על ספר עד תמם: ויצו משה את הלוים נשאי ארון ברית יהוה לאמר: לקח את ספר התורה הזה ושמתם אתו מצד ארון ברית יהוה אלהיכם והיה שם בך לעד. (דברים לא 26–24)

130. إشارة إلى ...

131. إشارة إلى שלש פעמים בשנה יראה כל זכורך אל פני האדן יהוה (שמות כג 17). שלש פעמים בשנה כל זכורך את פני האדן יהוה אלהי ישראל: כי אוריש גוים מפניך והרחבתי את גבלך ולא יחמד איש את ארצך בעלתך לראות את פני יהוה אלהיך שלש פעמים בשנה. (שמות לד 24–23). שלש פעמים בשנה יראה כל זכורך את פני יהוה אלהיך במקום אשר יבחר בחג המצות ובחג השבעות ובחג הסכות ולא יראה את פני יהוה ריקם. (דברים טז 16). ויצו משה אותם לאמר מקץ שבע שנים במעד שנת השמטה בחג הסוכת: בבוא כל ישראל לראות את פני יהוה אלהיך במקום אשר יבחר תקרא את התורה הזאת נגד כל ישראל באזניהם. (דברים לא 11–10).

132. إشارة إلى הקהילו אלי את כל זקני שבטיכם ושטריכם ואדברה באזניהם את הדברים האלה ואעידה בם את השמים ואת הארץ: כי ידעתי אחרי מותי כי השחת תשחתון וסרתם מן הדרך אשר צויתי אתכם וקראת אתכם הרעה באחרית הימים כי תעשו את הרע בעיני יהוה להכעיסו במעשה ידיכם. (דברים לא 29–28)

133. إشارة إلى ויעל משה מערבת מואב אל הר נבו ראש הפסגה אשר על פני ירחו ויראהו יהוה אל כל הארץ את הגלעד עד דן: ואת כל נפתלי ואת ארץ אפרים ומנשה ואת כל ארץ יהודה עד הים האחרון: ואת הנגב ואת הככר בקעת ירחו עיר התמרים עד צער ... וימת שם משה עבד יהוה בארץ מואב על פי יהוה: ויקבר אתו בגי בארץ מואב מול בית פעור ולא ידע איש את קברתו עד היום הזה . . . ויהושע בן נון מלא רוח חכמה כי סמך משה את ידיו עליו וישמעו אליו בני ישראל ויעשו כאשר צוה יהוה את משה. (דברים לד 3–1, 6–5, 9)

134. راجع פירוש ראב"ע, ספר דברים, ע' ד: ואם תבין סוד (השדים)]השנים[עשר, גם 'ויכתב משה' (דברים לא כב), 'והכנעני אז בארץ' (בראשית יב ו), 'בהר ה' יראה' (בראשית כב יד), 'והנה ערשו ערש ברזל' (דברים ג יא), תכיר האמת.

135. بتمامها: مكرر في ن.

136. عليه السلام: ـ، ن و.

137. راجع תלמוד בבלי, מסכת בבא בתרא, פרק א: ומי כתבן ... אמר מר יהושע כתב ספרו ושמונה פסוקים שבתורה תניא כמאן דאמר שמונה פסוקים שבתורה יהושע כתבן דתני' וימת שם משה עבד ה' אפשר משה (מת) וכתב וימת שם משה אלא עד כאן כתב משה מכאן ואילך כתב יהושע דברי ר"י ואמרי לה ר' נחמיה אמר לו ר"ש אפשר ס"ת חסר אות אחת וכתיב לקוח את ספר התורה הזה אלא עד כאן הקב"ה אומר ומשה אומר וכותב מכאן ואילך הקב"ה אומר ומשה כותב בדמע כמו שנאמר להלן ויאמר להם ברוך מפיו יקרא אלי את כל הדברים האלה ואני כותב על הספר בדיו כמאן אזלא הא דא"ר יהושע בר אבא אמר רב גידל אמר רב שמונה פסוקים שבתורה יחיד קורא אותן לימא (ר"י היא) ודלא כר"ש אפילו תימא ר"ש הואיל ואשתנו אשתנו.

138. من: ـ، ش.

139. هي: هو، ب ج ش ن و.

140. إشارة إلى בראשית יט 38–30.

141. إشارة إلى שמואל ב יא-יב.

142. تمت: تم، ن؛ ـ، و.

Epistle in Refutation of the Jews by Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā Ṭāškubrīzāde (d. 968/1561)

In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful; praise be to God alone, and prayer over him after whom there is no [further] prophet and over his family and companions.

This epistle is made up of four parts. The first part exposes as spurious the declaration of the eternal validity of the religion of Moses (peace be upon him); the second part is about the proofs for the prophethood of our prophet Muḥammad (God bless him and grant him salvation); the third part is about the occurrence of corruptions in the Torah, and the fourth part deals with invectives [uttered] by the Jews.

Part One, exposing the spuriousness of the proofs [adduced] for the eternity [of the religion of Moses], which are six in number:

The first proof [adduced by the Jews]:
In the Torah is said what is translated as follows: "All that I command you, do not add to it, nor diminish from it." (Deut. 4:2). [The Jews] say: If we would observe another sacred law (*šarīʿa*), this would require that we add something to the precepts of the Torah and detract something from it, and this is not admissible according to the text of the Torah.[143]

The [Muslim] reply: What is meant by "do not add to it, nor diminish," is "[do not add or diminish] of your own accord."[144] The commentators of the Torah explain this clearly, and the wording of the expression confirms this, as is well known to the discerning and intelligent.[145] Hence it does not necessarily follow from this that it is forbidden to follow a prophet who produces an addition or omission on the part of God (exalted is He). What is stated by one of the commentators of the Torah, to the effect that "on the basis of this it has been said: 'no prophet will come with a new commandment anymore,'" points to the falsity of what he has mentioned, by phrasing it in such a way as to imply that it is doubtful[146] and by the wording of the expression [in the biblical verse], as is obvious to the discerning and perceptive.

The second proof [of the Jews]: It is said in the Torah, "The Lord is not a man, that he should lie, or the son of man that he should become regretful" (Num. 23:19). It is well known that abrogation is [God's] regret for a law given previously, and this is absurd from

143. See similarly Deut 12:32 ("What thing soever I command you, observe to do it: thou shalt not add thereto, nor diminish from it.") This scriptural evidence is adduced, e.g., by Maimonides (*The Epistle to Yemen*, 112).

144. Cf. *Ibn Ezra's Commentary on the Pentateuch*, 21f.. That the quoted prohibition applies to man only and that God may indeed later on add precepts to those of the Torah was also maintained by al-Qirqisānī; cf. Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 210.

145. This and similar phrases echo the use of such expressions (e.g., *ve-ha-maskil yavin*—"the intelligent will understand") by the Jewish commentators referred to by Ṭāškubrīzāde.

146. I.e., by using the expression "it has been said."

the rational as well as the scriptural point of view according to the text of the Torah. Thus there is no abrogation following the religion of Moses (peace be upon him).

The [Muslim] reply: The meaning of regret is that a free agent produces an act and subsequently realises the benefit that is in its opposite. This is impossible with regard to Him,[147] far exalted is He above this. The meaning of abrogation is merely the alteration of legal rulings according to the changing states and conditions of the people, just like a physician who alters his treatment according to the changing states of his patient. Now, this is not impossible, but sheer wisdom and pure mercy. In the alteration of the law of Moses (peace be upon him) in particular there is pure wisdom, which is apparent also to the scholars, namely that because slavery [negatively] affected all the actions of the Israelite nation, ignorance settled in their minds and deficiency was firmly imposed on their brains.

For this reason the Torah limits itself to promise and threat as far as this world is concerned, because they were precluded from understanding the hereafter and its conditions. When thereafter the people became increasingly disposed to understand the concerns of the hereafter, the conditions of the hereafter were reported in the other [i.e., later] revelations.[148] However, abrogation occurs also among the rulings of the Torah, so that their reply is in fact [identical to] our reply.[149]

The third proof [of the Jews]

It is said in the Torah: "These are the words God speaks to you with a great voice and He wrote them on two tables of stone and you said, "We have heard God's voice out of the midst of the fire" (cf. Deut. 5:22–24). The[ir] way of argumentation is that when they made their belief in Moses (peace be upon him) conditional upon hearing the speech of God (exalted is He) with their own ears, God (exalted is He) gave them what they wished and spoke the verse referred to in order to force them [to believe]. From this it may be understood that belief is necessarily conditional on hearing the voice of God (exalted is He), and this has not been heard after Moses (peace be upon him).

The [Muslim] reply: The Children of Israel pleaded with Moses (peace be upon him) saying "We cannot hear the voice of God (exalted is He) another time, otherwise we shall completely perish; so ask your lord not to do that again." Therefore He says in the Torah: "The Children of Israel said, 'If we hear the voice of God one more time, we shall die. You go near, and hear all that He shall command you'" (cf. Deut. 5:25–27). Then God (exalted

147. It would suggest that there are limits to the knowledge of the omniscient God.

148. That the Pentateuch does not give any details about the Hereafter and about reward and punishment but is limited to precepts applicable to this world only, is also reported by Ibn Kammūna as a Muslim polemical argument against Judaism (*Examination*, ed. 40; transl. 63-64). The same motive is also to be found in al-Ḥağarī's (d. after 1640) *K. Nāṣir al-dīn ʿalā l-qawm al-kāfirīn*, 108 (Arabic), 165 (translation).

149. That is, they, too, are forced to admit the existence of abrogation. The author later on enumerates biblical examples that are interpreted as cases of abrogation within the Pentateuch; see below Part One, Proof Six.

is He) approved of this saying of theirs and says in the Torah: "God (exalted is He) says: 'They have spoken well'" (cf. Deut. 5:28). It is obvious, now, that they did not demand what has been mentioned because of Moses' prophethood (peace be upon him), but because they denied the very principle of prophethood,[150] for they were following [certain] Indian philosophers who used to tell them: "Mankind is unable to hear the speech of God (exalted is He)." For this reason they were in doubt about the prophethood of Moses (peace be upon him), even though they had witnessed the brilliant miracles he worked. Ibn Ezra has explained this in detail in his commentary. In addition, God (exalted is He) said in the Torah, quoting the Children of Israel: "The Lord our God has shown us His might and His greatness, and has made us hear His voice out of the midst of the fire; we have seen this day that God talks with man, and that he stays alive" (cf. Deut. 5:24). From this verse it may be understood that they did believe in the possibility of mankind hearing the speech of God (exalted is He), and that they acknowledged prophethood. If believing in the possibility of hearing the [divine] voice is linked to the belief in the principle of prophethood [in general], not in that of Moses (peace be upon him) in particular, then the verse on the basis of which they argue in order to make their point does not prove that belief in the *other* prophets is conditional upon hearing God's voice [contrary to what they hold].

The fourth proof [of the Jews]:
It is said in the Torah: "Behold the Torah became the inheritance of the congregation of Jacob" (cf. Deut. 33:4). From these words it may be understood that the congregation of Jacob (peace be upon him) was required to follow the Torah in particular [to the exclusion of other laws].[151]

The [Muslim] reply is that what is to be understood from this is that following the Torah was specifically imposed upon the Children of Israel [and not on anyone else], not that the Children of Israel were required to follow the Torah in particular.

The fifth proof [of the Jews]:
It is said in the Torah: "And there arises no prophet like Moses from among the Children of Israel" (cf. Deut. 34:10). From this may be understood that there is [to be] no prophet after him.[152]

The [Muslim] reply:
What is mentioned in the Torah is the expression *ve-lo qam*, and this expression indicates past tense in the Hebrew language, so that the correct rendering is: "and there *did* not arise a prophet like Moses (peace be upon him) from among the Children of Israel." Their

150. I.e., what motivated them was not their wish to see the prophethood of Moses confirmed, but they were merely challenging him, not believing that he could actually persuade God.

151. What seems to be implied is that the Torah was given to the Jews as a *lasting* legacy. This scriptural evidence is adduced, e.g, by Saʿadya, *The Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, 158.

152. Cf. similarly Maimonides, *The Epistle to Yemen*, 111.

interpreting it as an imperfect[153] contradicts one of the rules of their language, and with this interpretation they merely intended to sow confusion when they asserted their false claims, namely about the eternity of the religion of Moses (peace be upon him). What a man called Levi[154] reported about the expression *ve-lo qam* having to be interpreted as an imperfect—which he backed with a number of sayings from the books of the prophets—this, too, is a kind of confusion, for what is found in the books of the prophets is only the expression *ve-lo qām*, with an *aleph* between the *qaf* and the *mim*. Because of this it has the meaning of a future tense, unlike the verse mentioned above, for there the *aleph* referred to does not appear, so that it has the meaning of a past tense according to the rules of their language, although even if it were an imperfect, the proof would still not be conclusive, for the verse contains a restriction to the Children of Israel. What is demonstrated by the verse, then, is [only] the rejection of another prophet [coming] from among the Children of Israel specifically, but not [of all future prophets] in the absolute sense; in fact, it points to the coming of a prophet from *outside* the Children of Israel,[155] on the basis of the method of *argumentum e contrario*, which is accepted among their scholars to the point that they have based many of their legal rulings on this method.

The sixth proof [of the Jews]:
It is said in the Torah: "The Children of Israel shall observe the sabbath throughout their generations forever" (cf. Exod. 31:16). They say: If we would follow a law other than that of Moses (peace be upon him), this would then require the non-observance of the sabbath, even though the observance of the sabbath is eternally binding on us. This then would imply that we observe the sabbath and not observe it at the same time. This is imposing the impossible, which is completely absurd.[156]

The [Muslim] reply:
This is an obvious lie, for "eternity" is not the sense in which the word *ʿolam* which occurs in the Torah can be understood. Rather, it has the meaning of a long duration in

153. This grammatical interpretation can be found, e.g, in Japheth ben Eli's (fl. 10 c.) Commentary on Deuteronomy; cf. Frank, *Search Scripture Well*, 244.

154. We were unable to identify this person.

155. To this typical Muslim argumentation which can also be found, for example, in Ibn Qutayba's (d. 889) *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa* (see Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 269), Japheth b. Eli has the following reply in his Commentary on Deuteronomy (tr. Frank, *Search Scripture Well*, 245): "'In Israel' does not signify that prophets like Moses will arise in nations other than Israel. It (indicates) rather, that since the nation of Israel is a 'special possession among all the nations' (Ex 19:5, Deut 7:6), the noble prophets who were sent (to them) go forth to other nations as well. Jonah ben Amittai was sent, for example, to Niniveh to encourage (its people) to repent, just as the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Amos, and Nahum all prophesied concerning the nations of the world. It was common knowledge among the nations that the true prophets came from the nation of Israel. Thus, the king of Aram sent Naaman to Elisha (2 Kings 5) and Hazael was sent to him likewise upon his entry into Damascus (2 Kings 8:8). And thus the king of Babylon sent to Hezekiah (2 Kings 20:12) that he might learn from him the significance of the miracle. For this reason (the verse states) 'in Israel'."

156. For this argument, see, for example, Saʿadya, *The Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, 158.

their language. Ibn Ezra has made this clear in his commentary on some verses and he corroborated this by what is found in the books of some of the prophets (peace be upon them), to the effect that [the word] occurs in the absolute sense of time, and he quotes what is found in the books of Solomon, son of David (peace be upon both of them), where past time is indicated,[157] and what is found in the book of David (peace be upon him), where the meaning of a certain span of time is intended.[158] Also, it is stated in the commentary on some verses of the Torah that *ʿolam* is another expression for *yovel*, and that *yovel* stands for a [moment in] time which is generally recognised among them and which falls once every fifty years, when commercial transactions and all other agreements are annulled and slaves are set free (cf. Lev. 25:10–17). Moshe ben Nahman reported that the maximum limit of *ʿolam* is fifty years,[159] whereas [another] one of them attested that with regard to the sabbath, it appears in the sense of eternity, also according to what is said in the Torah concerning the sabbath, where it says: "it is a sabbath for God in all your dwellings" (Lev. 23:3), that is, as long as you dwell in the land.[160]

To this will be replied that what is mentioned here [refers to] *places* in general, which does not require that *time* in general is meant. The principle underlying this is that some of the rulings of the Torah are specific for Jerusalem, some are specific for other places, and some are generally applicable to all places. The import of His saying "in *all* your dwellings" is that [keeping] the sabbath belongs to the third category.

It may be said: The word *ʿolam* is mentioned in connection with the Almighty, and cannot, therefore, refer to anything but eternity.

The reply to this is that what is mentioned with regard to the Almighty is the word *ʿolam* together with a qualification, namely the expression *va-ʿed*,[161] and eternity is only to be understood from the expression *va-ʿed*, not from the word *ʿolam*.

157. Referring to Ecc. 1:10.

158. Cf. also *Abraham Ibn Esras Kommentar*, 105f. (on Gen 3:7); *Abraham Ibn Esras langer Kommentar*, 653f.

159. Cf. Ramban (Nahmanides), *Commentary*, 348–349 (on Ex 21:6).

160. On this issue, see Saʿadya Gaon, *The Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, 171, where the various positions are summarized: "Now some of the proponents of the theory of abrogation base their view on an analysis of the term 'forever' (*ʿolam*) concerning which they assert that they note that it has in the Hebrew language a variety of meanings. Our rejoinder is: Yes, it has three possible meanings. One of these is 'fifty years.' The other is 'the lifetime of the thing referred to.' The third, again, is 'as long as the world will exist.' Now when we apply this term to the Sabbath law, the first two possibilities are at once eliminated, only the last being retained. For we note that Jeremiah, although he lived something like nine hundred years after Moses and the lapse of many centuries and generations of the offspring of the Children of Israel, exhorted them to observe the Sabbath and to refrain from working on it. Thus Scripture says: *Neither carry forth a burden out of your houses on the sabbath day, neither do ye any work, but hallow ye the sabbath day, as I commanded your fathers* (Jer. 17:22). Since, then, the period of fifty years, as well as that of the lifetime of the individuals in question, is eliminated, the only one of the [different] types [of meaning that can be applied to the term *ʿolam*] that remains is [that of] the duration of the world."

161. Referring to Ex 15:18.

It has been objected to this that the word *ʿolam* occurs in the tenth part of the fifth book without the qualification of the expression *va-ʿed*, even though here it also refers to the Almighty.[162]

We reply that the commentators have stated in general that the word *ʿolam* in this passage has neither the meaning of time, nor of a long duration, nor the meaning of eternity, but rather means [changing] events, for the word *ʿolam* is equivocal, and there is nothing dishonest about this. But what is referred to in this place is that "God (exalted is He), shall say 'In time I shall lift up my hand to the Throne and the See; by the truth of my being living and lasting forever![163] In time I shall whet my sword and grip it in order to take vengeance, I shall take vengeance from the polytheists and demand justice from the enemies'" (cf. Deut. 32:40–41).[164] Thus the word *ʿolam* appears here in the sense of an unknown time and nothing else.

Moreover, the Jewish sect rejects abrogation in the strongest terms, although it occurs in the [very] Torah in numerous places. Thus, for example, the consumption of meat was forbidden according to the law of Adam (peace be upon him),[165] whereas in the time of Noah (peace be upon him), it was ordered;[166] circumcision was first made incumbent upon the Children of Israel,[167] then its practice was forbidden in the desert, and subsquently they were ordered [to perform it] again after forty years;[168] at first, daughters were not entitled to inherit, but then it was ordered that they be made to inherit, and if there are no daughters, [the inheritance] should be given to their brothers;[169] Aaron (peace be upon him) was [at first] ordered to worship inside the tabernacle every day,[170] while later on he was forbidden to enter it except once a year.[171]

162. Referring to Deut 32:40–41.

163. Hebrew: *ḥai anokhi le-ʿolam*.

164. There are considerable discrepancies between the biblical text and the alleged quotation adduced here.

165. Referring to Gen 1:29.

166. Referring to Gen 9:3.

167. Referring to Gen 17:12.

168. Referring to Joshua 5:2–5.

169. See Num. 27:1–9; 36:2.

170. Referring perhaps to Ex. 30:7.

171. Referring to Ex. 30:10; Lev. 16:2, 16:29–34.—The intention of the argumentative strategy of adducing biblical statements that were interpreted as early examples of internal abrogation was to force the Jews to admit the doctrine of abrogation in general, to undermine the authority of their Scriptures and to force them to acknowledge that the Qurʾān is the final divine dispensation; see Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds*, 39ff.

Part Two, concerning the proofs of the prophethood of Muḥammad (may God bless him and grant him salvation)

The first proof [provided by the Muslims]
It is said in the Torah: "I will raise up a prophet for them from among their brethren, like you, and I will put my rulings into his mouth; and he shall speak unto them all the words that I shall command them, and he who will not listen to these commandments and will not obey them, I will demand [it] of him" (Deut. 18:18–19).[172] This verse contains proof for the possibility of [God's] sending a messenger after Moses (peace be upon him), and this is obvious; and [proof] that this prophet must no doubt come from the offspring of their brothers, and not from the Children of Israel [themselves], as well as [proof] that this prophet must be "like you," that is, in bringing a new revealed law, [all this is] connected with His saying "I will put my rulings into his mouth." Now it is clear that our prophet Muḥammad (God bless him and grant him salvation) is of the offspring of Ishmael (peace be upon him), who is the brother of Jacob (peace be upon him), and that he came with a new revealed law. It is [likewise] apparent that Joshua (peace be upon him) was from among the Children of Israel, as were all the other Israelite prophets, and not from the kinship of their brothers. Moreover, [Joshua] was the deputy of Moses (peace be upon him), but he did not come with a new revealed law. In addition, it is impossible that this prophet was Jesus (peace be upon him), for the Gospel does not contain new legislation that differs from what is laid down in the Torah. Thus it has been established that this prophet is our prophet Muḥammad, the Chosen One, prayer and peace be upon him.

The second proof: It is said in the Torah, "And there arose not a prophet from among the Children of Israel whom God (exalted is He) knew face to face" (cf. Deut. 34:10). They disagree about this [verse]. Some say: the expression *lo qam* in the Torah has the meaning of "*did* not arise" in Arabic, and thus conveys a negation in the past tense. Others say that it has the meaning "*will* not arise," and as such indicates the eternity of the religion of Moses (peace be upon him).

[Our] reply is that even if it did have the meaning of "will not arise," it is still qualified by his being from the Children of Israel, and does not prove that no prophet will arise from among others than themselves.

Some say that this prophet is Joshua (peace be upon him), but this is absurd for a number of reasons. First, Joshua (peace be upon him) is consistently referred to in the Torah by his proper name; secondly, he is from among the Children of Israel; thirdly, he did not bring a new revealed law, but was rather the deputy of Moses (peace be upon him); and

172. On the use of this Scriptural evidence (and the similar verse Deut. 18:15) for the advent of the prophet Muḥammad among earlier Muslim scholars, see Strauss, "Darkhei ha-pulmus," 191f.; Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds*, 18f., 104, 125, 150; Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 144, 158, 160, 264, 269; Frank, *Search Scripture Well*, 234ff; ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Islāmī, *al-Sayf al-mamdūd*, 59ff (Arabic), 67ff (translation); al-Ḥaǧarī, *K. Nāṣir al-dīn*, 114f. (Arabic), 171f. (translation).

what is to be understood from what is mentioned in the verse referred to, that is, His saying "whom God—exalted is He—knew face to face" is that he should be the recipient of a revelation and a religious law.

Some say that [this prophet] is Balaam the son of Beor, but this is untenable for two reasons. First, Balaam was not a prophet but a sorcerer; and second, he was an unbeliever who was killed by the sword during the time of Joshua (peace be upon him), killed because of his unbelief.[173]

The third proof:
It is said in the Torah: "If there arises a prophet from among you, or a seer of visions and brings a proof or a miracle, and he says, 'Come and worship a deity other than God', do not accept him and do not obey him, but kill him" (cf. Deut. 13:1–5). They say: His saying "do not accept him and do not obey him" proves that there is [to be] no prophet bringing the truth after Moses (peace be upon him).

The reply [to this] is that the words "and he says, 'Come and worship a deity other than God'" proves by way of the method of *argumentum e contrario* that if he were to say "Worship God," he would be accepted, and [the method of] *argumentum e contrario* is accepted among them. It is obvious that the order to obey him would only apply if he would exchange that which is positively allowed in the Torah for something prohibited and vice versa,[174] and his call to [obey] God would be known from the truthfulness of his call. It is said in the Torah, with regard to the offspring of Judah: "The rule and the power shall not depart from between his feet, until a powerful man shall come, and all the nations will gather to him" (cf. Gen. 49:10). From these words it may be understood that the rule and the power *will* depart from the offspring of Judah, and the government has [indeed] departed from them in the time of our prophet Muḥammad (God bless him and grant him salvation).

The fifth proof:[175]
It is said in the Torah: "God came from Mount Sinai, and rose up from Mount Seir, and shone forth from Mount Paran" (Deut. 33:2),[176] that is, the rules of God (exalted is He) came, meaning the Torah. The [Jews] say: The angels dressed the Torah like a bride, and took it first to Seir, which is the domain of Jesus (peace be upon him), but its people did not accept the Torah. Then they took it to Paran, which is the domain of Ishmael (peace be upon him), but its people did not accept it [either]. Then they took it to Sinai, which is

173. Referring to Num 22:20–34, 31:8.

174. Ṭāškubrīzāde adduces this argument in support of his claim that the Torah has been abrogated.

175. There is no "fourth proof"; see above, p. 374.

176. This verse is one of the most popular biblical verses adduced by Muslim writers as prediction of the prophethood of Muḥammad. See Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds*, 109; Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 264, 268, Frank, *Search Scripture Well*, 229ff; see also al-Karāǧakī, *Kanz al-fawāʾid*, 1/205. For Jewish responses, see, e.g., Saʿadya, *The Book of Beliefs and Opinions*, 164ff.

the domain of Moses (peace be upon him), and his people accepted the Torah. Now, there is no indication in the verse mentioned of the appearance of another prophet after Moses (peace be upon him).

The reply [to this is that] the meaning of this verse disagrees with what they have mentioned, for its sequence does not agree with the sequence in their account. The truth is what Ibn Ezra relates in his commentary, even if he phrases it in such a way as to suggest doubt, namely that what is intended by the rulings that came from Mount Sinai is the Torah which the people of Moses (peace be upon him) followed, and [what is intended] by the rules that rose up from Seir is the Gospel that the Christians follow, and the fact that Seir is the location of Jesus (peace be upon him), is clearly expressed in the Torah, and that [what is intended by] the rules that shine forth from Mount Paran is the Qurʾān which was revealed to our prophet Muḥammad (God bless him and grant him salvation), Paran being the location of Ishmael (peace be upon him),[177] which is [also] clearly expressed in the Torah, and our prophet Muḥammad (God bless him and grant him salvation) is from the descendants of Ishmael (peace be upon him).

The sixth proof is that the scholars (*aḥbār*) of the Jews attach great importance to numerology; for example, the angel said to Hagar during her pregnancy: "Twelve kings will proceed from your seed,"[178] and [elsewhere] He indicated this number with the expression *zeh*, which is twelve. In the fifth part of the first book the period during which the noble [city of] Jerusalem was inhabited is indicated with the expression *be-zot*,[179] which, according to numerology is 404, and it was indeed so; and it refers to our prophet Muḥammad (God bless him and grant him salvation) with the expression *bi-meʾod meʾod* (*bi-mād mād*) in three places, and the expression *bi-mād mād* is, in numerology, ninety-two, which is [also] the numerical value of the noble name, that is, the name Muḥammad (God bless him and grant him salvation).[180]

177. Cf. *Ibn Ezra's Commentary on the Pentateuch. Deuteronomy (Devarim)*, 276. For the midrash based identification of Seir with Christianity and Paran with the Arabs, see also Cohen, *Under Crescent and Cross*, 156.

178. See Gen 16:7–16 and Gen. 17:20.

179. Referring to Lev. 16:3.

180. The numerical value of the expression "exceedingly" (*bi-meʾod meʾod*) had already been adduced by earlier Muslim writers such as Samawʾal al-Maġribī (d. 570/1175) in *Ifḥām al-yahūd* (ed. Perlmann, 31 (Arabic text), 46 (transl.); ed. Marazka/Pourjavady/Schmidtke, 26f.) and ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Islāmī (*al-Sayf al-mamdūd*, 40 (Arabic), 60 (translation)). It was also known to Ibn Kammūna, Maimonides and Rabbi Jehudah Ben Elʿazar (see their detailed refutations in *Examination*, ed. Perlmann, 95; *The Epistle to Yemen*, 107–109; *Duties of Judah*, 537ff). For further references, see Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds*, 107; Ahroni, "Jewish-Muslim Religious Polemics in Yemen," 315. However, whereas earlier authors only adduced Gen 17:20 which refers specifically to Ishmael and his progeny, Ṭāškubrīzāde's statement that there are three instances in the biblical text where this expression is found is unusual. He probably had in mind also Gen 17:2 and 17:6, both referring to God talking to Abram/Abraham about his prospective progeny in general.

Part Three, explaining what points to their distortion of the Torah:

This is [found] in a number of passages that they were unable to circumvent except by resorting to inane and incorrect language and far-fetched evasions, [attempting to] protect their religion from the criticism of the masses, to the point that one of their exegetes said, by way of directive: whoever belongs to those endowed with knowledge shall keep his arguments regarding these passages safe from the accusations of the masses and the ignorant, among [these passages] being: "Abraham travelled in the land to the place [called] Shekhem, to Elon Moreh, and the Canaanite was at that time in the land" (Gen. 12:6). What is meant by "the land" is the kingdom of Canaan, son of Noah, which remained in the hands of the Canaanites until Joshua ben Nun (peace be upon him) conquered it, and this period lasted more than 1,000 years. These lands are a holy land, and Elon Moreh is in the vicinity of Jerusalem. As these lands were in the hands of the Canaanites when Abraham (peace be upon him) travelled there, [and the wording of the text implies that the Canaanite was no longer there by Moses' time,] they cannot have been conquered by Joshua (peace be upon him), although it is clearly stated that that land would be conquered in the days of Joshua (peace be upon him). It is clear that such a contradiction cannot occur in the words of God (exalted is He), but has been added.[181]

Ibn Ezra, who is their leading exegete, said: "There is a mystery in this on which those who are in the know keep silent." In another place he says: "If you have grasped the secret of the twelve—meaning the twelve verses written at the end of the last book—all of them point to the fact that these verses were written after the times of Moses (peace be upon him)."

Among them is [the one stating] that Moses (peace be upon him), when he had completed the Torah, ordered that it be kept in a case whose description is mentioned in the Torah, and he ordered in the Torah that [the people] were to assemble three times a year and to recite the Torah;[182] in addition, it is mentioned in the Torah that Moses (peace be upon him) called upon the scholars to meet with the leaders and to advise and apprise them that they would corrupt themselves after his death.[183] What is mentioned in the twelve verses[184] literally points to the fact that God (exalted is He) summoned Moses and showed him Jerusalem and the mountains surrounding it. Then he died there by God's decree (exalted is He), and he was buried there, and [the location of] his grave is not known until now. His people followed Joshua (peace be upon him).[185]

181. See also Spinoza's explanation on this passage, below n. 185.

182. Cf. Deut. 16:16, Ex. 23:17, Ex. 34:23–24.

183. Cf. Deut. 31:28–29.

184. Viz. Deut. 34:1–12.

185. What Ibn Ezra labels as the "mystery of the twelve," specifically referring to Deut. 34:1–12 describing Moses' death and burial, was one of several cases in the text of the Pentateuch which suggest that the entire Torah cannot have been written by Moses. In his exegesis on Deut. 1:2, Ibn Ezra also lists the following verses among the "mysteries": Gen 12:6, Gen 22:14, Deut 3:11, and Deut. 31:22. This

Ibn Ezra said in his commentary: "If you grasp that secret, you will reach the degree of truth." [Rabbi] Judah even said: "If the Torah was revealed to Moses (peace be upon him) in its entirety, how, then, can the report that it contains of his death be correct? Thus it can be understood from this that [these verses] were written after the death of [Moses], peace be upon him, and that Joshua (peace be upon him) wrote them. [Rabbi] Shimon objected to this that if it is correct that Moses (peace be upon him) completed the Torah and ordered that it be preserved, how, then, can it be correct that Joshua (peace be upon him) added to it? Some say that [Rabbi] Shimon interpreted the law among them, and that his words are highly esteemed by them, so what Ibn Ezra mentions about there being a secret in it is not correct.[186] Others say: the basis of Ibn Ezra's saying is that this addition is

was later taken up in detail by Baruch Spinoza (d. 1677 CE) in chapter Eight of his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* (transl. S. Shirley, 162f.), although Spinoza's interpretation of Ibn Ezra's intention is evidently too far-reaching: "The words of Ezra in his commentary on Deuteronomy are as follows:— 'Beyond the Jordan, etc.' If you understand the mystery of the twelve, and also 'Moses wrote the Law,' and 'the Canaanite was then in the land,' 'it shall be revealed on the Mount of God,' and again 'Behold his bed, bed of iron,' then shall you know the truth." In these few words he gives a clear indication that it was not Moses who wrote the Pentateuch but someone else who lived long after him, and that it was a different book that Moses wrote. To make this clear, he draws attention to the following points. 1. The preface of Deuteronomy could not have been written by Moses, who did not cross the Jordan. 2. The Book of Moses was inscribed in its entirety on no more than the circumference of a single altar (Deut. ch. 27 and Joshua ch. 8 v. 30 etc), and this altar, according to the Rabbis, consisted of only twelve stones. From this it follows that the Book of Moses must have required far less space than the Pentateuch. This, I say, was what our author meant by his reference to 'the mystery of the twelve,' unless he was referring to the twelve curses in the aforementioned chapter of Deuteronomy. Perhaps he believed that these could not have been contained in Moses' Book of the Law, because Moses bids the Levites read out these curses in addition to the recital of the Law, so as to bind the people by oath to observe the recited laws. Or again he may have wished to draw attention to the last chapter of Deuteronomy concerning the death of Moses, a chapter consisting of twelve verses. But there is no need here to give closer scrutiny to these and other conjectures. 3. Deuteronomy ch. 31 v. 9 says, 'And Moses wrote the Law.' These words cannot be ascribed to Moses; they must be those of another writer narrating the deeds and writings of Moses. 4. In Genesis ch. 12 v. 6 when the narrative tells that Abraham journeyed through the land of Canaan, the historian adds, 'The Canaanite was then in the land,' thereby clearly excluding the time at which he was writing. So this passage must have been written after the death of Moses when the Canaanites had been driven out and no longer possessed those lands. In his commentary on this passage, Ibn Ezra makes the same point in these words:– 'And the Canaanite was then in the land.' It appears that Canaan (the grandson of Noah) took the land of Canaan which had been in the possession of another. If this is not the true meaning, some mystery lies here, and let him who understands it keep silent.' That is to say, if Canaan invaded the land, then the sense will be that the Canaanite was already in the land, as opposed to some past time when the land was inhabited by another nation. But if Canaan was the first to settle in that region (as follows from Gen. ch. 10), then the words are intended to exclude the present time, that is, the time of the author. This could not be Moses, in whose time the land was still possessed by the Canaanites; and this is the mystery concerning which Ibn Ezra urges silence."

186. See *The Babylonian Talmud*, vol. 1, 15a: "Who wrote the Scriptures? ... The Master has said: Joshua wrote the book which bears his name and the last eight verses of the Pentateuch. This statement is in agreement with the authority who says that eight verses in the Torah were written by Joshua, as it has

not by Joshua, nor by any other prophet, but only occurred in the later generations, but they did not mention how this addition was [supposedly] implemented.

Part Four, on the Jews' defamation of the prophets

Among them is their attribution of a grave sin to Lot (peace be upon him) after the destruction of his people, despite the fact that they say that no grave sins can proceed from the prophets. This attribution, whatever it is, is mentioned in the fourth part of the first book.[187] Among them is that it has been mentioned that a grave sin is attributed to David (peace be upon him) in the tenth part of the first book.[188] Similar things are numerous, but we will not speak of them at length.
Finis.

been taught: [It is written], *So Moses the servant of the Lord dies there*. Now is it possible that Moses being dead would have written the words, 'Moses died there'? The truth is, however, that up to this point Moses wrote, from this point Joshua wrote. This is the opinion of R. Judah, or, according to others, of R. Nehemiah. Said R. Simeon to him: Can (we imagine the) scroll of the law being short of one letter, and is it not written, *Take this book of the Law*? No; what we must say is that up to this point the Holy One, blessed be He, dictated and Moses repeated and wrote, and from this point God dictated and Moses wrote with tears, as it says of another occasion. *The Baruch answered them, He pronounced all these words to me with his mouth, and I wrote them with ink in the book*. Which of these two authorities is followed in the rule laid down by R. Joshua b. Abba which he said in the name of R. Giddal who said it in the name of Rab: The last eight verses of the Torah must be read [in the Synagogue service] by one person alone? It follows R. Judah and not R. Simeon. I may even say, however, that it follows R. Simeon, [who would say that] since they differ [from the rest of the Torah] in one way, they differ in another." See also Israelsohn, "Les huit derniers versets du Pentateuch," 304–7.

187. Probably a reference to Gen. 19:30–38.

188. The reference given by the author is wrong as he evidently has the story of II Samuel 11–12 in mind.

Chapter Twenty
A Polemic against Judaism by a Convert to Islam from the Ottoman Period: *Risālat Ilzām al-Yahūd fīmā zaʿamū fī l-Tawrāt min qibal ʿilm al-kalām*

Camilla Adang

It is well known that many of the classical works of Muslim polemics against Christianity and Judaism were written by converts to Islam from these religions.[1] Among the Christian converts, the onetime Christian Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī (d. ca. 251/865) and the erstwhile friar Anselm de Turmeda, better known as ʿAbd Allāh al-Turǧumān (d. ca. 828/1424) come to mind; former Jews who attacked the religion of their ancestors include Samawʾal al-Maġribī (d. 570/1175), Saʿīd b. Ḥasan of Alexandria (wrote 720/1320), ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Islāmī (wrote ca. 798/1395), and the unknown author of the tract *Taʾyīd al-milla*, who probably wrote in the fourteenth century CE. All these authors, several of whom open or conclude their tracts with more or less detailed accounts of the circumstances of their conversion, have been studied extensively in modern scholarship, and I shall not, therefore, go into the details of their argumentation against the faith they abandoned.[2] Suffice it to say that converts from both faiths used the standard arguments of Muslim polemics against the religions of the Book, namely, that the sacred scriptures

1. The tract translated in the present contribution is held in the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul (MS Fatih 2994), where I was able to consult it in August 2006. I wish to thank the Turkish Ministry of Culture and the then director of the Süleymaniye, Dr. Nevzet Kaya, for permission to use the manuscript, which appears to be a unicum. For a critical edition of the tract, see chapter 21 in the present volume. The tract is also discussed in a recent PhD dissertation submitted to Boğaziçi University which was not accessible to me. See Ağlar, "Yahudi Mühtediler."

2. See, e.g., Ibn Rabban, *al-Radd ʿalā l-Naṣārā*; Thomas, "ʿAlī ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī"; Epalza, *Fray Anselm Turmeda*; Samawʾal al-Maġribī, *Ifhām al-Yahūd*; Samawʾal al-Maghribī's (d. 570/1175) "*Ifḥām al-Yahūd*"; Stroumsa, "On Jewish Intellectuals"; Weston, "The Kitâb Masâlik an-Naẓar"; Perlmann, "ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ al-Islāmī"; ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Islāmī, *al-Sayf al-mamdūd*; Kassin, "Fourteenth-Century Polemical Treatise."

of Judaism and Christianity have been abrogated, that the meaning or the text of these scriptures has been distorted, and that annunciations of the Prophet Muḥammad can be encountered in the scriptures.[3] The same arguments may be found in a number of less well-known tracts by converts to Islam from the Ottoman period, which until recently were available in manuscript form only. In the present contribution, I shall present one such text in translation. Its title, or perhaps description, which is very casually penned on the flyleaf, is *Risālat Ilzām al-Yahūd fīmā zaʿamū fī l-Tawrāt min qibal ʿilm al-kalām,* which may be translated as "Epistle forcing the Jews [to admit their error] with regard to what they contend about the Torah, by dialectical reasoning." The author introduces himself as Salām ʿAbd al-ʿAllām and describes himself as well versed in the Jewish scriptures, a claim not borne out by the tract, as will be seen.[4] He explains that it was the very Torah which made him see the light, as it contains ample proof of the truth of Islam. He dedicates his tract to the Ottoman sultan Bāyazīd II (r. 886/1481–918/1512), during whose reign his conversion took place. The epistle contains no additional autobiographical information, so that we know nothing about the author's profession or whereabouts. I do not share the view of Joseph Sadan, who in an article published in 1990 first described the text and argued that it was not at all composed by a Jewish convert to Islam but rather by a Muslim author, or perhaps more than one, who obtained the biblical passages quoted in the tract from a converted Jew.[5] In Sadan's view, the only part that Salām ʿAbd al-ʿAllām (if that really was his name) had in the composition of the tract was providing these biblical passages in a very sloppy transliteration from the Hebrew, heavily influenced by Ottoman Turkish orthography and pronunciation, which shows that far from being an intellectual, he was rather a wretched, ignorant, semi-illiterate individual whose mangled Hebrew and Arabic contributed to the overall wretched quality of the tract. While I agree with Sadan that the tract is not very sophisticated, especially compared to the detailed polemic against Judaism by the putative author's near-contemporary, the native Muslim Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā Ṭāškubrīzāde (d. 968/1561),[6] I am not persuaded by his theory, mainly because the text under study was not the only tract attributed to a Jewish convert from roughly the same period in which Hebrew passages appear in Arabic transliteration. It is not likely that several Muslim scholars independently of each other decided to write

3. In general, on the main themes and representatives of Muslim polemics against Judaism and Christianity, see Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur*; Perlmann, "Medieval Polemics"; Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds*; Adang, *Muslim Writers*.

4. The claim to belong to the Jewish or Christian religious or intellectual elite is often made in conversion accounts, and while it may be true in some cases, it comes across as a topos in this particular case.

5. Sadan, "Convert in the Service", and Sadan, "Naïveté, Verses of Holy Writ, and Polemics, which is a somewhat revised English version of the first article.

6. *Risāla fī l-radd ʿalā l-Yahūd*; for an edition and translation of this tract, based on five manuscripts, see Adang and Schmidtke, "Ṭāshkubrīzāde's Polemical Tract" [chapter 19 in the present volume].

under the pretense of being former Jews and enlisted real converts to supply them with the biblical materials with which they hoped to lend their tracts a semblance of authenticity. The two additional tracts are *al-Risāla al-Hādiya*, written in Arabic by a certain ʿAbd al-Salām al-Muhtadī al-Muḥammadī and likewise composed during the reign of Bayazid II,[7] and the Ottoman Turkish treatise *Kašf al-asrār* by Yūsuf b. Abī (ʿAbd) al-Dayyān, which apparently dates from the early eleventh/seventeenth century.[8]

In the following translation, no attempt has been made to reproduce the rhymed prose that characterizes parts of the tract and at times results in awkward sentences (though it should immediately be added that convoluted sentences and mixed constructions prevail throughout the text, even when there is no rhyme). The folios of the manuscript are indicated in square brackets.

Translation of the Tract

[1a] Epistle forcing the Jews [to admit their error] with regard to what they contend about the Torah, by dialectical reasoning

[1b] In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful

"Praise be to God who has guided us hither; we would not have been [rightly] guided had not God guided us; verily the messengers of our Lord did bring the truth!"[9] And prayer be upon the one who has directed us to the right way, on which the scholars of his nation are on an equal footing with the prophets of the Children of Israel:[10] Muḥammad, whom He sent with guidance and the religion of truth, in order to render him victorious over all religion that came before; and [prayer be] upon his family, his companions, the successors, and the ones who followed them in their charitable behavior, until Judgment Day.

Now then, al-Salām [2a] ʿAbd al-ʿAllām, may God forgive him, who desires God's help, says: At the time when God, exalted is He, guided me to the religion of Islam, and my heart was joined to the believers, turning away from unbelief and sins, I belonged to the Children of Israel and the body of their religious scholars, perusing the verses of their book and their traditions. Already the light and the pure guidance to the truth of the prophethood of Muḥammad the Chosen One, God bless him and grant him peace, had set my eyes aglow and lit up my mind; the light shining from the niche of the verses of

7. For an edition of the text, based on five manuscripts, see Schmidtke, "*Rightly Guiding Epistle*" [chapter 17 in the present volume].

8. For this text, see Pfeiffer, "Confessional polarization in the 18th-century Ottoman Empire."

9. Q 7:43. This passage is also used by other converts, for obvious reasons. The author gives evidence of familiarity with the Qurʾān at various instances in the tract.

10. This is reminiscent of the saying, attributed to the Prophet Muhammad, that the scholars are the heirs of the prophets: *al-ʿulamāʾ waraṯat al-anbiyāʾ*. It appears in most of the canonical *ḥadīṯ* collections, e.g., al-Buḫārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1/29 (*Kitāb al-ʿilm, Bāb al-ʿilm qabla al-qawl wa-l-ʿamal*).

the Torah,[11] even after they had distorted[12] what was patently clear, evident, and obvious, and had studiously extracted, from some of its verses and words, [passages] which they claim point to the eternal validity of the religion [2b] of Moses, peace be upon him, and which they assume indicate that revelation had ended with [the Torah] and that the heavenly scripture ceased [to be sent down] after it; they believed they were right, but [in fact] they were disputing what they [themselves] were saying, going astray and leading many astray, but only wrongdoing folk are misguided by it.[13]

Now, after my discussions and arguments with the scholars of the Children of Israel concerning their use of the contents of the verses with which they argue for the eternal validity [of the Torah], the verses of the Torah [in fact] came to guide and direct me—with the assistance of the Helpful God—to the absolute truth, and the light of its words became a lamp which allowed me to see, in the darkness of unbelief, the luminous path of religion. As God [3a], exalted is He, says in His glorious book, which provides the criterion and the proof: "We gave unto Moses the Scripture, and We appointed it a guidance for the Children of Israel,"[14] and God be praised for the religion of Islam in its beautiful excellence.

With the assistance of God, exalted is He, I have extracted nine clear verses from the Torah, in accordance with God's saying, "And verily We gave unto Moses nine tokens."[15] Five of them confirm the prophethood of Muḥammad, God bless him and grant him peace, while the remaining four invalidate their argument for the eternal validity of the religion of Moses, peace be upon him, and for the cessation of divine inspiration and revelation [3b] after it.

Now, when I was rightly guided to receive this supreme happiness, and I became aware of that greatest nobility, in the shadow of a sultan who has strengthened Islam and the Muslims and planted the banners of knowledge among the believers, and with his power defeated the remaining opponents of the religion, the prosperity of whose empire made the glory of the religion of Islam triumph over all men, the commander of the believers and protector of the Muslims, the ruler of rulers and proof of sovereigns,

11. The author uses the word *miškāh*, meaning, according to Lane, "*a niche in a wall*; i.e., *a hole*, or *hollow, in a wall, not extending through*; in which a lamp, placed therein, gives more light than it does elsewhere"; see Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, s.v. شكو and شكى. In the present context, the abrogated and misinterpreted or distorted Torah is the dark niche from which the verses testifying to Muḥammad radiate. The word *miškāh* also occurs in the famous "light verse" in the Qurʾān (Q 24:35).

12. *Baʿda an ḥarrafū*. The charge of *taḥrīf*, distortion of the scriptures, which occupies a central place in many Muslim polemical tracts, is hardly touched upon by Salām ʿAbd al-ʿAllām. It would seem that he adhered to the view that only the interpretation of the Jewish scriptures had been altered (*taḥrīf al-maʿnā*), as opposed to the text (*taḥrīf al-naṣṣ*).

13. Cf. Q 5:77 a.o.

14. Q 17:2.

15. Q 17:101. As is well known, the Arabic word *āya* means verse as well as token, sign, or miracle.

administrator of water and earth, the ruler who fights in the way of God, who subdues the unbelievers with the sword of God, and who enjoys His support, the sultan, son of the sultan, [4a] Sultan Bāyazīd b. Muḥammad Khān, may God make his rule last to assist the religion of truth and support his helpers and partisans to strengthen the clear revealed law, [when I was thus guided,] I undertook, after fulfilling my religious duties and requirements, and after my prayers, to make a supplication for the continuance of his shadow, and I have presented these words to the representative of his sublime porte, hoping that God may elevate my rank, expecting kindness and consideration on the part of the servants of the elevated see. Perhaps God will guide me to the path of truth and reason, and will render it a means to attain a recompense and a reward. To Him is the recourse and the return.

[4b] Now, as for the five verses that furnish proof for the prophethood of Muḥammad, God bless him and grant him peace, the **first** one is the saying of the Exalted in the Torah, *Ki-yaqum bakirbaḳah nabī aw hūlam ḥalum wanatan ilayḥah ūṯ aw mūfaṯ wa-amarah laqā wanaʿbuda alūhīm aḥarīm lā tismaʿ al dibray hanabī hahū umaṯ*,[16] which means (in the language of the Arabs): "If there arise among you a prophet or a seer of visions, and he gives you proof or evidence, and he orders you 'Come, let us worship another god,' do not listen to the words of that [5a] prophet, but kill him."

The **second** one is the Almighty's saying in the Torah, *Hanabī ašar yadabar bismī alaw tismʿūn*,[17] the meaning of which (in the language of the Arabs) is: "The prophet who shall speak in my name, listen to him." When this verse is combined with the first one, what is [in fact] implied by the words is, "If there arise among you a prophet, and he gives you proof or evidence and speaks in my name, listen to him," that is, "obey him."

Know that these two verses [taken together] prove the obligation to obey the laws of Muḥammad and Jesus, peace be upon both of them, and to accept their respective prophetic missions, because the conditions [5b] mentioned in the two verses, viz. producing the proof and the evidence and speaking in the name of God, exalted is He, that is, preaching the oneness of God (*tawḥīd*), are fulfilled and exist in both [Muḥammad and Jesus], peace be upon both of them.

If it is said [by the Jews]: How does one know that these conditions obtain with regard to Muḥammad and Jesus, peace be upon both of them? **We say**: as for speaking in the name of God, exalted is He—which means preaching God's oneness—and producing the proof and evidence that reside in miracles: it is known through uninterrupted and

16. Cf. Deut. 13:1–5. See chapter 21 in the present volume, containing an edition of the tract, for the original biblical passages in Hebrew and their often impressionistic translation and transliteration into Arabic characters, which is discussed by Sadan in "Convert in the Service" and "Naïveté, Verses of Holy Writ, and Polemics." In the manuscript a word-by-word translation of the Hebrew is provided between the lines in what seems to be a different hand.

17. Deut. 18:18f.

widespread transmission (*tawātur*) that these conditions [indeed] reside in both of them, peace be upon both of them.

As far as we [Muslims] are concerned, the only way to establish the truth of the miracles of the prophets, peace be upon them [6a], and most of their circumstances is through *tawātur*, and when God, exalted is He, designates that prophet in the Torah in general terms, without attaching the condition that he should rule according to the religion of Moses, peace be upon him, the duty of the Children of Israel to obey the one who claims prophethood, such as Jesus and Muḥammad, peace be upon both of them, is established.

The **third** [of these verses] is *Wa lā qam nabī ʿūd ka-Mūsā bi-Isrāʾil*, which means: "No prophet arose, and none will arise like unto Moses from among the Children of Israel."[18]

The **fourth** of them is God's saying, exalted is He, in the Torah [6b], *Nabī akim lahum mikarab ahīḫam qamūḫam wa-natatī dabaray bafīw wa-hayah haʾīš ašar lā yasmaʿ al dibray hanabī hahū anuḫī adrūš maʿimū*.[19] (In Arabic) this means: "I will raise up a prophet for them from among their brethren like unto you [Moses], and I will give my words into his mouth, so that they may obey him, and the man who does not listen to the words of that prophet will be held accountable by Me." These two verses demonstrate the duty to obey the Law (*šarīʿa*) of Muḥammad and to accept his prophethood, peace be upon him [7a], in particular, for if not, a contradiction between these two verses must be admitted [by them], because the first verse is taken [by them] to mean that the like of Moses, peace be upon him, has not arisen and will not arise from among the Children of Israel, whereas what [they] understand from the second verse is that someone like Moses, peace be upon him, *will* arise from among the Children of Israel, which inevitably results in a contradiction—and the words of the Creator are far beyond and above what the evildoers say [and] far above contradiction—because according to the contention of the Jewish scholars, what is meant by "brother" in the second verse, where it says "from among their brethren," is a brother in the metaphorical sense (*al-aḫ al-maǧāzī*), that is, a brother in religion, so [7b] he would then be an Israelite as well, and this implies a contradiction [as I shall explain presently].[20]

18. Cf. Deut. 34:10. The words "and none will arise" do not appear in the biblical text.

19. Cf. Deut. 18:18f. The words "so that they may obey him" do not appear in the biblical text.

20. In order to make better sense of the author's garbled account, it might be useful to take a look at the way in which the same passage, Deut. 18:18, is discussed by Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889) in his *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*: "Among his signs in the Torah is that God says [...] to Moses, in the fifth book, 'I will raise up for the Children of Israel a prophet from among their brethren like you, and I will put my words in his mouth.' Now, who are these 'brethren' of the Israelites if not the descendants of Ishmael? In the same way, one would say: Bakr and Taġlib are both sons of Wāʾil, hence Taġlib is Bakr's brother, and the descendants of Taġlib are the brethren of the descendants of Bakr. This goes back to the fact that the two fathers are brothers. And if they say that this prophet whom God promised to raise up for them is himself from among the Israelites, the Torah proves them to be liars, and sound reasoning also proves them wrong, for it is said in the Torah that 'There arose not a prophet from among the Israelites like Moses,'

This saying of theirs, that is, that the word "brother" is to be taken in the metaphorical sense [as a brother in religion], is to be rejected, because it is obligatory to take the texts in their literal sense as long as there is no necessity [to do otherwise], and there is no [such] necessity in this passage, because it is taken [by them] in its metaphorical sense *despite* the fact that Muḥammad, peace be upon him, was sent from among the children of their brethren, because he, peace be upon him, was from the children of Ishmael, and thus a real brother of the Children of Israel, for at the head of the family tree of the Children of Israel stands the prophet Isaac, peace be upon him, and the prophet Ishmael, peace be upon him, is really a brother of his.

If it is said [by the Jews] in denial of the contradiction that [8a] what is meant in the first verse is, "No one arose or will arise who is like Moses, peace be upon him, in every respect," that is, with regard to the revelation of the book and the precepts, whereas what is meant by the second verse is that someone *will* come from the Children of Israel who is like Moses, peace be upon him, in one respect, that is, with regard to the revelation of a book only, namely, the prophet David, peace be upon him, for in his book there are no precepts, so that the [charge of] contradiction is rejected, **we then say:** this harmonization [of the two verses] is void for two reasons. The **first** one is that it is not plausible that the one who is intended by "like unto you" in the second verse, where the Exalted says, "I will raise up a prophet for them from among their brethren like unto you," is the prophet David, peace be upon him, [8b] because it is certain that what is meant by [the phrase] "like unto you" is that this prophet should be like [Moses] in that he receives precepts, because the saying of the Exalted "so that they may obey" in the second verse demonstrates that he is a lawgiver, for obedience is constituted only by the acceptance of the precepts brought by this prophet, and David, peace be upon him, did not bring a single precept or commandment other than the precepts of the Torah.

The **second** [reason] is that the one who is meant by [the phrase] "from among their brethren" is a real brother [who will appear]. Now, the real brother of the Children of Israel is not himself part of the Children of Israel, because the possessive adjective[21] in the saying of the Exalted "from among their brethren" refers to the Children of Israel collectively, and isolating the word "brother" and attaching it to the possessive adjective of the collective indicates [9a] that "their brother" is one single person whereas they are the group, which is called Children of Israel. If it were not for this indication, the purport of the expression would be "from among the sons of their brethren," which would ex-

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and as for sound reasoning: if He had meant to say, 'I will raise up for them a prophet from among the Israelites, like Moses,' He would have said, 'I will raise up for them a prophet from among themselves, like Moses,' and not 'from among their brethren.' Similarly, when a man says to his messenger, 'Bring me a man from among the brethren of Bakr b. Wāʾil,' he should bring a man from among the Banī *Taġlib* b. Wāʾil, and not someone from the Banī *Bakr* b. Wāʾil." See Adang, *Muslim Writers*, 269.

21. Actually "the personal suffix," which applies in Hebrew and Arabic, but not in English.

clude the brother from [the group]. Now the prophet David, peace be upon him, was from among them, and it is therefore incorrect that he would be a real brother, for according to such a definition he should be included among them and excluded from them at the same time, and this is impossible, so that the contradiction is not removed [contrary to what the Jews state].

We [on the other hand] can solve the [apparent] contradiction by saying that what is meant by the first verse is that someone who is like Moses, peace be upon him, in that he receives the book [9b] and the precepts has not arisen and will not arise *from the Children of Israel*, and by the second [verse] that someone who is like Moses, peace be upon him, in that he receives the book and the precepts will arise from the *brethren* of the Children of Israel, and the Children of Israel do not have any true brother[s] except the children of Ishmael; now, the prophet who came from the children of Ishmael, upon whom the Book and the precepts were sent down, is none other than Muḥammad, prayer and peace be upon him. The contradiction is therefore solved, and it is obligatory to accept the prophethood of Muḥammad, peace be upon him.

If it should be said [by the Jews], Why could the one intended by [the phrase] "like unto you" in the second verse not be Jesus, peace be upon him, since Jesus, peace be upon him, [10a] was like Moses in that he received the scripture and the precepts, yet he was not [strictly speaking] from the Children of Israel, because he, peace be upon him, was not born of a father, and since the text, in the saying of the Exalted "from among your brethren," did not specify Muḥammad, peace be with him?[22]

We say: The expression "from among their brethren" does not warrant that [interpretation], because Jesus, peace be upon him, was [admittedly] not of the Children of Israel on the father's side, nor [did he descend] from a brother of the Israelites. On his mother's side, however, he was from the Children of Israel because he, peace be upon him, is known as the Messiah, son of Mary,[23] and Mary, may God be pleased with her, was the daughter [10b] of Amram the Israelite,[24] not of a brother of the Children of Israel, so it is not correct that the one intended by [the expression] "like unto you" is Jesus, peace be upon him, and therefore the one intended must be Muḥammad, peace be upon him. The structure of the first verse, in which the Almighty says, "No prophet arose, and none will arise like unto Moses from among the Children of Israel," also shows that he must come from others than the Children of Israel from among those who resemble Moses, peace be upon him. For God's saying "from among the Children of Israel" is a restrictive qualification, so this prophet is either Jesus or Muḥammad, peace be upon both of them. In this verse there is proof for the necessity [11a] of the coming of the message of Jesus and Muḥammad, peace be upon both of them.

22. This hardly seems like a question a Jew would ask.
23. *Al-masīḥ b. Maryam*: Q 5:17, 72, 75; 9:31; and cf. Q 3:45, 4:157, 171: *al-masīḥ ʿĪsā b. Maryam*.
24. See Q 66:12: *Maryam ibnat ʿImrān.*

The **fifth** [verse] is the saying of God, blessed and exalted is He, in the Torah, *Lā yāsur sabat mi-Yāhūday wa-muḥūkak mi-ban rağlaw ʿad kī yābā Sīlū wa-lū yiqḥaṭ ʿamīm*.[25] Its meaning (in the language of the Arabs) is: "The scepter shall not depart from Judah and the scepter of a powerful man who will come from between the feet of Judah will remain, until the one will come who has the scepter and unto whom the nations will gather."[26] Know that in this verse there are indications of five matters: the **first** [11b] is the Law of Moses, peace be upon him; the **second** the Law of Jesus, peace be upon him; the **third** the Law of Muḥammad, prayer and peace be upon him; the **fourth** the termination of the Laws of Moses and Jesus, peace be upon both of them, into the Law of Muḥammad, prayer and peace be upon him; and the **fifth** the fact that the Law of Muḥammad, peace and prayer be upon him, is for the entire human race, because this verse constitutes an account of what the prophet Jacob, peace be upon him, told his sons about the conditions at the end of time, saying, "the scepter," that is, the precepts, "shall not depart from [12a] Judah," which is an indication of the Law of Moses, peace be upon him. The saying of the Exalted, "the scepter," that is, the precepts, "of a powerful man who will come from between the feet of Judah will remain," contains an indication of the Law of Jesus, peace be upon him, because Jesus is descended from Judah on his mother's side, and his mother's delivery is likened to the feet of Judah because [Jesus] is not from his loins, but rather from between his feet; and the saying of the Exalted, "until the one will come who," that is, the man "who has the scepter," meaning, to whom the precepts have been granted, is an indication of the Law of Muḥammad, [12b] may God bless him and grant him peace, and of the termination of the two previous laws into this law, because the expression of the Exalted *ʿad* [in Hebrew] has the sense of "until," and "until" points to an end. And the words of the Exalted [in Hebrew] *wa-lū*, that is, "unto this man the nations will gather," point to the general validity of the Law of Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him peace, because the Law of Moses, peace be upon him, was given to the Children of Israel in particular, not to all the nations, so this verse points to the termination of the Law of Moses and [that] of Jesus, peace be upon both of them, into the Law of Muḥammad, peace be upon him, and to the general validity of the Law of Muḥammad, peace be upon him.

Know that the exegetes among the Jewish [13a] scholars interpreted this verse as follows: The scepter—that is, the precepts of Moses, peace be upon him—does not depart from [the descendants of] Judah, and the powerful man who will come from between the feet of Judah will remain, that is, remain under the rule of that law until the man will come to whom the rule will befall, that is, the Mahdī,[27] because the Mahdī, according to their contention, will come from among the sons of Judah [and will live] according to

25. Gen. 49:10. The fact that the author uses the term "scepter" three times, whereas in the Hebrew original it appears only once, rather complicates the following discussion.

26. Note that the translation is longer than the Hebrew quotation.

27. I.e., the Messiah.

the Law of Moses, peace be upon him. Their interpretation of this passage in this sense is void in two respects. The first one is that the expression "until" in the saying of the Exalted "until the man will come who has the scepter" [13b] points to the termination of the first law into the law of the man who possesses the scepter, i.e., the rule. This, then, must be the law of the one who possesses something that differs from the Law of Moses, peace be upon him, and it is inconceivable that the law of the one who possesses the scepter is the Law of Moses, peace be upon him. The second is that the saying of the Exalted "who has the scepter" points to the fact that this law is specific to the man who has the scepter, and if this law were the Law of Moses, peace be upon him, it would not be specific to the man who has the scepter, so it is necessary that this law be different from the Law of Moses, peace be upon him.

[14a] As for the four verses that they use as proof in claiming the eternal validity, that is, the eternal validity of the religion of Moses, peace be upon him, the **first** is the saying of the Exalted in the Torah. O Moses, *katub ha-šīrah haẓuf lafanaw wa-hayah kay timsanah ūtū raʿud rabūt wa-sarūt wa-ʿanatah ha-šīrah lafanaw kay lā tišqaḥ mi-fī ḍarʿū*.[28] Its meaning (in the language of the Arabs) is: "Write this Torah before the Children of Israel, and when it shall be thus, when [14b] many disasters and troubles will have been visited upon them, the Torah shall summon them, because the Torah shall not be forgotten from the mouths of their offspring."[29] They, that is, the Jewish scholars, use this verse as proof of the eternal validity of the religion of Moses, peace be upon him, and say: We must not obey anything other than the precepts of the Torah, for the saying of the Exalted that "the Torah shall not be forgotten from the mouths of their offspring" points to the eternal validity of the religion of Moses, peace be upon him, and to the eternal validity of the precepts of the Torah; that is, the denial that it will be forgotten from the mouths of their offspring proves that the Torah is constantly being mentioned by the mouths of their offspring, and if [15a] the Torah is being mentioned by the mouths of their offspring without forgetting [it] at any time, this can only mean that it is eternally valid.

This argument of theirs is not sound, because His saying, blessed and exalted is He, that "the Torah shall not be forgotten from the mouths of their offspring" is not a distinct precept that can be used to argue for eternal validity; rather, the imperative that is understood and the precept that is taught in this verse is the order to write down the Torah, so that it might be preserved by committing it to writing, being taught at the time of instruction, prevented from falling into oblivion, due to its having been written down, and by calling it out to each other in times of need. Whence, [15b] then, the obligation [to acknowledge] the eternal validity if it is possible that the meaning [of the verse] is that it will not be forgotten before the Torah will become abrogated?

28. Cf. Deut. 31:19, 21.

29. Note that where the Hebrew has šīra, song, i.e., the Song of Moses, the author of the tract speaks of the Torah.

The **second** one is the saying of the Exalted, *Lā bi-samayīm hī lāmur mī yaʿla lanū ha-samayīm wa-lā maʿabar ha-yam hī lāmur mī yaʿbarah lanū*.[30] The meaning of this verse (in the language of the Arabs) is: "Not in the heavens are the precepts so that you can order a person to climb to the heavens and bring them to us, and not beyond the sea are the precepts so that you can order someone to cross it and pass them on to us." They, that is, the Jewish scholars, argue on the basis of this verse for the eternal validity of the religion of Moses, peace be upon him, saying, [16a] "We must not obey anything apart from the precepts of the Torah," because the meaning of the verse, according to what they claim, is that there are no precepts in the heavens that you can order [people] to climb and bring to us from the heavens, and there are no precepts beyond the sea that you can order [people] to go and bring to us from across the sea, and it is therefore necessarily implied that neither in the heavens nor elsewhere are there any precepts, so the [existing] precepts are limited to those of the Torah, and therefore [their] eternal validity must be acknowledged.

This argumentation, too, is void, because the purport of the verse is that "the precepts of the Torah are extant among you, not far removed from you,"[31] [16b] and what the verse denies is that the *precepts of the Torah* are in the heavens and beyond the sea, not "the precepts" in an absolute sense, as is shown by the context, because the meaning of the preceding verse [is]: "O Children of Israel, worship your God according to the precepts of the Torah that were sent down to you, for you do not have any revealed precept from the Torah left in the heavens or beyond the sea." The fact that in the heavens there were no [more] Mosaic precepts revealed to the Children of Israel need not imply that that there were no precepts outside the Torah, because it is conceivable that the precepts from the Gospel and [17a] from the Furqān[32] were present in the heavens and were sent down in order to abrogate the precepts of the Torah, so that [its] eternal validity is not necessarily established.

The **third** of them is the saying of the Exalted in the Torah, *Qul ha-dabar ašar anūḫī maṣawiḫa lā tūṣīfū ʿalaw wa-lā taǧrʿū mimanū*, to the end of the verse.[33] The meaning of this verse (in the language of the Arabs), now, is: "Every commandment that I imposed on you, do not add to it and do not detract from it." The Jewish scholars argue on the basis of this verse for the eternal validity of the Law of Moses, peace be upon him, and say: God, exalted is He, ordered us not to add to the precepts of the Torah and not [17b] to detract from them, and this being the case, we shall not obey a law in which there is any addition to them or detraction from them, and we shall not obey the Laws of Muḥammad and Jesus, peace be upon both of them, because the additions to and detractions from the Law

30. Cf. Deut. 30:12f.
31. Cf. Deut. 30:11.
32. I.e., the Qurʾān.
33. Cf. Deut. 4:2.

of Moses, peace be upon him, that these two laws contain are obvious and in no need of [further] proof.

This argument, too, is void, because the verse does not preclude obedience to the Laws of Jesus and of Muḥammad, peace be upon both of them, because what is to be understood from this verse is that the commandment that Moses, peace be upon him, expressed and imposed [18a] on the Children of Israel by saying "Do not add" refers to quantity, not to quality; it is as if he had said, "Pray three times every day in the appointed manner, and do not add to this by saying, 'The mandatory prayers are four or two,' and do not associate this subtraction or addition with the Law of Moses, peace be upon him." As for the law that was brought by Jesus, peace be upon him, and the law that was brought by our master, our support and our prophet Muḥammad, may God bless him and grant him peace: they are not a commandment [18b] that Moses, peace be upon him, imposed upon his people so that they result in an addition or a subtraction in contravention of the [above] verse, and there is no indication in this verse from the Torah that they should not obey a distinct law brought by a prophet who is sent with the truth; it cannot be said of this distinct law that it constitutes an addition to or subtraction from that which Moses, peace be upon him, brought and imposed.

The **fourth** of them, that is, the fourth of the verses which, they claim, point to the eternal validity of the religion of Moses, peace be upon him, is the saying of God, blessed and exalted is He, in the Torah [19a], *Tūrah ṣiwah lanū Mūsā mūrašā kahilāt Yaʿqūb*.[34] The meaning of this verse (in the language of the Arabs) is: "The Torah that Moses, peace be upon him, imposed upon you is a legacy for the congregation of the prophet Jacob, peace be upon him." They, that is, the Jewish scholars, argue on the basis of this noble verse for the eternal validity of the religion of Moses, peace be upon him, and of his Law, saying that the religion of Moses, peace be upon him, is eternal, because [so they say] the verse points to the fact that the Torah [19b] is a legacy among the people of Moses, peace be upon him, and they are the congregation of the prophet Jacob, peace be upon him. This implies that the laws of the Torah cannot be detached from the people of Moses, peace be upon him, and from the impossibility of detaching the laws of the Torah from the people of Moses, peace be upon him, follows the eternal validity of the religion of Moses, peace be upon him, and the eternal validity of his Law.

This argumentation of theirs is also void, and [our] reply to it is [as follows]: The wording of the noble verse, that is, the saying of the Exalted that "the Torah is a legacy for the congregation of Jacob, peace be upon him" [20a]—meaning the people of Moses, peace be upon him—demonstrates that the Torah was given specifically to the congregation of the prophet Jacob, peace be upon him, and is not for the remaining nations. From the fact that the Torah is exclusively imposed upon the congregation of Jacob, peace be upon him, [to the exclusion of other nations] it does not inevitably follow that the con-

34. Deut. 33:4.

gregation of Jacob is exclusively beholden to the Torah [to the exclusion of other laws] so that they will not obey laws other than those in the Torah from among the heavenly books. If the meaning of the noble verse were as you claim [namely that the Torah cannot be separated from the people nor the people from the Torah], then the expression might [as well] run as follows: "The congregation of Jacob is a legacy for the Torah," that is [20b], [it is] exclusively committed to studying the precepts of the Torah. But it is not like that, and therefore it does not require that they not obey any laws apart from those in the Torah, such as those in the Gospel and the Furqān,[35] as is claimed by the refractory Jewish scholars, may God's curse be upon all of them.

As for the remainder of their proofs for the eternal validity of the religion of Moses, peace be upon him, which they claim are mentioned in the Torah, we shall not dwell on them at length by quoting them here, because they are all very weak, and I reckon them to be countless. They are like the house of the spider[36] [21a] and they have no answer to that except silence.

God is the one who grants success and guides to [true] belief. He is the one who bestows, and to Him we entrust our affairs. This book has been completed with the assistance of the Most Generous God. God bless our master Muḥammad and grant him peace, as well as his family and his companions all together. Praise be to God, Lord of the Worlds. The end.

35. The Qurʾān.

36. The reference is to Q 29:41, which, in M. M. Pickthall's translation, reads as follows: "The likeness of those who choose other patrons than God is as the likeness of the spider when she taketh unto herself a house, and lo! the frailest of all houses is the spider's house, if they but knew."

Chapter Twenty-One
Epistle Forcing the Jews [to Admit Their Error] with Regard to What They Contend about the Torah by Dialectical Reasoning (*Risālat Ilzām al-Yahūd fīmā zaʿamū fī l-Tawrāt min qibal ʿilm al-kalām*) by al-Salām ʿAbd al-ʿAllām: A Critical Edition[1]

Sabine Schmidtke

The Fatih Collection (now held in the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul) holds a manuscript of a tract entitled *Risālat ilzām al-Yahūd fīmā zaʿamū fī l-Tawrāt min qibal ʿilm al-kalām* by one al-Salām ʿAbd al-ʿAllām. The introduction of this tract contains a conversion account in the course of which the author refers to Bāyazīd II (r. 886/1481–918/1512) as the sultan ruling at the time of composition. The tract thus falls within a period in which a number of polemics against Judaism are known to have been composed by Ottoman Muslim authors. Mention should be made in particular of an epistle against Judaism by the prolific Ottoman scholar Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā Ṭāškubrīzāde (d. 968/1561)[2] and *al-Risāla*

1. The present writer expresses her gratitude to Nevzet Kaya, the former director of the Süleymaniye Library (Istanbul), and his staff for granting access to the manuscript and for permission to publish the edition. For a translation of this tract into English together with a brief analysis and further references, see Adang, "Polemic against Judaism" [chapter 20 in the present volume]. The tract is also discussed in a recent PhD dissertation submitted to Boğaziçi University which was not accessible to me. See Ağlar, "Yahudi Mühtediler."

2. For an *editio princeps* of the tract with an annotated translation, see Schmidtke and Adang, "Ṭāshkubrizāde's Polemical Tract" [chapter 19 in the present volume].

al-Hādiya by a certain ʿAbd al-Salām al-Muhtadī al-Muḥammadī,[3] both of which were evidently more popular than the text that is dealt with here.

The following *editio princeps* of al-Salām ʿAbd al-ʿAllām's tract is based on the single extant manuscript of the text, MS Fatih 2994 (22 ff., nine lines to a page), which is undated. It is unclear, therefore, whether it is an autograph or a later copy of the text. The orthography has been silently modernized, e.g., صلاة for صلوة. The various abbreviations used in most of the manuscripts, such as تع for تعالى, ع م for عليه السلام, ظ / الظ for ظاهر / الظاهر, ح for حينئذ, ايض for أيضاً, and بط for باطل, were not specifically mentioned in the footnotes. In addition to the Arabic translations of the biblical quotations in Arabic transliteration that are part of the text, a later reader of the manuscript has added interlinear translations and explanations to some the Hebrew words. These are mentioned in the footnotes.

رسالة إلزام اليهود فيما زعموا في التوراة من قبل علم الكلام

[1ب] بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا وما كنّا لنهتدي لولا أن هدانا الله. لقد جاءت رسل ربنا بالحق والصلاة على من أرشدنا إلى سواء السبيل، الموازي علماء أمته لأنبياء بني إسرائيل، محمد الذي أرسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كلّه فيما سبق، وعلى آله وأصحابه التابعين والذين اتبعوهم بإحسان إلى يوم الدين.

وبعد، فيقول الفقير إلى الله السلام [2أ] عبد العلّام عفا الله عنه: إن الله تعالى لما هداني إلى دين الإسلام، وألف قلبي مع أهل الإيمان معرضاً عن الكفر والآثام، إذ كنت من بني إسرائيل وزمرة أحبارهم، مطّلعاً على آيات كتابهم وأخبارهم، وقد لمع على عين بصيرتي، وسطع في أبصار سريرتي، نور وهدى بالصفا، إلى حقية نبوة محمد المصطفى، صلى الله عليه وسلم من مشكاة آيات التوراة بعد أن حرّفوا ما كان صريحاً بيّناً، وبياناً متيناً مبيّناً، واستخرجوا من بعض آياتها وكلماتها بالاهتمام، ما يدل بزعمهم على تأبيد دين [2ب] موسى عليه السلام، وظنوا أن فيها الإشارة إلى انقطاع الوحي عندها، والكتاب السماوي بعدها، وحسبوا أنهم على شيء إلا أنهم في مرية مما يقولون، فضلّوا وأضلّوا كثيراً وما يضلّ به إلا القوم الفاسقون. فبعد المحاورات والمشاجرات مع علماء بني إسرائيل على حسب اصطلاحاتهم في مضامين الآيات التي استدلوا بها على التأبيد صارت آيات التوراة هدىً لي بعون الله المعين، وإرشاداً إلى الحق اليقين، وأنوار كلماتها مصباحاً أبصرتُ به في ظلمة الكفر طريق الدين المستبين. كما قال الله [3أ] تعالى في الكتاب المجيد الفرقاني الدليل ﴿وَأَتَيْنَا مُوسَى الْكِتَابَ وَجَعَلْنَاهُ هُدىً لِبَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ﴾،[i] والحمد لله على دين الإسلام بفضله الجميل.

فاستخرجتُ بتأييد الله تعالى من آيات التوراة تسع آيات بيّنات، موافقاً لما قال الله تعالى ﴿وَلَقَدْ أَتَيْنَا مُوسَى تِسْعَ آيَاتٍ﴾،[ii] أما الخمس منها ففي إثبات نبوة محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم، وأما الأربع ففي بطلان استدلالهم على تأبيد دين موسى عليه السلام وانقطاع الوحي والتنزيل [3ب] بعدها. ولما وقعت هدايتي إلى نيل هذه السعادة العظمى، وإصابتي لإدراك تلك الكرامة الكبرى، في ظل سلطان أعزّ الإسلام والمسلمين، ونصب أعلام العلم بين المؤمنين، وقهر بسطوته آثار المعاندين في الدين، وظهر بيمن دولته شرف دين الإسلام على كافة العالمين، أمير المؤمنين وناصر المسلمين، سلطان السلاطين وبرهان الخواقين، قهرمان الماء والطين، السلطان المجاهد في سبيل الله تعالى، قامع الكفرة بسيف الله، المؤيد من عند الله، السلطان ابن السلطان، [4أ] سلطان بايزيد بن محمد خان، خلد الله لتأييد دين الحق سلطانه، وأيّد لتأييد الشرع المبين أنصاره وأعوانه.

فأوجبتُ بعد أداء الفرائض والواجبات، دعاء دوام ظله عقيب الصلوات، وأهديت إلى نواب بابه الأعلى هذه الكلمات، راجياً من الله رفع

3. For an *editio princeps* of this tract, see Schmidtke, "*Rightly Guiding Epistle*" [chapter 17 in the present volume]. For an analysis and translation, see Adang, "Guided to Islam by the Torah" [chapter 18 in the present volume].

الدرجات، آملاً من خدام السدة الرفيعة الرحمة والالتفات، لعلّ الله يهديني إلى سبيل الحقّ والصواب، وبجعله وسيلة للفوز بالأجر والثواب، وإليه المرجع والمآب.

[4ب] أما الأيات الخمس التي تدل على نبوة محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم، فأولاها[4] قوله تعالى في التوراة: يَكْ يَقُمْ بَكِرْبَخَهْ نَبِي أُو هُولَمْ حَلُمْ وَنَتَنْ اليَخَهْ أُوتْ أُو مُوفَتْ وَامَرَهْ لَقَا وَنَعْبُدَ اَلُوهِيمْ اَحَرِيمْ لاَ تِسْمَعْ اَلْ دِبْرَيْ هَنَبِي هَهُو أُومَتْ.[iii] ومعناه على لغة العرب {إذا قام بينكم نبي أو رائي رؤيا ويعطيكم دليلاً أو برهاناً ويأمركم بأن ائتوا لنعبد إلهاً آخر لا تسمعوا كلمات ذلك [5أ] النبي بل هلكوه}.

وثانيها قوله تعالى في التوراة: هَنَبِي اَشَرْ يَدَبَرْ بِسْمِي اَلَوْ تِسْمعُونْ.[iv] ومعناه على لغة العرب {النبي الذي يتكلم باسمي فاستمعوا له}. ولما كان هذه الآية معطوفة على الآية الأولى كان تقدير الكلام: وإذا قام بينكم نبي ويعطيكم دليلاً أو برهاناً ويتكلم باسمي فاستمعوا له، أي أطيعوه.

اعلم أن هاتين الآيتين تدلان على وجوب إطاعة شريعة محمد وعيسى عليهما السلام وقبول نبوتهما، لأن الشرائط [5ب] المذكورة في الآيتين، وهي إتيان الدليل والبرهان والتكلم باسم الله تعالى، أي الإخبار عن التوحيد، متحققةٌ وموجودةٌ فيهما عليهما السلام.

فإن قيل: من أين يُعلم ثبوت هذه الشرائط في محمد وعيسى عليهما السلام؟ قلنا: إن التكلم باسم الله تعالى، وهو الإخبار عن التوحيد وإتيان الدلائل والبراهين التي تكون بالمعجزات، معلومٌ بالتواتر بأن هذه الشرائط موجودة فيهما عليهما السلام. فإن طريق العلم بثبوت المعجزات للأنبياء عليهم السلام [6أ] وأكثر أحوالهم بالنسبة إلينا ليس إلا بالتواتر، وحيث أطلق الله تعالى في التوراة النبي الموصوف بتلك الأوصاف ولم يقيد بكونه متديناً بدين موسى عليه السلام فثبت بذلك وجوب إطاعة بني اسرائيل لمن ادّعى النبوة كعيسى ومحمد عليهما السلام.

وثالثها قوله تعالى في التوراة: وَلاَ قَمْ نَبِي عُودْ كَمُوسَى بِاِسْرَائِلْ.[v] ومعناه: {ما قام نبي ولا يقوم كموسى من بني إسرائيل}. ورابعها قوله تعالى في التوراة: [6ب] نَبِي اَكِمْ لَهَمْ مِكَرَبْ اَهِيحَمْ قَمُوخَمْ وَنَتَتِي دبَرَيْ بَفِيوْ وَهَيَهْ هَيْشْ اَشَرْ لاَ يَسْمَعْ اَلْ دِبْرَيْ هَنَبِي هَهُو اَنُخِي اَدْرُوشْ مَعِمُو.[vi] ومعناه في لغة العرب: {أقيم نبياً لهم من بين أخيهم مثلك وأعطي كلماتي بفيه ليطيعوه ويكون الرجل الذي لا يسمع كلمات ذلك النبي مؤاخذاً مني}. وهاتان الآيتان تدلان على وجوب إطاعة شريعة محمد وقبول نبوته عليه السلام [7أ] بطريق الخصوص، إذ لولا ذلك لزم التناقض بين الآيتين، لأن المفهوم من الآية الأولى أن مثل موسى عليه السلام ما قام ولا يقوم من بني إسرائيل، والمفهوم من الآية الثانية أن مثل موسى عليه السلام يقوم من بني اسرائيل فيلزم التناقض، وكلام البارىء منزه متعال عما يقول الظالمون علواً كبيراً عن التناقض لأن المراد من الأخ على زعم علماء اليهود في الآية الثانية في قوله {من بين أخيهم} الأخ المجازي يعني الأخوة في الدين فيكون [7ب] حينئذ من بني إسرائيل فيلزم التناقض. وهذا القول منهم، يعني حملهم الأخ على المعنى المجازي، مردود لأن حمل النصوص على ظاهرها واجب ما لم توجد فيه الضرورة، ولا ضرورة في هذا المقام لأن يحمل على المعنى المجازي مع أن محمد عليه السلام قد بعث من بين بني أخيهم لأنه عليه السلام من بني إسماعيل، وهو أخ حقيقي لبني إسرائيل، لأن مبدأ بني إسرائيل هو إسحاق النبي عليه السلام وإسماعيل النبي عليه السلام أخ له حقيقةً.

فإن قيل في دفع التناقض بأن [8أ] المراد من الآية الأولى: {ما قام ولا يقوم مثل موسى عليه السلام} في جميع الجهات، يعني في نزول الكتاب والأحكام، ومن الآية الثانية أن {مثل موسى عليه السلام} يأتي من بني إسرائيل في بعض الجهات، يعني في نزول الكتاب فقط، وهو داود النبي عليه السلام إذ ليس في كتابه أحكام فاندفع التناقض، فنقول: ذلك التطبيق باطل من وجهين، الأول أنه لا يصلح أن يكون المراد من {مثلك} في الآية الثانية في قوله تعالى {أقيم نبياً لهم من بين أخيهم مثلك} داود النبي عليه السلام [8ب] لأن المراد من {مثلك}: لا بد أن يكون ذلك النبي مثله في نزول الأحكام لأن قوله تعالى {ليطيعوا} في الآية الثانية يدل على أن يكون صاحب الأحكام لأن الإطاعة لا تكون إلا في مقابلة الأحكام التي جاء بها ذلك النبي، وداود عليه السلام لم يؤت بحكم وأمر غير أحكام التوراة. والثاني أن المراد {من بين أخيهم} هو الأخ حقيقةً، والأخ الحقيقي لبني إسرائيل خارج عن بني إسرائيل لأن الضمير في قوله تعالى {من بين أخيهم} راجع إلى بني إسرائيل بأسرهم، وإفراد لفظ الأخ وإضافته إلى ضمير الجميع تشعر [9أ] بأن أخاهم هو شخص واحد وهم الجماعة التي سميت ببني إسرائيل. فلولا ذلك الإشعار لكان شأن العبارة أن يقول: من بين بني إخوانهم، فيكون الأخ خارجاً عنهم، وداود النبي عليه السلام منهم، فلا يصح أن يكون أخاً حقيقياً إذ على ذلك التقدير يلزم أن يكون داخلاً فيهم وخارجاً عنهم معاً، وهو محال فلا يندفع التناقض. ويمكن دفع التناقض بأن نقول: إن المراد من الآية الأولى أن مثل موسى عليه السلام في نزول الكتاب [9ب] والأحكام ما قام ولا يقوم من بني إسرائيل، ومن الثانية أن مثل موسى عليه السلام في نزول الكتاب والأحكام يقوم من أخي بني إسرائيل، وليس أخاً حقيقةً لبني إسرائيل إلا بنو إسماعيل فالنبي الذي جاء من بني إسماعيل ونزل

4. فأولاها: فاوليها.

عليه الكتاب والأحكام ما هو إلا محمد عليه الصلاة والسلام. فاندفع التناقض فوجب قبول نبوة محمد عليه السلام.

فإن قيل: لم لا يجوز أن يكون المراد من {مثلك} في الآية الثانية عيسى عليه السلام لأن عيسى عليه السلام [10أ] مثل موسى عليه السلام في نزول الكتاب والأحكام مع أنه ليس من بني إسرائيل لأنه عليه السلام لم يولد من الأب ولا يكون النص على اختصاص قوله تعالى {من بين أخيهم} محمداً عليه السلام، قلنا: لا تتحمل على ذلك عبارة {من بين أخيهم} لأن عيسى عليه السلام من جهة الأب ليس من بني إسرائيل ولا من أخ لبني إسرائيل، وأما من جهة الأم فهو من بني إسرائيل لأنه عليه السلام يُعرف بالمسيح بن مريم، ومريم رضي الله عنها بنت [10ب] عمران الإسرائيلي لا من أخ بني إسرائيل، فلا يصح أن يكون المراد من {مثلك} عيسى عليه السلام، فتعيّن أن يكون المراد محمداً عليه السلام. ويدل أيضاً عبارة الآية الأولى بقوله تعالى {ما قام نبي ولا يقوم كموسى من بني إسرائيل} على وجوب مجيئه من غير بني إسرائيل ممن يماثل موسى عليه السلام، لأن قوله تعالى {من بني إسرائيل} قيد احترازي، فذلك النبي إما عيسى وإما محمد عليهما السلام. ففي الآية دلالة على وجوب [11أ] مجيء رسالة عيسى ومحمد عليهما السلام.

وخامسها قوله تبارك وتعالى في التوراة: لاَ يَاسُرْ سَبَتْ مِيَهُودَي وَمُحُوكَكْ مِبَنْ رَجْلَوْ عَدْ كِي يَابَا سِيلُو وَلُو يِقْحَط عَمِيمْ.[vii] ومعناه على لغة العرب: {لا يزال عصا من يهودا[5] ولا يزال عصا[6] رجل عظيم الشأن الذي يخرج من بين أرجل يهودا[7] حتى يجيء الذي له العصا وإليه تجمع الأمم}. اعلم أن في هذه الآية دلالة على خمسة أمور، الأولى [11ب] على شريعة موسى عليه السلام، والثانية على شريعة عيسى عليه السلام، والثالثة على شريعة محمد عليه الصلاة والسلام، والرابعة على انتهاء شريعة موسى وعيسى عليهما السلام إلى شريعة محمد عليه الصلاة والسلام، والخامسة على كون شريعة محمد عليه الصلاة والسلام على كافة الأنام لأن هذه الآية حكاية عن إخبار يعقوب النبي عليه السلام على أبنائه عن أحوال آخر الزمان بقوله: {لا يزال عصا} أي أحكام {من [12أ] يهودا[8]} وهو إشارة إلى شريعة موسى عليه السلام، وبقوله تعالى {لا يزال عصا[9]} أي أحكام {رجل عظيم الشأن الذي يخرج من بين أرجل يهودا[10]} هو إشارة إلى شريعة عيسى عليه السلام لأن نسبة عيسى عليه السلام إلى اليهودا[11] من جهة أمه، فشُبّهت أولاد[12] أمه بأرجل يهودا[13] لأنه ليس من ظهره، بل من بين أرجله، وبقوله تعالى {حتى يجيء الذي} أي الرجل {الذي له عصا[14]} يعني يختص له الأحكام، وهو إشارة إلى شريعة محمد [12ب] صلى الله عليه وسلم وانتهاء الشريعتين الأوليين إلى هذه الشريعة لأن قوله تعالى عَدْ [עַד] بمعنى {حتى}، و{حتى} يدل على الانتهاء. وقوله تعالى: ولو [וְלוֹ] أي لهذا الرجل {تجمع الأمم} يدل على عموم شريعة محمد عليه الصلاة والسلام لأن شريعة موسى عليه السلام تختص ببني إسرائيل لا كل الأمم، فهذه الآية تدل على انتهاء شريعة موسى وعيسى عليهما السلام إلى شريعة محمد وعموم شريعة محمد عليه السلام.

اعلم ان المفسّرين من علماء [13أ] اليهود فسّروا هذه الآية بقولهم: لا يزال عصاء، أي أحكام موسى عليه السلام، من بين يهودا[15] ولا يزال كون الرجل العظيم الشأن الذي من بين أرجل يهودا[16]، يعني من تحت حكومة هذه الشريعة، حتى يجيء الرجل الذي صار له الحكم وهو المهدي، لأن المهدي على زعمهم يجيء من بني يهودا[17] على شريعة موسى عليه السلام. وتفسيرهم هذه الآية على هذا الوجه باطل من وجهين، الأول أن لفظ "حتى" في قوله تعالى {حتى مجيء الرجل الذي له العصا} [13ب] تدل على انتهاء الشريعة الأولى إلى شريعة الرجل الذي له العصا أي الحكم. فتعين أن [تكون] شريعة من له غير شريعة موسى عليه السلام فلا يجوز أن يكون شريعة من له العصا شريعة موسى عليه السلام. الثاني أن قوله تعالى {له العصا} يدل على اختصاص هذه الشريعة لذلك الرجل الذي له العصا، فلو كان هذه الشريعة شريعة موسى

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5. يهودا: يهودي.
6. عصا: عصاء.
7. يهودا: يهودي.
8. يهودا: يهودي.
9. عصا: عصاء.
10. يهودا: يهودي.
11. يهودا: يهودي.
12. أولاد: ولاد.
13. يهودا: يهودي.
14. عصا: عصاء.
15. يهودا: يهودي.
16. يهودا: يهودي.
17. يهودا: يهودي.

عليه السلام لم تكن مختصة للرجل الذي له العصا، فتعين أن تكون تلك[18] الشريعة مغايرة لشريعة موسى عليه السلام.

[14أ] وأما الآيات الأربع التي استدلوا بها بزعمهم على التأبيد، أي تأبيد دين موسى عليه السلام، فأولها قوله تعالى في التوراة: يا موسى كَتُبْ هَشِيرَهْ هَظُفْ لَفَنَوْ وَهَيَهْ كِيْ تِمْسَنَهْ أُوتُو رَعُدْ رَبُوتْ وَسَرُوتْ وعَنتَهْ هَشِيرَهْ لَفَنَوْ كِيْ لاَ تِشْقَحْ مِفِى ضَرْعُو.[viii] ومعناه في لغة العرب: {اكتب هذه التوراة أمام بني إسرائيل فإذا كان كذلك إذاً وجدتم [14ب] نكبات كثيرة ومضايقات، ونادتهم التوراة لأن التوراة لا تنسى من أفواه ذرياتهم}. استدلوا، أي علماء اليهود، بهذه الآية على تأبيد دين موسى عليه السلام وقالوا: لنا أن لا نطيع غير الأحكام التوراتية، فإن قوله تعالى: إن {التوراة لا تنسى من أفواه ذرياتهم} يدل على تأبيد دين موسى عليه السلام وعلى تأبيد أحكام التوراة، إذ نفي النسيان من أفواه ذرياتهم يدل على ذكر التوراة في أفواه ذرياتهم دائماً، فإذا كانت [15أ] التوراة في أفواه ذرياتهم مذكورة بلا نسيان في وقت من الأوقات فما هو إلا معنى التأبيد. وهذا الاستدلال منهم ليس بصحيح لأن قوله تبارك تعالى: إن {التوراة لا تنسى من أفواه ذرياتهم} ليس بحكم مستقل حتى يستدل به على التأبيد، بل الأمر المفهوم والحكم المعلوم من الآية هو الأمر بكتابة التوراة لأن تحفظ بالكتابة وتُعلّم في زمان التعليم وتُذكر عند النسيان بسبب الكتابة وتنادى بها في وقت الاحتياج. فمن [15ب] أين يلزم التأبيد لجواز أن يكون معناه لا تنسى قبل كون التوراة منسوخة؟

وثانيها قوله تعالى: لاَ بَسَمَيْمْ هِي لاَمُرْ مِي يِعْلَ لَنُو هَسَمَيْمْ وَلاَ مَعَبَرَ هَيَمْ هِي لاَمُرْ مِي يَعَبَرَ لَنُو.[ix] ومعنى هذه الآية في لغة العرب: {لا في السموات أحكام لتأمروا شخصاً يصعد في السماوات ويأتينا بها ولا في وراء البحر أحكام لتأمروا من يعبر إليها ينقلها إلينا}. استدلوا، أي علماء اليهود، بهذه الآية على تأبيد دين موسى عليه السلام وقالوا: [16أ] لنا لا نطيع غير الأحكام التوراتية لأن معنى الآية على زعمهم: ما في السماوات أحكام لتأمروا بالصعود إليها وإتيانها إلينا من السماوات ولا من وراء البحر أحكام لتأمروا بالعبور وإتيانها إلينا من وراء البحر، فتعين أن لا يكون في السماوات ولا في غيرها أحكام فينحصر الأحكام في الأحكام التوراتية، فيلزم التأبيد. وهذا الاستدلال أيضاً باطل لأن حاصل معنى الآية أن الأحكام التوراتية موجودة عندكم لا تبعد عنكم [16ب] والمنفي في الآية كون الأحكام التوراتية في السماوات وفي وراء البحر لا الأحكام المطلقة بقرينة سياق الكلام، لأن معنى الآية السابقة {يا بني اسرائيل اعبدوا إلهكم على أحكام التوراة النازلة عليكم}[x] إذ لا يبقى لكم حكم في السماوات ولا في وراء البحر من الأحكام التوراتية النازلة عليكم، فمن عدم الأحكام التوراتية النازلة على بني إسرائيل في السماوات لا يلزم عدم الأحكام الغير توراتية لجواز أن تكون[19] الأحكام الإنجيلية [17أ] والفرقانية في السماوات فتنزل لنسخ الأحكام التوراتية، فلا يلزم التأبيد.

وثالثها قوله تعالى في التوراة: قُلْ هَدَبَرْ اَشَرْ اَنُوخِي مَصَوِخَ لاَ تُوصِيفُو عَلَوْ وَلاَ تَجْرِعُو مِمَنُو الآية.[xi] فمعنى هذه الآية في لغة العرب: {كل الأمر الذي أوصيتكم به لا تزيدوا عليه ولا تنقصوا عنه}. استدل علماء اليهود بهذه الآية على تأبيد شريعة موسى عليه السلام ويقولون: إن الله تعالى أمرنا بأن لا نزيد على أحكام التوراة وأن لا [17ب] ننقص عنها، فإذا كان كذلك فلا نطيع شريعة فيها زيادة عليها أو نقصاناً عنها، فلا نطيع شريعة محمد وعيسى عليهما السلام لأن الزيادة والنقصان في هاتين الشريعتين على شريعة موسى عليه السلام واضح غير محتاج إلى البيان. وهذا الاستدلال أيضاً باطل لأن الآية لا تنافي إطاعة شريعة عيسى ومحمد عليهما السلام لأن المفهوم من تلك الآية أن الأمر الذي نطق وأوصى موسى عليه [18أ] السلام ببني إسرائيل بأن قال: ولا تزيدوا فيه كمية ولا كيفية، وكأنه قال: صلّوا كل يوم ثلاث صلوات بالأركان المخصوصة ولا تزيدوا عليه بقولكم الصلاة المفروضة أربعة أو[20] اثنان ولا تنسبوا ذلك النقصان والزيادة إلى شريعة موسى عليه السلام. وأما الشريعة التي جاء بها عيسى عليه السلام والشريعة التي جاء بها سيدنا وسندنا ونبينا محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم فليست أمراً أوصى به [18ب] موسى عليه السلام قومه ليصير كونهما زيادة أو نقصاناً منافياً للآية ولا دلالة في تلك الآية المذكورة في التوراة على أن يطيعوا شريعة مستقلة يأتي بها نبي مبعوث بالحق، فإنه لا يطلق على الشريعة المستقلة أنها زيادة أو نقصان فيما أتى وأوصى به موسى عليه السلام.

ورابعها، أي الرابع من الآيات[21] الدالة بزعمهم على تأبيد دين موسى عليه السلام، قول الله تبارك وتعالى في التوراة: [19أ] تُورَهْ صِوَهْ لَنُو مُوسَى مُورَشَى كِهِلاَتْ يَعْقُوبْ.[xii] ومعنى هذه الآية على لغة العرب: {التوراة التي أوصاكم بها موسى عليه السلام ميراث لجماعة يعقوب النبي عليه السلام}. استدلوا، أي علماء اليهود، بهذه الآية الكريمة على تأبيد دين موسى وتأبيد شريعته عليه السلام بأن يقولوا: إن دين موسى عليه السلام مؤبد لأن الآية تدل على أن التوراة [19ب] ميراث فيما بين قوم موسى عليه السلام، وهم جماعة يعقوب النبي عليه السلام، فهذا

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18. تلك: ذلك.
19. تكون: يكون.
20. أو: إضافة فوق السطر.
21. الآيات: الآية.

يقتضي على أن لا ينفكّ أحكام التوراة من قوم موسى عليه السلام، فمن عدم انفكاك أحكام التوراة عن قوم موسى عليه السلام يلزم تأبيد دين موسى وتأبيد شريعته عليه السلام.

وهذا الاستدلال منهم أيضاً باطل، وجوابه: إن أسلوب الآية الكريمة، وهي قوله تعالى: إن {التوراة [...] ميراث لجماعة يعقوب عليه السلام}، [20أ] وهي قوم موسى عليه السلام، يدل على أن التوراة مختصة لجماعة يعقوب النبي عليه السلام فقط، لا لسائر الأمم، ومن اختصاص التوراة لجماعة يعقوب عليه السلام لا يلزم أن تكون جماعة يعقوب عليه السلام مختصة للتوراة[22] حتى لا يطيعوا غير الأحكام التوراتية من الكتب السماوية، ولو كان معنى الآية الكريمة ما زعمتم لكان شأن العبارة أن يقول: إن جماعة يعقوب ميراث للتوراة، أي [20ب] مختصة بأن يعلموا بالأحكام التوراتية فحسب. وليس كذلك فلا يلزم أن لا يطيعوا غير الأحكام التوراتية من الإنجيل والفرقان، كما زعمه علماء اليهود[23] المتمرّدين لعنة الله عليهم أجمعين.

وأما سائر أدلتهم المذكورة في التوراة بزعمهم على تأبيد دين موسى عليه السلام، فلا نطول الكلام بإيرادها في هذا المقام لأن كلّها ضعيفة جداً، فأعددتُها منزلة للعدم عداً، فإنها كبيوت العنكبوت، [21أ] فلا جواب عنها إلا السكوت.

والله ولي التوفيق والهداية بالإيمان، ومنه الإهداء وعليه التكلان. وقد تم الكتاب بعون الله الوهاب، والله أعلم بالصواب، وإليه المرجع والمآب، وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه أجمعين، والحمد لله رب العالمين. تم.

Endnotes

i. سورة الإسراء (17):2.

ii. سورة الإسراء (17):101.

iii. כי יקום בקרבך נביא או חלם חלום ונתן אליך אות או מופת : [ובא האות והמופת] אשר דבר אליך לאמר נלכה אחרי אלהים אחרים [אשר לא ידעתם ונעבדם:] לא תשמע אל דברי הנביא ההוא [או אל חולם החלום ההוא כי מנסה יהוה אלהיכם אתכם לדעת הישכם אהבים את יהוה אלהיכם בכל לבבכם ובכל נפשכם : אחרי יהוה אלהיכם תלכו ואתו תיראו ואת מצותיו תשמרו וקבלו תשמעו ואתו תעבדו ובו תדבקון] והנביא ההוא [או חלם החלום ההוא] יומת. (דברים יג 2–5 / التثنية 13: 1–5).

iv. נביא אקים להם מקרב אחיהם כמוך ונתתי דברי בפיו ודבר אליהם את כל אשר אצונו והיה האיש אשר לא ישמע אל דברי אשר ידבר בשמי אנכי אדרש מעמו (דברים יח 18–19 / التثنية 19: 18–19).

v. ולא קם נביא עוד בישראל כמשה. (דברים לד 10 / التثنية 34: 10)

vi. נביא אקים להם מקרב אחיהם כמוך ונתתי דברי בפיו [ודבר אליהם את כל אשר אצונו:] והיה האיש אשר לא ישמע אל דברי אשר ידבר בשמי אנכי אדרש מעמו. (דברים יח 18 / التثنية 18 :18)

vii. לא יסור שבט מיהודה ומחקק מבין רגליו עד כי יבא שילה ולו יקהת עמים (בראשית מט: 10 / تكوين 49: 10).

viii. ויאמר יהוה אל משה ... ועתה כתבו לכם את השירה הזאת לעד בבני ישראל שימה בפיהם למען תהיה לי השירה הזאת בבני ישראל ... והיה כי תמצאן אתו רעות רבות וצרות וענתה השירה הזאת לפניו לעד כי לא תשכח מפי זרעו (דברים לא: טז, וט, כא / التثنية 33: 16، 19، 21).

ix. לא בשמים הוא לאמר מי יעלה לנו השמימה ויקחה לנו וישמענו אתה ונעשנה ולא מעבר לים הוא לאמר מי יעבר לנו אל עבר הים יקחה לנו וישמענו אתה ונעשנה (דברים ל 12–13 / التثنية 30: 12–13).

x. כי תשמע בקול יהוה אלהיך לשמר מצותיו וחקתיו הכתובה בספר התורה הזה כי תשוב אל יהוה אלהיך בכל לבבך ובכל נפשך (דברים ל 10 / التثنية 30: 10).

xi. לא תספו על הדבר אשר אנכי מצוה אתכם ולא תגרעו ממנו לשמר את מצות יהוה אלהיכם אשר אנכי מצוה אתכם. (דברים ד 2).

xii. תורה צוה לנו משה מורשה קהלת יעקב. (דברים לג 4)

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22. للتوراة: للتوريت.

23. اليهود: اليهودي.

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